

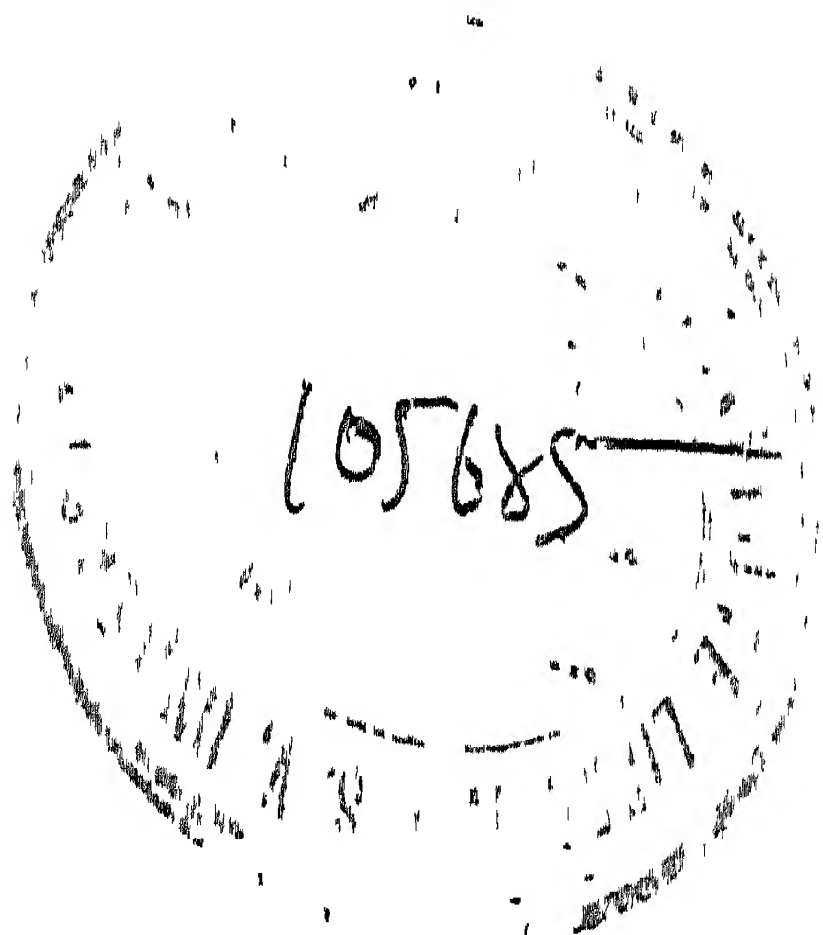
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. XIX (1927 - 28)



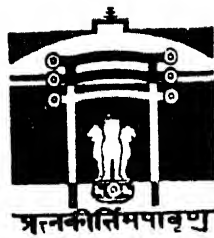
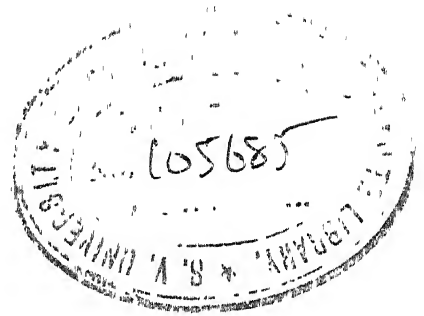
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PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001
1983



EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. XIX. 1927-28.



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011

1983

Reprinted 1983

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
1983

Price : Rs. 80.00

Printed at Pearl Offset Press, 5/33 Kirti Nagar Industrial Area New Delhi-110015.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XIX. 1927-28.

EDITED BY

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.,
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

CALCUTTA:

MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH

BOMBAY: BRITISH INDIA PRESS.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH,
TRÜBNER & Co.

NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET.

PARIS: E. LEROUX.

105685

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME XVIII.

Page 149, l. 10 from bottom.—For 'who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman,' read 'who, one after another, crowned on their thrones Āryavarman'.

Plate between pp. 248 and 249.—The legend on the seal reproduced here does not read *Śrīmad-Amṛtavarshadēvasya*. We can read it as: *Ś[r]ī[ma]ta(t)-Hari [4] chandradēva [sya]*.

Page 321, ll. 13-14 from bottom.—For 'Tailapa's successor, Vikramāditya V', read 'Vikramāditya V, grandson of Tailapa and successor of Iṣṭabaddha Satyāśraya'.



VOLUME XIX.

Page 5, l. 29.—For finale read final.

„ 5, l. 41.—For *murada* read *muraḍa*.

„ 8, l. 5.—For bending a read bending at.

„ 15, para. 2, l. 6.—For (i. e.) 9083 read (i. e., 8) 903.

„ 15, para. 2, l. 8.—For  read 

„ 17, last para., l. 2.—For Udum (vb) ara read Udumv(b)ara.

„ 18, text l. 7.—For चटु(ख)रविषयस(ख)° read चटुख(ख)रविषयसख(ख)°.

„ 18, text l. 16.—For (८००) read (८००)

„ 19, l. 1.—For Valākā (or Balākā) read Valākā or Valāka (Balākā or Balāka).

„ 28, translation (V. 20), l. 1.—For Lakkhā-dēvi read Lakkhā-dēvi.

„ 35, translation (Ll. 26-32), l. 4.—For *panam* read *paṇam*.

„ 38, l. 31.—Mr. N. L. Rao would read *hāga marana bhaṇḍi* and translate it into 'on each sale of a cart of wood.' In l. 37 of this page he prefers to read *moṛānu* which he translates as 'one winnow'.

„ 40, l. 23.—Mr. N. L. Rao explains *saṇḍage*-wick as 'a wick of the shape of a condiment called *saṇḍage*' which has a flat rounded bottom and a tapering head and is in use even in these days.

„ 40, f. n. 1.—For *ank* read *rank*.

„ 42, ll. 21, 25 and 26.—For *Khiñjaliyagaḍa-vishaya* read of *Khiñjaliyagaḍa*.

„ 42, l. 48.—For *ni* read *in*.

„ 44, f. n. 8.—For °*yitva* read °*yitvā*.

„ 45, text l. 26.—For °*vassu dhā* read °*vasudhā*.

„ 45, text l. 30.—For *Asārēpi* read *Asārēpi*.

„ 45, text l. 34.—For *Śambhōḥ* read *Śambhōḥ*.

„ 45, text l. 37.—For °*Ganē [s] varēṇa* read *Gaṇṇē [v] arēṇa*.

„ 46, l. 16.—For *स्त्रितीय* read *स्त्रि(त्)तीय*.

„ 46, l. 42.—For *Purāna* read *Purāṇa*.

„ 46, l. 43.—For *Sutradhara* read *sūtradhāra*.

„ 47, l. 7.—For *Pṛithvīrāja* read *Pṛithvīrāja*.

Page 54, para. 3, l. 5.—For Kañchanadēvi read Kañchanasrīdēvi.

„ 59, text l. 7.—For त[च]न(या) read तच(या).

„ 59, f. n. 3.—For °बिबि read °बिबितो.

„ 60, f. n. 2.—For °विक्रम° read विक्रय°.

„ 61, text l. 23.—For सर्वोच्च° read सर्वोच्चय°.

„ 63, text.—Mark 1, 2 and 3 for the first 3 lines.

„ 64, f. n. 1.—For Kaed read Read.

„ 65, text l. 23.—For =ayur- read =āyur-.

„ 66, Inscription No. II, text ll. 1 and 2.—For sa-bhikuniyē read cha bhikuniyē.

„ 67, Inscription No. IV, text ll. 1 and 2.—Perhaps we have to read Ōkhārikāyē as in the other inscription of the year 299 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 33).

„ 70, l. 5.—For Pramvāra read Pravāmra.

„ 70, l. 19, and p. 71, l. 15.—For Śvētapāda read Śvētapada as in the plate.

„ 72, l. 21.—For Saṃgāma read Saṃgama.

„ 73, text l. 34.—For ch=ānumantā one might read v=ānumantā also.

„ 73, text ll. 37 and 38.—Correct Agnishtōma-sahasra (sra)ś=cha | Vājapēya-śata(tē)shu cha [into Agnishtōma-sahasrēṇa Vājapēya-śatēna cha |.

„ 73, text l. 40.—Correct śushati into śushyati and read sarit-sarā (ō) for sarisarā (ō),

„ 74, l. 13.—For Āudrahāḍi read Āudrahāḍi as on p. 71.

„ 74, l. 20.—For amāvāsyā read amāvāsyā.

„ 74, l. 38.—For pavitraka read pavitraka.

„ 74, l. 39.—For Dēśilaka read Dēśi.

„ 77, para. 2, l. 1.—For Vañkēsvara add the following as a foot-note :—

[Vañka is the Prakrit form of Skt. Vakra, a name of Śiva.—N. P. C. The Hindustani *bāñkā* meaning a beau or crooked is also allied to it and is applied to Kṛishṇa (as in Bāñkā-Bihāri) also.—H. S.]

„ 80, text l. 26.—For व(ङ्) वच read व(व) वच

„ 82, f. n. 10.—For Svasti read Svasti.

„ 84, para. 4, l. 4.—For Vatragna read Varagna.

„ 91, l. 2.—For Penner read Pennar.

„ 91, l. 3.—For Kṛishṇa read Kṛishṇā.

„ 95, l. 28.—For Tonḍavāḍi read °vāḍi.

„ 95, l. 30.—For Gollapalli read °palli.

„ 98, text l. 3.—For vikyātaḥ read vikhyātaḥ.

„ 99, text l. 32.—For svarṇṇam=ēkāṇṇ read svarṇṇam=ēkāṇṇ.

„ 102, text l. 5.—For प्रयाग° read प्रयागि°.

„ 102, text l. 10.—For आत्मनवसायमा read आत्मनवसाय मा°

„ 103, text l. 18.—For कर्च° read कर्चो°

„ 104, f. n. 3.—Add [Are not these the names of trees?—Ed.].

„ 106, l. 4.—For Unnatarāga read Unnatarāma.

„ 108, translation of v. 1.—For auequalled read unequalled.

Pages 109 to 115.—In names like Rājasimha, Narasimhavarman, Kshattriyasimha and Narēndrasimha, for °simha read °simha.

Page 112, f. n. 4.—For Mahāvamsa read Mahāvamsa.

„ 114, translation of v. 2.—For moon ¹³ read moon ¹³

„ 114, f. n. 17.—For samhita read samhitā and for forete lling read foretelling.

„ 115 f. n. 7, l. 3.—For Kaliage read Kali age.

- Page 116, l. 4.—*For Chandrapurī read Chandrapuri as in the plate and pp. 118-21.*
- „ 117, para. 2, l. 2.—*For Gāṅgiṇī read Gaṅgiṇī as in the text and translation.*
- „ 118, f. n. 6.—*For unamended read unemended.*
- „ 119, f. n. 3.—*For incised in read incised in.*
- „ 124, serial no. 71.—*For Vāasanēyin read Vājasanēyin*
- „ 124, serial no. 73.—*For Nandēsvara read Nandēsvara.*
- „ 124, serial nos. 75, 76.—*For Prakāsavara read Prakāśavara.*
- „ 124, serial no. 84.—*For Vārhaspatya read Bārhaspatya.*
- „ 124, serial no. 97.—*For Saunaka read Śaunaka.*
- „ 128, para 2, l. 10.—*For Dūkata read Dūtaka.*
- „ 128, f. n. 8.—*For c. 337 read c. 389, 390.*
- „ 130, f. n. 9.—*For सचुख; read सचुखः.*
- „ 131, article no. 22, para. 1. l. 4.—*For prates read plates.*
- „ 133, text l. 81.—*For फलैयु read फलैयु°.*
- „ 134, l. 2.—*Omit i.e*
- „ 134, l. 9.—*For theeight read the eight.*
- Pages 134 to 137.—*For Chandapāka read Chāndapāka.*
- Page 135, para. 4, ll. 2 and 7.—*For Ganga read Gaṅga.*
- „ 136, text l. 34.—*For °vighrāhī (hi) kah° read °vighrāhī (hi) kaḥ°.*
- „ 136, text l. 35.—*For °pākēnaḥ read °pākēnaḥ.*
- „ 137, translation of ll. 32 to 35.—*For Kamsāraka read Kamsāraka.*
- „ 139, para. 3, l. 12.—*For dāyās read dāyas.*
- „ 139, f. n. 3.—*For Marāthā read Marāṭhā.*
- „ 140, para. 3, l. 2.—*For tālukā read tāluka.*
- „ 141, f. n. 5.—*For °चान्त. read° चान्त.*
- „ 142, text l. 11.—*For? द्विष° read° द्विष°.*
- „ 148, f. n. 2.—*For 3 read 2.*
- „ 151, para. 2, l. 12.—*For bounaries read boundaries.*
- „ 151, last line.—*For Paramēs- read Paramēs-.*
- „ 155, para. 2, l. 7.—*For limggas- read limggas-.*
- „ 157, para. 2, l. 4.—*For Sultā nof read Sultān of.*
- „ 157, para. 5, l. 2 and page 163, translation (v. 16).—*For Shaṭkōṇa read Shaṭkōṇa.*
- „ 157, para. 6, l. 3.—*For Since read Since.*
- „ 159, f. n. 4.—*For Sargdharā read Sragdharā.*
- „ 162, f. n. 6.—*For Chūdara read Bhūdharā.*
- „ 163, translation (v. 12), l. 2.—*For Chōḍa read Chōḍa.*
- „ 163, f. n. 2.—*For Vaidyajiṇa read Vaidyajiṇa.*
- „ 173, translation of v. 25.—*For Kubērawith read Kubēra with.*
- „ 175, para. 2, l. 4.—*For Rāshṭrakūṭā read °kūṭa.*
- „ 181, f. n. 3.—*For ānūsāra read anu°.*
- „ 182, f. n. 7.—*For bhāginah read bhāvinah.*
- „ 184, l. 7, page 187, 1st para. l. 6, and page 189, 2nd para. of article D, l. 5.—*For Bāsavura read Bāsavūra or correct Bāsavūra of p. 185, l. 22.*
- „ 194, f. n. 4.—*Supply 4 in this foot-note.*
- „ 198, l. 14.—*Add “ Lord of ” at the end of the line.*
- „ 199, text.—*Add note “ For revised text see C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 16.”*
- „ 203, text.—*Add note “ For revised reading by Sten Konow, see C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 79.”*

Page 205, text.—Add note “ For revised reading by Sten Konow, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 113.”

- „ 205, Remarks, l. 11.—For *Prākṛit-Sprachen* read *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*.
- „ 206.—To the heading of article No. 33 add the following note. “ For author's remarks see also *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 161 f.”
- „ 206, article No. 33, para. 5, l. 2.—For *Kharoṣṭhi* read *Kharoṣṭhā*.
- „ 208, text l. 3.—For *droṇivadrāṇa* read *droṇivadrāṇa*.
- „ 210, f. n., l. 7.—For *Siva* read *Śiva*.
- „ 212, text l. 13.—For °द्वौ° read द्वौ°.
- „ 212, text l. 15.—For व[त्क]टकः read व[त्क]टकः.
- „ 212, text l. 18.—For सि(सि)(ह)इ(स)द(ह)ननो and जगंचयसीसः read सि(सि)ह(ह)संद(ह)ननो and जगंचयसीसः[.].
- „ 212, l. 21.—Add note : Reading of four letters after *gōtrē* is not certain.
- „ 212.—For the second foot-note 3 read 4.
- „ 214, article No. 35, para. 2, l. 3.—For *vanda-saikkum* read *vand=asaikkum*.
- „ 220, f. n. 2.—For *krimh* read *krimh*.
- „ 223, f. n. 1.—For *J. A.* read *Ind. Ant.*
- „ 233, translation of v. 6.—For *stone-piaces* read *stone-palaces*.
- „ 239, l. 27.—For *Vākpati* read *Vākpati*.
- „ 239, f. n. 6.—For *geneology* read *genealogy*.
- „ 241, text of Grant B, l. 1.—For *-kēsara=* read *-kēsara=*
- „ Grant B, l. 6.—For *V (B) appai=* read *V (B) appai=*
- „ 242, Grant B, l. 7.—For *-āvadatayā* read *-āvadātayā*.
- „ l. 8.—After *-nāyakaḥ* insert |
- „ l. 10.—After *-trukti?* insert |
- at the end of the line replace = by -
- „ l. 14, sub-line 2.—Insert = at the end.
- „ l. 14, sub-line 3.—Separate *astuvaḥ* into *astu vaḥ*.
- Grant A, l. 8.—For *sa* after [4 ||*] have *Sa*.
- „ l. 15.—For *-āvadhārya* read *=avadhārya*.
- „ 242, f. n. 6.—For *triṇ-* have *triṇ-*.
- „ 243, Grant A, l. 24.—For *narēn-drair=* read *narēndrair=* and for *yasaska-rāṇi* read *yasas-*
karāṇi.
- Grant B, l. 18.—Delete - at the end of the line.
- l. 22, end : Replace = by-.
- l. 28.—For *Vishṇuḥ* [*] *rāj-* have *Vishṇuḥ* [*] *Rāj=*.
- „ 243, f. n. 9.—For *bhōktribhiḥ* read *bhōktribhiḥ*.
- „ 244 (v. 3).—Insert - between ‘moon’ and ‘like’.
- „ 244, line last but 2 :—For *Monday* read *Wednesday*.
- „ 245, last line.—For *plate* read *plates*.
- „ 247, l. 11 beginning : Insert [h*] between °rtha *bhāga*
- Second side*, l. 7.—For *Bhāradvājas=Chhāndōgō* read *Bhāradvāja=śChhāndo°*.
- Second side*, l. 8.—For *Gārgyas-* read *Gārgyaś=*.
- „ 248, f. n. 3, l. 1.—After foot-note change 6 p. into 2, p. 122, above.
- „ 250, against No. 62.—For *Jātū ernṇa* read *Jātūkarnṇa*.
- „ 250, against No. 71.—For *Bāhvīcha* read *Bāhvīchya*.

- Page 253, l. 3.—For “bahuṃrihi” have “bahuṃrihi.”
- „ 254, Enter 2 at the beginning of the last foot-note commencing with “Ep. Ind.”.
- „ 255, l. 9, and para. 2, l. 5.—For Pulibūmra read Pulibūmra.
- „ 256, text-line 2.—For हारिति read हारितौ as in the plate.
- „ 256, f. n. 5.—Correct हारिति into हारोति.
- „ 256, text l. 3.—For भुवन° read भुवन.
- „ 257, f. n. 8.—For f. n. 2 read f. n. 1.
- „ 258, l. 3.—For Mātris read Mātris.
- „ 258, article No. 43, l. 3.—Omit hyphen after Madras.
- „ 259, para. 3, l. 3.—For Sōmaśaraman read Sōmaśarman.
- „ 260, l. 13.—Correct कवेत्त and खेत्त by a note into कवेत्त and खेत्त.
- „ 260, f. n. 7.—Commence this note with “Read सम्मानयति.”
- „ 263, article No. 45, para. 2, l. 8.—For Śubhakara read Śubhākara.
- „ 263, f. n. 2.—For jīhvāmūliya read jīhvāmūliya.
- „ 264, ll. 4, 8, 11.—For Kumuraṅga read Kumuraṅgi and for Mahādēvi read Mahādēvi.
- „ 265, para. 3, l. 2.—For guṇai read guṇaiḥ.
- „ 265, para. 3, l. 13.—For yath=arhan(m) read yath=ārhan(m).
- „ 266, l. 13.—For as under read asunder.
- „ 267, text l. 2.—For प्रभासाङ्ग read प्रभासाङ्ग(सौत्र).
- „ 267, text l. 5.—For तेनेत्तगुणि read तेनेत्त गुणि.
- „ 267, f. n. 6.—For p. 267 read p. 266.
- „ 268, text l. 15.—After च्छ insert [:].
- „ 268, text l. 23.—Join व(ध, च्छा and व(ध°.
- „ 268, text l. 28.—For पादा read पादौ
- „ 269, text l. 45, end.—For ‘नुदन्ति[.]’ read° नुदन्त[.].
- „ 270, text l. 51.—For कोष्टे read कोष्टे°.
- „ 270, text l. 60.—For सोद read [सोद].
- „ 270, text l. 61.—Remove the two dots after उत्कीर्ण°.
- „ 270, f. n. 3.—For protty read pretty.
- „ 271, translation ll. 42-61, l. 13 beginning.—For dēdḍa read dēdḍa.
- „ 272, para. 4, l. 7.—For Yaddhamalla read Yuddhamalla.
- „ 272, line last but one.—before oppaga insert =.
- „ 274, para. 2, l. 4.—For Yatribhuvanāṅkuśa read ya Tribhuvā°.
- „ 275, translation (Verse 1), l. 3.—For koṭṭāms read koṭṭams.
- „ 275, last para. l. 4.—For (foot note 4) read (foot-note 5 on p. 274 ante).
- „ 275, last para. ll. 5 and 7.—For ch varga and t varga read cha-varga and ṭa-varga.
- „ 277, last line.—For of the plate read found elsewhere in the plate.
- „ 278, para. 2, line last but one.—For Itā read Itā.
- „ 278, l. 13 from bottom.—For Baḍagāma (l. 30) read Va(Ba)ḍagāma (l. 30).
- „ 278, l. 10 from bottom.—For Baḍapañcala read Varapañchāla (l. 30 f.).
- „ 278, l. 5 from bottom.—For Bhāskara or Bhāsara-teṅgarī (31 and 37) read Bhāsana- (l. 31) or Bhāskara-ṭeṅgarī (l. 37).
- „ 279, l. 9.—For Kāliyāni read Kāliyāni.
- „ 279, l. 10.—For Phōmpātīpā read Phōmphāṇiyā as in the text.
- „ 279, l. 20.—For Bōbāchaḍā (44) read Vōvātudā (44).

- Page 279, f. n. 2.—For strokes read strokes and for dear read clear.
- „ 280, text l. 4.—For katite read kati tē.
- „ 280, text l. 10.—For gōpī- read Gōpī.
- „ 280, f. n. 9.—For nā=nyādhi° read n=āny-ādhi°.
- „ 281, text l. 25.—Omit hyphen after kritsnā.
- „ 281, text l. 32, and page 282, text line 35.—For Bhū= read bhū-.
- „ 281, text line 33.—For Vālū=sigāmē read Vālūsīgāmē.
- „ 281, f. n. 8.—For p. 281 read p. 280.
- „ 282, text l. 39.—For Bhōgāubhūvāi read Bhōgāu-Bhuvāi.
- „ 282, text l. 40.—For vaḍasō read Vaḍasō.
- „ 282, text l. 42 beginning.—For ka read kē and for Paṁsivo- read Paṁsivō.
- „ 282, text l. 46.—For ārupā- read Ārupā.
- „ 282, text l. 48.—For [si] mivā° read [Śi]mivā°.
- „ 283, translation, v. 1.—For Brahma read Brahman.
- „ 284, line 1.—For -Gōpī- read -Gōpī.
- „ 284, f. n. 1.—For Bhātērā read Bhātēra.
- „ 284, f. n. 3.—For f. n. 7 on p. 283 read f. n. 8 on p. 280.
- „ 285, translation ll. 29-51, l. 8f.—For Bhōtilahātika read Bhōthilahātaka.
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 15.—For Bhāskarātēngarī read °tēngarī.
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 18.—For Vāmāyi read Dhāmāyi.
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 19.—For Bhuvāi read Bhūvāi.
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 23.—For Naḍakuṭigāma read Naḍakuṭi°.
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 25.—For Vanaṅgajōṭṭi read Vanaṅgajōṭṭi.
- „ 285, line last but one.—For Iṭākhālā read Hayēkhālā.
- „ 286, l. 2.—For Simivāka read Śimivāka.
- „ 286, l. 2.—In After Bhāṭapaḍā enter “1 house belonging to the barber Gōvindā (and) ”.
- „ 286, l. 7.—Omit note 1 above ivory-worker.
- „ 287, para. last but one, l. 8.—Remove the word ‘ see ’ and ‘ by ’ after (1), (2) and (3).
- „ 287, last para., l. 3.—For vedamgam read veḍe°.
- „ 288, l. 5.—For Atakur, the Solapuram read Ātakūr, the Śōlapuram.
- „ 288, l. 7.—For Malkhed read Mālkhēḍ.
- „ 288, ll. 12, 24 and 30.—For Karhad read Karhāḍ.
- „ 288, l. 22.—For Kāñchi read Kāñchī.
- „ 292, text l. 3.—Put hyphen after कृष्.
- „ 294, text l. 16.—Omit : after °वि.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XIX.

No. 1.—THE ZEDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11.

BY STEN KONOW.

Zeda is a village near Und (Ohind) in the North-West Frontier Province, situated in $34^{\circ} 3'$ N. and $72^{\circ} 32'$ E. Here I. Loewenthal noticed "an unshapen piece of rock lying at the entrance of the village", on which there was an inscription in Kharōṣṭhī characters.¹

The stone, which is now in the Lahore Museum, is, according to Cunningham, a rough block of quartz, 4 feet long and 1 foot broad. The inscription has been edited by Messrs. Cunningham,² Senart,³ and Boyer,⁴ and some remarks concerning its date and interpretation have been published by Messrs. E. Thomas,⁵ G. Bühler,⁶ R. D. Banerji,⁷ H. Lüders⁸ and myself.⁹

I now edit it from estampages kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. F. W. Thomas.

The inscription consists of three lines and covers a space 2 feet long and about 8 inches broad. The size of individual letters varies from almost 4 inches in the beginning to 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches towards the end. M. Senart thought that ll. 1 and 2 are perhaps incomplete, but such does not seem to be the case.

The stone is very rough and the inscribed portion is damaged in several places. The reading and interpretation are therefore beset with considerable difficulty, and this difficulty is increased because the shape of individual characters is not consistent. In spite of all the care and ingenuity which has been bestowed on the record, it has not, therefore, been possible to read and explain every passage with certainty, and I have not been able to arrive at satisfactory results throughout, and I sincerely hope that the new plate may induce other scholars to examine the record and publish their remarks so that they can be utilized for the final edition in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

The **characters** are of the same kind as in contemporary inscriptions. I may mention some details with regard to individual letters.

¹ Cf. his remarks, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXII, 1863, p. 5.

² *Archæological Survey of India*, V, pp. 57 ff. and Plate XVI, 1.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135 ff. and Plate opposite p. 133.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 465 ff.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., IX, 1877, p. 91.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 535.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 46, 72.

⁸ *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (henceforth quoted as *S. B. A. W.*), 1912, p. 826.

⁹ *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 801, 806; *Orientalis he Zeitschrift*, VIII, p. 230; above Vol XIV, p. 132.

Ka is usually angular, thus in *Kaṇishkasa*, l. 2; occasionally, however, it is rounded, as in *kue*, l. 2. Similarly *kha* has an angular top, as in the Pālātū Dhērī and Jauliā inscriptions, in *khade*, l. 2, but the same rounded shape as in the Āra record in *daṇamukhe*, l. 2. *Ja* has the regular shape with a straight upright in *rajami*, l. 2. In *pujaṇe* in the same line it has been bent so as to avoid running up into the *u-mātrā* of *kshu*, l. 1, and in *-rajaṣa*, l. 3, the upper right-hand termination has been bent backwards.

Only the cerebral *ṇ* is used throughout.¹ The *e-mātrā* has been added at the top in *-phagune*, l. 1, but projects from the middle of the vertical in *pujaṇe*, l. 2.

De in *khade*, l. 2, has the same shape as in the Āra inscription, with the *e-mātrā* at the bottom and the top resembling that of *ṇa*.

The rare *pha* occurs in *-phagune*, l. 1, and has the regular shape.

Ya is narrow and angular as in the Sue Vihār inscription, and *śe*, with the *e-mātrā* in the left corner, in *iśe*, l. 1, has almost the same shape as in that record.

Sa has different forms. The very last letter of the inscription has a strong backward bend, evidently in order to avoid its running into the *ja* standing above it; the first *akshara* is *saṁ*, where the *sa* looks almost like *ra*. Similar forms, without any break or bending of the vertical, are also found elsewhere, thus the second *sa* of *masasa*, l. 1. A more regular form is found in *Kaṇishkasa*, l. 2; the *sa* which opens l. 3 is a semi-circle opening towards the left and provided with a short top-stroke, etc.

The compound *rḥ* in *marḥakasa*, l. 2, shows the loop-shape of *r*. In the compound *shk* in *Kaṇishkasa*, l. 2, the verticals of *sha* and *ka* form one unbroken line as in *Vaḥeshka* in the Āra record.

There are several flaws and accidental strokes, which resemble letters and considerably add to the difficulties of interpretation. The easiest portion of the whole record is l. 1, which contains the date, and which has been written in very large letters. Abstracting from insignificant details such as the transliteration of the nasal and the addition of an *e* in *-phagune* I accept the reading of M. Boyer, who again agrees with M. Senart except in the reading of the numeral figure after *dī*, which the latter read 10: *saṁ 10 1 aśaḍasa masasa dī 20 utaraphagune iśe kshuṇamī*.² There cannot, I think, be any doubt with regard to the figure 20. There is a distinct indenture in the middle, and it is quite distinct from the figure for 10 which occurs after *saṁ*. I also think that the *ṇe* of *utaraphagune* is certain. The restoration of that word is due to M. Senart; Cunningham and Thomas read *udeyana gu 1*. The *e* of *iśe* was recognised by Professor Bühler.

It will be seen that the date contains one detail which is not usually met with in Kharōṣṭhī records, viz., the mentioning of the nakshatra current on the particular day when the inscription was engraved. There is only one other Kharōṣṭhī epigraph where the same arrangement is found, viz., the Und inscription, where I read *saṁ 20 20 20 1 chetrasa masasa divase aṭhami dī 4 4 iśa kḥuṇam sa viranaka (?) purvashade*. Und and Zeda belong to the same neighbourhood, and it is probable that the addition of the constellation was customary in that region. It should be borne in mind that both inscriptions are essentially private records. I shall have something to say about the conclusions which can possibly be drawn from these dates later on.

L. 2. The first four *aksharas* were read *chanam uspa* by Cunningham, *bhanam uka* by M. Senart and *khanam uspha* by M. Boyer, who is the only one who has attempted to give a continuous translation of the whole record. He was of opinion that three different donations are recorded in the inscription, the first one being a *khanam*. This word he took to be a synonym

¹ See my remarks above, Vol. XIV, p. 131 f.

² For the transliteration *ksh* cf. my remarks, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1924, pp. 1899 ff.

of Sanskrit *khāta*, a ditch, a fosse, a well, and he connected it with the following six letters, which he read *usphamu. cha*, and the word *danamukha* which follows later on, the meaning of the whole being, according to him : the denotation of *Usphamu. cha*, a well. I may state at once that an interpretation which reckons with three different donations, by different persons, recorded in one and the same epigraph, is not in accordance with the practice in Kharṣaṭhī inscriptions and *a priori* very unlikely to be right. The supposed personal name *Usphamu. cha* has, moreover, a rather suspicious look, and, finally, this reading is almost certainly wrong.

Professor Lüders¹ saw that the second *akshara* has an *e-mātrā* and read *khane*, and he rightly read the next two letters *kue*, corresponding to *kuepe* in the Āra inscription, explaining *khane kue* as a dug well, as distinguished from a natural one. He also pointed out that the form *kue* is used in the Pāja and Muchai inscriptions. A similar form *kuo* also occurs in the Mount Banj epigraph. This analysis shows the way to the correct interpretation of our record, and there is only one point where I think it necessary to deviate from him. The second *akshara* cannot be *ne*, because the *e-stroke* is never added at the bottom of the vertical of *na*. We find it above the top in *Kaṇeshkasa* in the Māpikīāla inscription, and, as I have already remarked, it sometimes occupies the same place in our record. Our *akshara* is in reality identical with the *de* of *devaputra* in the Āra inscription and we must certainly read *khade*, corresponding to Sanskrit *khāta*, dug.

Then follow four *aksharas*, which were read *kharaḍasa* by Cunningham. The first one was left untransliterated by M. Senart, while M. Boyer read *mu* and Professor Lüders *ve*. Cunningham's *kha* is out of the question, and so far as I can see M. Boyer was right in reading *mu*. Professor Lüders states that *ve* is fairly clear in an estampage in his possession. A comparison of the estampage before me and M. Senart's plate seems, however, to show that the apparent *va* is in reality the continuation of the long fissure running below the ensuing seven *aksharas*. The next letter was read as *ra* by Cunningham, but Professor Lüders is no doubt right in stating that it may be *ro*. I fail to understand how Messrs. Senart and Boyer arrive at their reading *cha* of the third *akshara*. It is certainly *ḍa* as read by Cunningham.

Muraḍasa, or probably *muroḍasa*, is the genitive of a word *muraḍa* or *muroḍa*, which has a distinctly un-Indian appearance. It is tempting to compare it with the words *murta*, *murṇḍaga* and *murunḍa*, which seem to be different attempts at rendering a Śaka word which the Indians sometimes translated with *svāmin*,² and I think that we must accept that explanation. We know that the title *murunḍa* was used by Śaka chieftains and Indo-Skythian rulers in India down to the 4th century A.D., when the *Śakamurunḍas* are mentioned in Samudragupta's *Allahābād prasasti*, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that it was this same *Śakamurunḍa* or an older indigenous form of the word which the Chinese rendered with their *Sai-wang*, the designation of the tribe which was expelled by the Yüeh-chi after the latter had been conquered by the Hiung-nu.³ I am aware of the fact that *wang* has been considered to be part of the name of the tribe, and not the usual word for "king", "ruler", and that Professor A. Herrmann,⁴ on the authority of the late Professor de Groot, wanted to change *Sai-wang* to *Sai-yü*, i.e., *sak-yü* or, according to the Nankin pronunciation, *sak-giok*, which he identified with *Sacaraucae*. The difficulty, however, which has puzzled some Sinologists in the designation *Sai-wang*, Saka lords, or, Saka kings, and caused them to try to find another explanation of the word *wang*, seems to me to disappear in the face of the corresponding designation *Śakamurunḍa*. The Indian translation of this term by *Śakamripati* is an exact parallel to the Chinese word.

¹ *l.c.*

² Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1913, pp. 422 f.; Konow, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 790 ff.; *Das indische Drama*, § 58.

³ Cf. e.g., O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens*. Berlin, 1907, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ Pauly's *Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, sub voce *Sacaraucae*.

The designation *Śakamuruṇḍa*, *Sai-wang* is not exactly synonymous with *Saka*, *Śaka*. Not all the Śakas were Śakamuruṇḍas. We now know that the Kushānas, who followed up the Yüe-chi conquest of the Tokhara country by an invasion of India, acted as the successors of the Śakas. We also know that the home-tongue of the Kushānas was the language which we know from numerous documents recovered in the southern oases of Chinese Turkistan, and especially in and about Khotan. I have myself called this language Khotanī and thought that it was related to, but not perhaps quite identical with the tongue of the Śakas. The prevalent opinion is, however, that Khotanī is simply the speech of the Śakas. In reality there is only a difference in the terms chosen to designate the language. The necessary inference from all that we know at the present moment is that Khotanī is a Śaka dialect or, according to most scholars, the Śaka language, in other words, that the Kushānas, and consequently the Yüe-chi, were Śakas, not however exactly the same tribe as the Sai-wang. The difference was not of an ethnic nature but, if we may judge from the designation *Sai-wang*, it had some reference to the system of government or to the title used by the rulers of that particular tribe. The title *murunḍa* was not used in the country where we find the Śaka language or dialect used in literature and administration. We there find other designations, *rre*, genitive *rrundi*, king, and *shshau*.¹ Though *rrundi* later on also occurs in the form *rrunḍi*, there can be no question about identifying it with *murunḍa*, where *mu* evidently belongs to the base. *Shshau*, on the other hand, is the title which was used in the coin-legends of Kanishka and his successors, *shaonano*, *shao Kaneshki Koshano* written in Greek letters, with the same representation of a short *u* through *o* as in *kozoulo* for *kujūla*. The title *shaunānu shau* is not met with in Eastern Turkistan. We can, however, infer that it was known from the fact that the designation of the Buddha as *gyastānu gyasti*, i.e., the god of gods, is evidently framed in imitation of this title. There can be no doubt that it is an adaptation of the imperial Persian title, and we have no reason for thinking that it was originally in use among the Śakas of Eastern Turkistan. We know from the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* that the Śakas who invaded India before Vikramāditya used a slightly different form, *shahānu shāhi*, which is evidently borrowed from Middle Persian, and this form was adopted by the Kushānas in their Brāhmī inscriptions and also occurs in the Allahābād *prasasti*. *Shaunānu shau* is the same title, but it is not simply borrowed, but translated, the Middle Persian *shāhi* being replaced by the indigenous word *shau*, formed with another suffix *van* from the base *kshāi*. We must necessarily infer that the Śaka chiefs of Eastern Turkistan, the ancient Yüe-chi, used this title, in addition perhaps to *rre*, before they introduced the imperial Persian titulature. Their rulers were accordingly called *rre* or *shau*, while the chiefs of the *Śakamuruṇḍas* were designated as *murunḍa* or some older form of this word.

Now if *muraḍa*, *muroḍa* of the Zeda inscription is the same word as *murunḍa*, it would be of interest if we could settle the question about its exact meaning. An etymological explanation of the word, which is perhaps possible, has been given by Professor Hermann Jacobsohn.² He thinks that it is formed from the same base as the Greek words (*epi*)*melētēs*, *meletōr*, *meledōnos*, caretaker, supervisor, and is about synonymous with *kshatrapa*. If such be the case, it becomes probable that the title *kshatrapa* used by the Śaka rulers in India is merely a translation of the old term, so that the *Śakamuruṇḍas* of the Allahābād *prasasti* are the Western Kshatrapas.³

The meaning care-taker, office-bearer and ruler seems to suit the context in the Zeda inscription. *Muroḍasa*, i.e., probably *muroḍasa*, is followed by a word which was read *marḍukasa*

¹ Cf. *Orientalische Zeitschrift* VIII, pp. 220 ff.

² *Arier und Ugrofinnen*, Göttingen, 1922, pp. 1061, 200.

³ Is it conceivable that the title *meridarkhes*, which is used in Greek inscriptions of the Selenoid age and sphere and in Egypt, is an adaptation of the Iranian title based on a popular etymology of the word? Cf. about this title Dr. F. W. Thomas, *Festschrift Hindisch*, pp. 362 ff.

by Cunningham and *marḍakasa* by Messrs. Boyer and Lüders, while M. Senart states that he cannot understand how Cunningham arrived at his reading of the second *akshara*. The *r*-loop is, however, quite distinct, and the upper part of the compound only differs from *ḍa* in having a short stroke to the left of the *op*. M. Boyer derives *marḍaka* from the base *mriḍ*, to be gracious, and takes it to be a designation of the following word *Kaṇishka*. He admits that we should rather expect an honorific title of a different kind, but thinks that the designation "compassionate" is well suited in the case of the famous protector of Buddhism. He also mentions, however, the possibility of explaining *marḍaka* as a patronymic.

So far as I can see, however, the reading *marḍaka* cannot be maintained. The short stroke at the top of the *akshara* is the characteristic which distinguishes *ḥha* from *ḍa*, and I have, therefore, thought¹ it necessary to read *marḥakasa* and explained² *marḥaka* as an older form of the Khotanī word *malysaki*, which occurs in the *Maitreyasamiti*,³ where it is used to render Sanskrit *grihapati*, the sixth of the *ratnas* of a *chakravartin*. The *grihapati* is characterized⁴ by the divine eye, through which he discerns hidden treasures and secures them for his master. *Marḥaka*, *malysaki* is derived from the Iranian base *marz*, corresponding to Sanskrit *mriḥ*, to touch, to clean, to rub, and evidently means an official who has to examine treasure, a tutor of treasure and coin.

If *marḥaka* is the same word as Khotanī *malysaki*, we must draw the conclusion that the *l* of the latter is derived from an older *r* and that the change of *r* to *l* in this and in similar cases is subsequent to the date of the Zeda inscription. That the Iranian tongue of the Khotan country underwent certain changes between the first centuries of the Christian era and the oldest texts in which it is found has been shown by Professor Lüders,⁵ and I can now add an example, which seems to be absolutely certain. The Khotanī postposition *bendī*, on, near, concerning, is found as *varṇti*, i.e., *vāṇdi*, in the Kharoshthī documents from Niya. We learn from this fact that the development of *ā* to *e* in this word took place after the second century, and also that the language to which *bendī* belongs was spoken in the southern oases at the time when the Niya documents were written.

The words following after *muroḍasa marḥakasa* are certainly *Kaṇishkasa rajami*, as seen by M. Senart, while Cunningham read the finale *mi* as *gam*. *Kaṇishka* is of course the well-known Kushāṇa emperor, and it seems necessary to infer that the preceding words *muroḍasa marḥakasa* are titles used to characterize him, for we know that there is not a single Kharoshthī inscription where the name of a ruler is used without any title being added. We should, of course, expect to find some of the usual designations, as in the contemporaneous Sue Vihār inscription, where *Kaṇishka* is styled *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*. But then it should be remembered that we have not before us an official record, but a private document, so that we need not expect to find the official titles. And we know that the title *murunḍa*, which I identify with *muro[n]ḍa*, was used in India long after *Kaṇishka*'s days, and *Kaṇishka*'s accession meant a considerable strengthening of the power of the Indo-Skythian rulers. The result would naturally be a strengthening of the national feeling of the Śakas, and it would be intelligible if national titles were used, at least in records drawn up at the request of Śaka individuals, as may have been the case with the Zeda inscription. There is, accordingly, nothing extraordinary in the use of the designation *murada* or *muroḍa*.

¹ *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801.

² *Ostasiat sche Zeitschrift* VIII, p. 230.

³ Ed. Leumann, Strassburg, 1919, p. 67.

⁴ Cf. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*. 2 éd. Paris, 1882, p. 29.

⁵ *S. B. A. W.*, 1919, pp. 763 ff.

The explanation of the second title *marjhaka* is more difficult. If my analysis of the word is right, it might characterize Kanishka as a ruler rich in treasure. Now we know that there was an Indian tradition¹ about four "sons of heaven", the rulers of India, China, the Yüeh-chi and the Roman empire, and the country of the Roman emperor was considered to abound in treasure. The title *marjhaka* might accordingly be used in order to convey the idea that Kanishka had won the wealth of the Roman empire, and as we know that the Roman title *Cæsar* itself is used, in addition to the common titles *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*, in the Āra inscription of Kanishka II, the use of *marjhaka* might be considered as the first step in that direction. We should, of course, like to know the reason for such a reference to the Roman empire in the two records, and expect it to be the result of a victorious war with the Roman armies. We do not, however, hear about any such thing having happened.

We know, on the other hand, that the Roman power in Asia was waning during the reign of Hadrianus (A.D. 117-138), who withdrew from Mesopotamia, which was then occupied by the Parthians. Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translation² further state that the king of the Parthians tried to close the West to Kanishka, who then defeated him. If Kanishka's date coincided with the reign of Hadrianus and if the tradition about a victorious-war with Parthia is based on fact, it would be conceivable that the idea of a ruler of a country abounding in treasure was transferred from the Roman to the Parthian emperor, and further, after Kanishka's triumph over the latter, to him, and that might be the reason for the use of the title *marjhaka* in our record and of the designation *kaisara* in the Āra inscription. It is at present impossible to make any definite statement. But, at all events, it seems to me that the terms *muroḍa* and *marjhaka* must be considered as titles characterizing King Kanishka.

What follows after *rajami* is the most difficult passage of the whole record. Cunningham read *dharya dadabhasa Idamukhastrape a de asa . . .*; M. Senart *..dadabhai da[na]mukha.[pe adhia] sa [daadaasa] ti [dha] . .*, and M. Boyer *[to]yadalabhai danamukha sapeadhia sasasushe sati vudhe*. He explained *sapeadhia* as a compound of *sapea*, which he identified with Pāli *sappāya*, and *dhia*, Sanskrit *dhiyā*, and saw in *sasasushe* a Sanskrit *sasyasosha*. He thus arrived at the translation: the gift of Usphama . . cha, a well for the obtainment of rain-clouds in the kingdom of the compassionate Kanishka, with the intention of making something salutary, after a drying up of the crops had set in.

I am unable to follow the French scholar in this interpretation. I have already remarked that the preceding portion of the inscription cannot be explained as done by him. And I do not know of any instances where a well was dug in order to obtain rain-clouds, in other words as a kind of magic. Moreover, it would be more natural to aim at producing rain than at attracting rain-clouds, and, finally, it may reasonably be doubted whether the word *lābha* would be used with *tōyada*, a cloud.

If we now turn to the plates, it seems to me that M. Boyer's reading is wrong in several places.

The first letter after *mi* runs up into a fissure in the stone, but seems indeed to be a *tu*. The lower part, it is true, seems to end in a curve opening towards the left, which evidently led Cunningham to read *dha*. There is, further, apparently a stroke projecting from the lower part towards the left and running into the next *akshara*. It may be the *o-mātrā*, and, with every reserve, I accept M. Boyer's reading *to*.

Then follows *ya*, but the right-hand stroke is clearly broken and then bent downwards, so that we must apparently read *yam*. The following *fakshara* is certainly *da*, and the whole word, therefore, seems to be *toyamda*. I do not know what to make out of this word. It may perhaps

¹ Cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1923, pp. 97 ff.

² Cf. Sylvain Lévi, J. A., IX, viii, 1896, pp. 444 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 381 ff.

mean some appliance for drawing water or some channel or feeder for conducting water to the well, but as long as even the reading is not certain, it is useless to try to fix the meaning.

The ensuing *akshara* cannot be *la*. It consists of an upper curve, continued downwards in a line which first projects towards the right, then ends in a knee with a vertical running down to the bottom. There is a faint cross-bar in the middle, which, however, seems to be accidental. So far as I can see, the only possibility is to read *cha*. If the cross-bar were not accidental, we might think of the shape of *chha* which is used in the Aśoka inscriptions and in Central Asian documents to denote the old Sanskrit *chh*, which is always carefully distinguished from the Prakrit *chh* derived from *ksh*, etc.¹ But there does not seem to be any reason for thinking that the thin stroke visible through the middle of the vertical really belongs to the *akshara*.

After this *cha* M. Boyer read *bhai*, but there is a distinct *u*-loop at the bottom of *bha*, and we must read *bhui*. This *bhui* cannot be anything else than Sanskrit *bhūyah*, and *toyānda* (3) *cha bhui* seems to be one of those parenthetical sentences which are sometimes met with in Kharōṣṭhī records.²

Then comes *daṇamukha*, the only word in the whole passage about which there cannot be any doubt.

The ensuing *akshara* was read *stra* by Cunningham, while M. Boyer saw in it a *sa*. It seems to me that the cross-bar is far too distinct to be accidental. On the other hand, I cannot follow Cunningham in reading *stra*, for the compound letter *sta* always has a straight vertical, while the main portion of our letter is a rounded line ending in a rounded bend to the left at the top, and another one to the right at the bottom. So far as I can see, it is exactly the same letter which stands at the beginning of l. 4 of the Sue Vihār inscription, where it is certainly *hi*. I therefore read *hi*, and I follow M. Boyer in taking the ensuing *akshara* as *pea*, reading accordingly *hipea* instead of his *sapea*.

I am not certain about the ensuing *aksharas*, which M. Boyer read *dhia*. There seems to have been a good deal of peeling off, and the result are some curious strokes at the top of the apparent *dhi* and at the bottom of the second letter. They seem, however, to be accidental and I accept M. Boyer's *dhia*, but I take the following *sa* to belong to the preceding letters and read the whole as *hipeadhiāsa*.

Now if we compare other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions mentioning the digging of wells,³ it will be seen that the person or persons at whose request the well was dug, are always mentioned. We must therefore, I think, necessarily infer that *hipeadhiāsa* is the name of a person. I cannot analyse this word or words. *Hipea* reminds us of Greek names such as Hippeos, Hippias and *Dhia* might be an adaptation of some Greek name. Cf. *Diya* in the Beshagar column inscription. It would not, however, be safe to make any definite statement about the etymology of the name. The only thing which seems to be certain is that *Hipeadhiāsa* is the name of the donor, perhaps a double name, *Hipea Dhiasa*, in which case *Hipea* should probably be considered as the genitive of a base *Hipe* or *Hipei*.

¹ This sign is only met with twice in later Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, viz., in an unpublished Mansehra inscription of the year 68 and on the Mathurā Lion Capital, where it has not, however, been recognized but been treated as a compound *sh* so that the word *palichhina*, Sanskrit *parichchhina*, has been read *palishhena*. There is no other instance where it could possibly have been used, all the other occurrences of *chh* representing the derived Prakrit sound, which was no doubt different from old *chh* and which I now transliterate as *ksh*.

² Cf. Lüders, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 650; *S. B. A. W.*, 1918, p. 763¹.

³ Muchai: *sahayana kue vashigana*; Mount Banj: *makaḍakaputrasa... kuo daṇamoho*; Pāja: *Aṇandaputrena Saṅghamitrena kue karite*; Shakardarra: *kuvo khadao Traṇivaḍṛjanasa... daṇamukho*; Āra: *khade kue Daṇafoṭena Poshapuris putr[e]sa*; Kala Sang: *[saha*]yaraṇa Pipalakhana tuo*; Margu: *kue saḥaya [raṇa*...] daṇana*.

The next letter is again *sa*, and then follows, so far as I can see, a *rva*, though it may be *ka* as read by Cunningham. In M. Senart's plate the right-hand hook of the letter has disappeared and the *akshara* runs into the following one, so as to produce the appearance of a *śu*, and the apparent *e*-stroke, which clearly belongs to the *akshara* following after *rva*, looks as if it belonged to the second one. The letter following after what I read as *rva* consists of a vertical bending at the top towards the left and provided with a cross-bar. The apparent *e*-mātrā protrudes below the upper bar and seems in reality to be an *i*. With every reserve I therefore read *sti*.

Then follows an unmistakable *va*. In M. Senart's plate it runs into the preceding *akshara*, and thus M. Boyer arrived at his reading *she*, without taking any notice of the unusual place of the *e*-mātrā. This *va* I take together with the next *akshara*, which I read *da*; cf. the shape of *d* in *di*, l. 1.

Then follows *ti*, and then two letters which M. Boyer read *vudhe*. The *u* of *vu* is not certain, and I prefer to read *va*. The stroke at the right-hand corner of *dhe* seems to me to be a flaw in the stone. I therefore read *vadha* and connect *vadha* with the ensuing *akshara*, which is certainly *sā* or *se*. I accordingly read *sarvastivadvadhase*.

Messrs. Senart and Boyer took the last *akshara* *sa* together with the two following ones, which they read as *putra*. The *pu* is certain, but the *tra* does not, so far as I can see, exist. If we compare the fourth *akshara* from the end in l. 3, which is certainly *tra*, it will be found to be quite different. It seems to me that a portion of the stone has peeled off in this place, to the right of the *u*-loop of *kshu* in l. 1. It was therefore left open, and the context goes on to the left of the *u*-loop, with an *akshara* which M. Boyer took to be *ba*, but which seems to me to be *ja*. The vertical has been bent to the right, so as to cover a portion of the open space, but the *ja* is, I think, easily recognizable.

Then follows *na*, with a sloping line running downwards from the middle of the vertical. M. Senart read the whole as *na*, while M. Boyer thought it necessary to read *npa*, a compound which is in itself very unlikely, and which would, at all events, scarcely look like our *akshara*, but be provided with an angular *pa*-hook. I take the letter to be *ne*, with the *e*-mātrā placed as in *Śakyamune* in the Wardak vase inscription. *Pujane* corresponds to Sanskrit *pūjanē*, in the honouring of, and is synonymous with the common *pujāe*.

The last three *aksharas* of l. 2 were read by M. Senart as *Liaka* and this, taken together with the letter *sa* at the beginning of l. 3, makes up the genitive *Liakasa*, which M. Boyer connected with his *soputrabanpa* into a compound *soputrabanpaliakasa*, to which he assigned the meaning "together with his sons Banpa and Liaka". Even if we were to accept the reading *banpa*, it seems to me that it would not be quite easy to follow M. Boyer in his analysis of the compound.

The name *Liaka* is also known from the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, the son of the Kshatrpa *Liaka* Kusuluka, and we should naturally infer that the *Liaka* of our inscription was a descendant of *Liaka* Kusuluka, the more so because he is evidently designated as a Kshatrpa. The reading of the word following after the first letter of l. 3 is not, it is true, certain, but there can be little doubt that it means "of the Kshatrpa". M. Senart read *chhaharasa* and M. Boyer *chhala-pasa*. The former was partly influenced by the Patika plate where Kusuluka *Liaka* is usually supposed to be designated as *Chhaharasa Chukhsasa cha chhatrapa*, Kshatrpa of Chhahara and Chukhsa. In my opinion, however, there cannot be any doubt that we must read *kshaharatasa*, there being room for two *aksharas* in the damaged portion at the end of l. 1. Moreover, M. Boyer was certainly right in reading the third *akshara* as *pa*. The second one is scarcely *ha*, and it is also different from *la*, the upper vertical standing more to the left than the lower one. There is, moreover, a stroke towards the right at the bottom. One might think of reading *ira*, but such a compound is scarcely possible. It is perhaps possible to assume that the engraver has misunder-

stood his draft and placed the upper vertical too far to the right, while *tra* was in reality intended. As there cannot well be any doubt about the meaning I would, therefore, with every reserve, read *ksha[tra]pasa*.

We are not in a position to decide the question about the nationality of the family of the Kshatrapa Liaka. If he was descended from the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka of the Patika plate, we should be inclined to think that he was a Śaka, because the date of the Patika plate is referred to the reign of the King Moga. The designation *Kusuluka* seems to indicate relationship with the Kushāpas, for *Kusuluka* is probably connected with the designation *Kujūla* used about the first Kadphises. We know from the coin-legend of Liaka Kusuluka that the second *u* of *Kusuluka* was long and that the *s* was pronounced with voice, for the Greek legend is *Kozoulo*, as on the coins or *Kujūla* Kadphises.

If the Kshatrapa Liaka was a descendant of Liaka Kusuluka, we should think that he ruled in the neighbourhood of Taxila, in which case his province may very well have included the present Zeda.

After *ksha[tra]pasa* M. Senart read *.pa..a.da.ta dana* and M. Boyer *thupa dhola unamita dana*. The latter translated the whole passage as follows : the gift of Chhalapa together with his sons Banpa and Liaka, a stūpa resplendent in whiteness and of great height. We should accordingly here have the record of the second donation mentioned in the inscription. Abstracting from the general objection to such an interpretation which I have already mentioned, I may draw attention to the curious arrangement which M. Boyer supposes to be followed in the enumeration of the gifts : first a well, then a resplendent stūpa, and thirdly, as we shall see, a temple servant. It would be difficult to find any logical reason for such an arrangement, and I agree with M. Sylvain Lévi¹ that we should expect the state of things to be different.

An examination of the plate will, moreover, so far as I can see, lead us to other results than those arrived at by M. Boyer, also in the passage following after *ksha[tra]pasa*.

The first *akshara* cannot possibly be *thu*. It consists of a rounded top, continued to the right in a vertical ending in a loop, which I follow M. Boyer in considering as an *u-mātrā*. There cannot, in my opinion, be any reasonable doubt about the nature of the letter : it is *u*, of the same kind as the *u* of *utaraphagune*, l. 1, only shorter, and the *u*-loop has not been continued up to the vertical. Then follows *pa*, as given both by M. Senart and by M. Boyer. The third *akshara*, on the other hand, cannot be *dho*. It consists of a broken vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and provided with the hook which we know from the usual *ka*. A similar break in the vertical is also found in one of the *kas* of the Mānikīāla silver desk, and similar forms occur in the Āra and Mānikīāla inscriptions and on the Kanishka casket. I think it necessary to read *ka*.

Then follows an *akshara* consisting of an upper curve connected with the lower part by a vertical. It is impossible for me to understand how it can be read otherwise than as *cha*. The next letter is clearly *a* and not *u*, there being no trace of an *u*-loop at the bottom, and I am unable to see how M. Boyer arrived at his reading *unamita*. The *a* is followed by a distinct *ma*, which M. Boyer leaves out of consideration. With regard to the next *akshara* M. Senart's reading *da* is clearly preferable to M. Boyer's *na*, even if we were to admit that the dental *na* were used in this place. The lower portion of *da* is, however, bent towards the left and I think that I can see traces of a complete *u*-loop. I therefore read *du*, and the following *akshara* cannot possibly be *mi*. It seems to me to be an unmistakable *ka*. Then follows *ta* as read by Messrs. Senart and Boyer. The whole passage accordingly runs : *upakachaamadū kata*. I analyse it as follows. In *upakachaa* I see the dative of *upakacha*, which consists of *upa* and the Prakrit word *kachcha*, which is given as a Dēśī word for *kārya* in the *Dēśīnāmamālā* ii. 2, and which corresponds to a

¹ Cinquantenaire de l'école pratique des hautes études. Mélanges publiés par les directeurs d'études de la section des sciences historiques et philologiques. Paris, 1921, pp. 91 ff.

Sanskrit *kritya*.¹ *Upakachaa* accordingly means "for the benefit of", and it should be connected with the ensuing *madu*, Sanskrit *mātuh*, of his mother.

Kata I take together with the following word, for which I unhesitatingly accept the reading *daṇa*.

The concluding portion of the inscription was read by M. Boyer as follows: *anuga punavar-dhase Saghamitrassa dana*, the gift of Saṅghamitra: a servant, in order to increase his merit. I have the same objections against this reading and interpretation which I have mentioned above: the improbability of a registering of many gifts in one and the same inscription, the absence of any intelligible reason for the arrangement of the three entries, and my inability to accept the suggested reading. It might also be questioned whether Sanskrit *punya* could become *puna* or *puṇa* in the dialect of the inscription. We should certainly expect *puṇa* as in the Kharōshthī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*.

The two first *aksharas* are certainly *anu*. M. Boyer draws attention to the shape of the ensuing *akshara ga*, which is turned towards the left and provided with a curve towards the right. He thinks that we are here faced with fissures in the stone. It seems to me, however, that such cannot be the case, and that we must read *gra*. *Anugra* might stand for *aṇuga*, with a spirantic pronunciation of *g*, but I have my doubts about the possibility of translating *aṇuga*, standing alone as it does, by "servant". Moreover, I think it necessary to connect *aṇugra* with what follows and here I cannot accept M. Boyer's reading *puna*, or, in my transliteration *puṇa*. There is no trace of an *u-mātrā*, and, so far as I see, the first *akshara* cannot be *pa*, but only *he*. The *akshara ṇa* next seems to have an *e-mātrā*, but I think that *ṇa* is intended. I therefore read *aṇagraheṇa*.

The following word seems to be *vardhase* as read by M. Boyer. M. Senart's plate favours this reading, while the *r* before *dh* is not distinguishable in my estampage. As stated by M. Boyer *vardhase* or *vadhase* may be an infinitive or the dative of a base *vardhas*.

The reading *Saghamitrassa dana* was established by Cunningham and accepted by his successors. I do not think it possible to read the letter after *tra* as *sa*. It is the same *ra* which we find in *rajanī*, l. 2. Nor can I see how the two last *aksharas* can be read *dana*. The first one cannot, I think, be anything else than *ṇa*, with a backward turn of the top, and the last one is evidently *sa*, turned back so as to avoid its running up into the *akshara* standing above it. A similar distorted *sa* is found before *Mira Boyaṇasa* in l. 4 of the Gudufara record, where its shape likewise seems to be due to considerations of space.

Who the *Saṅghamitrarāja* was, we cannot say. *Saṅghamitra* seems to be used as a title in the Jauliā inscription b, and it is conceivable that it is here used as an honorific designation of Kanishka. It is, however, more likely that *Saṅghamitrarāja* was some person connected with the place where the well was dug.

The date of the Zeda inscription is about one month later than that of the Sue Viḥār epigraph of the 28th Daisios Sam 11, the Macedonian month Daisios roughly corresponding to the Indian Jyāishṭha, the month preceding Āshāḍha. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the dating is fuller than is usually the case in Kharōshthī records, the name of the nakshatra Uttara-phalgunā being mentioned as current on the 20th Āshāḍha. Professor Jacobi has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that we can infer, from this statement, that the months were *pūrṇimānta* just as I have shown it to be the case in the calendar used in the Gudufara record.² The nakshatra Uttara-phalgunā belongs to the śukla paksha where it may occur between the 5th and 8th day.

¹ Cf. Fischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 284.

² See above Vol. XVIII, p. 272 f.

The *pūrṇimānta* reckoning was no doubt an ancient Indian one, while the counting of all the days of the month as a continuous series seems to be of foreign origin, as stated in my edition of the Gudufara record.

With regard to the era used in our inscription, it has never been doubted that it is the so-called Kanishka era, but there is no consensus of opinion about the nature and the initial point of that reckoning. I do not think that anybody would now be prepared to maintain, as was consistently done by the late Dr. Fleet, that Kanishka was the founder of the Vikrama era, after Sir John Marshall has succeeded in analysing the different strata of archaeological finds in ancient Taxila. He has conclusively proved that Kanishka succeeded the Kadphises kings.¹ Most scholars seem to be of opinion that Kanishka's accession marked the beginning of the Śaka era. Professor Rapson, the latest authority who has dealt more fully with the question, says:² "The evidence obtained by Sir John Marshall from his excavations of the ancient sites of Takshaśilā proves conclusively that the period of Kanishka's reign must have been somewhere about the end of the first century A.D., and a comparison of this evidence with the statements of Chinese historians and with the dates supplied by inscriptions makes it seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A.D."³

I fail to see how Sir John's description of his excavations can be explained as done by Professor Rapson. I may quote his own words:⁴ "The chronology of this period is very uncertain, but it seems probable that it was about 50 or 60 A.D. that Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus wrested the Kābul valley and Taxila from the Parthians, and a few years later that Kujūla was succeeded by Wima Kadphises, who consolidated and enlarged the empire which his predecessor had won. To about this period belong the coins of the nameless ruler commonly known as Soter Megas, who may have been a successor of Wima Kadphises—there seems to have been a break between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka.—Then followed, in the second century of our era, the great and powerful Kanishka, the most famous of all the Kushāns, and after him Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Kanishka made his winter capital at Purushapura, the modern Peshawar, and extended his conquests over a wide area, from Central Asia to the borders of Bengal, and it is probable that this empire was maintained intact by his immediate successors. The death of Vāsudeva probably occurred in the first half of the third century A.D."

I do not think that this statement can be reconciled with the assignation of the establishment of the Śaka era to Kanishka. On the other hand, it is in thorough agreement with what Professor Lüders remarks:⁵ "The exact determination of the era depends before all on the question whether we should identify the king of the Ta-Yüeh-chi Po-t'iao, who sent in the year 229 A.D. an embassy to China, with Vāsudeva, the successor of Huvishka."⁶ In that case the era would start at the earliest with 130 and at the latest with 168 A.D. None of the grounds which Oldenberg⁷ has

¹ According to M. Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.* XII, ii, 1923, p. 52, Kadphises is not a personal name, but derived from the name of the country which is variously called *Kapiśā*, *Kamboja*, etc.

² *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 583.

³ I shall not in this place enter into a discussion of M. Foucher's theory that the Śaka era is not originally a separate era but simply a continuation of the "Maurya" era, with omitted hundreds, because I have done so in my edition of the Gudufara record above, where I also hope to have shown that it is impossible to follow Professor Rapson in the conclusions he draws from the statements contained in Chinese historical tradition.

⁴ See *A Guide to Taxila*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 16 f., Sir John's latest account of his explorations.

⁵ *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, p. 830.—*Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1913, p. 137.

⁶ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, v, pp. 489 f.

⁷ *Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1911, pp. 427 ff. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1910-12, pp. 1 ff., especially pp. 17 f.

adduced against this supposition is decisive. On the other hand, the identification of Po-t'iao with Vāsudeva is, as observed by Chavannes, merely permissible and not necessary; besides there still remains the possibility that a later and another Vāsudeva is meant."

And, as a matter of fact, Sir John's statement agrees with everything that we know from Chinese sources.

It is a curious fact, which has often been commented on, that Kanishka's name never occurs in the historical books of the Chinese. It is difficult to think that such would have been the case, if he had ruled at a time when China was in contact with the Western Countries and received regular accounts of what was happening there, and it seems probable, therefore, that his time was subsequent to A.D. 125, when China was cut off from Eastern Turkistan,¹ where Kanishka's power, according to Hiuen-Tsang, made itself felt.

Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translations, on the other hand, more than once speak of Kanishka as a great and powerful ruler. Hiuen-Tsang, who tells us about his conquests, also quotes what pretends to be a prophecy of the Buddha, according to which Kanishka's accession was to take place in the year 400 of the Nirvāṇa. M. Sylvain Lévi has made it probable² that Hiuen-Tsang's source was the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. According to M. Foucher³ Kanishka reigned in the fifth century of the Maurya era, which was still in general use at the time of his accession. Later on, when the actual state of things was forgotten, and people no more knew anything about the Maurya era, which had, in the meantime been replaced by other reckonings, the memory of an interval of 400 years was still retained, but now this interval was referred to the era of the Nirvāṇa. I do not think it necessary to make further comments on this theory in this place, because there is not the slightest reason for believing in the existence of the Maurya era. But most scholars will unhesitatingly agree with M. Foucher that the tradition of an interval of 400 years between the Nirvāṇa and Kanishka is due to some sort of misunderstanding.

There are, as is well known, more than one estimate of the interval between the Buddha and Kanishka to be found in the Chinese Buddhist works.⁴ The biography of Vasubandhu places Aśvaghōsha, who was an older contemporary of Kanishka, in the sixth century of the Nirvāṇa, and, according to the *Saṃyuktaratnapitaka*, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 472, Kanishka was a contemporary of the Arhat K'i-ye-to, of whom we hear that he had left the world in the Buddha's time but reappeared seven hundred years afterwards in the kingdom of Ki-pin.⁵ This tradition, which is certainly older than Hiuen-Tsang, places Kanishka in the second century of our era.

In this connexion the statement found in the same work and quoted above, according to which Kanishka fought the Parthians, receives some additional significance as compared with the use of the title *marjhaka* in our inscription.

There are, moreover, some indications which seem to point to a considerable increase of the Kushāṇa power and a simultaneous strengthening of the national pride of the Indo-Skythians in the second century of our era. In the first place we find rulers using the same titles as the Kushāṇas in Eastern Turkistan, where even a Kushanasena is mentioned about this time. And secondly, some facts connected with the history of the Western Kshatrapas point to the same conclusion. I am speaking of the coins and inscriptions mentioning the name of Chashtana.

¹ Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 133.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 1016.

³ *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 510.

⁴ Cf. F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 646, 649, 1031, and the literature quoted by him.

⁵ Cf. Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, viii, 1896, p. 463; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 336.

According to Professor Rapson,¹ "all that is known as to the duration of Chashtana's reign, both as kshatrapa and mahākshatrapa, is that it must be included, together with the reign of his son Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, in the period limited by the years 46 and 72=A.D. 124 and 150." From the Andhau inscriptions² we know that his grandson Rudradāman was associated with him as rājan in Kāthiāwār in Śaka 52, i.e., A.D. 130. He cannot, accordingly, have been born much later than A.D. 90, and his father Ysamotika must have held sway about the time when the Śaka era was introduced.

Now the names of Chashtana and Ysamotika point to the conclusion that they were of the same nationality as the Śakas and Kushānas. Dr. Morgenstierne tells me that, according to Professor Andréas, *Chashtana* is evidently identical with Pashto *chashtan*, a master, and the name Seistanhas, up to the present day, preserved the memory of ancient Śaka settlements in Afghānistān.³ And *Ysamotika* is derived from the word *ysama*, earth, which is well known from documents and books written in the Iranian language of the southern oases of Chinese Turkistan.⁴

Now Ysamotika's name only occurs in the inscriptions and coin-legends of his successors. One coin, which has now disappeared, has, it is true, been ascribed to him, but Professor Rapson is no doubt right in thinking⁵ that it was in reality a coin of Chashtana with the name of his father only legible in the inscription. *Ysamotika*, however, is practically synonymous with *Bhūmaka*, and I quite agree with M. Sylvain Lévi⁶ in thinking that the two names designate one and the same person, *Bhūmaka* being only a barbaric Sanskrit translation of the real name.

Now we must recall the state of things prevailing when *Bhūmaka* entered on the stage. Vikramāditya had long ago replaced the Śaka rulers in Central India. A national era had been introduced, which had even been used by the Śaka Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, and Indian notions had gradually reasserted themselves. If *Bhūmaka* were one of the first governors appointed after the Śaka re-conquest in A.D. 78, it would be natural for him to adopt an Indianized name, though he was a *Kshaharada*, i.e., was, in some way, connected with the line of Liaka Kusuluka.⁷ The use of the title *rājan* by Nahapāna, who is also designated *Kshaharāta*, Chashtana and his successors, may be due to similar considerations.

The state of things became different with or during the rule of Chashtana. He reintroduced the national name of his father, and this fact becomes easily intelligible if we assume that the power of his nation was essentially increased in his days. It is not necessary to assume that this increase began in India itself. If M. Sylvain Lévi was right in explaining⁸ Chen-t'an Ki-ni-ch'a of the *Sūtrālanākāra* as Kanishka, king of Khotan, it is conceivable that Kanishka started on his career in Eastern Turkistan, after the Chinese had lost their hold on the country, and that these events were rumoured in India and awakened the national pride of the Śakas, this awakening being reflected in the introduction of the name *Ysamotika* instead of the Indianized *Bhūmaka* in the inscriptions and coin-legends of Chashtana.

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty.* London, 1908, pp. cxii ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 19 ff.

³ Cf. The important paper contributed by Dr. F. W. Thomas to the *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 181 ff.

⁴ Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 406 ff., where attention is also drawn to the curious use of the compound *ys* in order to denote the voiced *s*.

⁵ *l.c.*, p. 71.

⁶ *Journ. Asiat.*, XI, v, 1915, p. 1919; cf. Konow, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 814.

⁷ *kshaharada*, *kshaharāta* can of course be a title or the name of a family.

⁸ *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, viii, 1896, pp. 452 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 354 f.

Now we know that Chashtana's capital was Ujjayinī and that his name was known to Ptolemy. After Kanishka had consolidated his power in India he would naturally enter into relations with the Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī. Now Ujjayinī was the centre of the scientific study of astronomy after new methods which were taken over from the Greek astronomers. The results of this study are laid down in the Siddhāntas, and if the late Dr. Thibaut was right in thinking¹ that these works may very well be based on some Greek source older than Ptolemy, I do not see any reason against applying their methods to the date of the Zeda inscription, in order to settle the question about the initial point of its era by calculating which year or years fulfil the condition : Āshāḍha 20 coupled with Uttara-phalgunā.

I have therefore asked my Dutch friend, Dr. W. E. van Wijk, to examine the date in the light of the Siddhāntas. I have taken it for granted that Kanishka's accession cannot be dated earlier than the initial point of the Śaka era and not much later than A.D. 135. I have therefore formulated the question as follows : in which year during the period A.D. 89 to A.D. 150 did the 20th Āshāḍha coincide with Uttara-phalgunā.

Dr. van Wijk has discussed the question in the *Acta Orientalia*,² and I shall, in this place, only summarize the results of his calculations. If these are made according to the system of the *Sūryasiddhānta* and the equal space system, seven years during the period would answer the conditions, viz., the expired Kaliyuga years 3191, 3216, 3221, 3229, 3240, 3246 and 3248.

This result is not very encouraging. I have, however, already mentioned that we possess a second record, from the same neighbourhood, with the same details regarding the date as in our epigraph, viz., the Und inscription of the year 61, where the 8th Chaitra is coupled with the nakshatra Pūrvāshāḍha.

Applying the same methods to this date, Dr. van Wijk finds that the choice is, in this case, much more limited. It is, of course, sufficient to examine the state of things in the seven years coming 50 years after those which were found to be possible equivalents to the Zeda date. And among these only three years fulfil the condition : Chaitra 8 coupled with Pūrvāshāḍha, viz., the expired Kaliyuga years 3241, 3279 and 3296.

If it is allowed to calculate the dates of the Kanishka era at the hand of the *Sūryasiddhānta*, its initial date would accordingly fall in one of the years A.D. 79, 117 or 134. Dr. van Wijk has reckoned with current years. If the years were expired, the corresponding years would be 78, 116 and 133 respectively.

Dr. van Wijk has further calculated the two dates according to the system of the first *Āryasiddhānta*. His result is that in that case only the expired Kaliyuga years 3229 and 3279 fulfil the conditions required by the Zeda and the Und inscriptions respectively. He therefore thinks that, according to the equal space system, this latter correspondence is most acceptable.

In his second paper, however, he maintains, that the equal space system is a late and artificial one, and that we must, therefore, reckon with unequal spaces. He arrives at the result that June 19 A.D. 139 is the only date which fulfils the conditions of the Zeda record, and February 26 A.D. 189 those of the Und inscription. The initial date of the Kanishka era would accordingly be A.D. 128-129. Such a dating would explain the absolute silence about Kanishka in Chinese historical sources, which seems to show that his accession cannot be placed before A.D. 125. It would follow that the earliest known date of Vāsudēva corresponds to the rainy season A.D. 202, and the latest one to the rainy season A.D. 226, in which case Vāsudēva can very well be identical with Po-t'iao, whose embassy is stated to have reached China in A.D. 229.

¹ *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, pp. 45 ff.

² Vol. III, pp. 83 ff. ; V, pp. 168 ff.

I now give my reading and translation of the record.

TEXT.

1. Sañ 10 aśaḍasa masasa di 20 uttaraphaguṇe iśe kṣuṇami
2. khade kue [mu]roḍasa marjhakasa Kanishkasa rajami [to]yaṁda cha bhui
daṇamukha Hipea Dhiasa sarvastivadativadhase pujaṇe Liaka-
3. sa kṣa[tra]pasa upakachaa mad[u] kṛta daṇa aṇugraheṇa va[rḍha]se Sa-
ghamitrarajasa

TRANSLATION.

Anno 10, on the 20 day of the month Āśāḍha, in Uttaraphalgunī, at this instant this well was dug, in the reign of the lord, the master of treasure Kanishka,—and further a “watergiver”—as the gift of Hipe Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, in honouring of the Kshatrpa Liaka, for the benefiting of his mother; the gift was made by the favour and for the increase of Saṁghamitrarāja.

No. 2.—BARAH COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJADEVA; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 893.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

This copper-plate, as the District Magistrate of Cawnpore wrote to the Director General of Archaeology in India, while forwarding it for examination, was discovered on the 17th of March 1925 in the house of one Muhammad Baqar when the foundations of a new house were being dug up in the village of Barah which is said to have been inhabited during the Mughal period and lies on the south side of the main road from Cawnpore to Kalpi at a distance of 23 miles west-south-west from the District Head-Quarters and 4 miles east of Akbarpur with which it is connected by a branch metalled road. It measures 23½" by 16½", being ⅓" thick and weighs 1,250 tolas. The three big holes drilled at the left side of the plate show that there must have been a seal attached to it, though it is not forthcoming now. The plate was thoroughly cleaned under the direction of the Director General of Archaeology in India and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. I edit the record from the original plate as well as from the excellent estampages kindly supplied to me by Sir John Marshall the Director General of Archaeology in India. Only one side of the plate is inscribed, there being 16 lines of writing on it. The size of the letters which are well shaped and deeply cut averages from 1" to ½" in height, and ¾" to ⅝" in breadth. The record is written in the Nāgarī script of the period and in Sanskrit prose, excepting a somewhat defective śloka at the end (ll. 15-16) which gives the name of the Dūtaka.

There are no orthographical peculiarities worth noting excepting the use of the *upadh-māniya* in ll. 7 and 12 and the usual employment of *va* for *ba* as well as the doubling of *t* before *ra* as in *puttra* (l. 3). The year when the grant under notice was issued is given in l. 16 where it is expressed by letters or letter numerals and a numerical figure. That it is 893 of the Vikrama era is pretty certain but the way in which it is written does not appear to be so. As put down here it would read *samvatsrō hrā* (i.e.) 9083. The *t* in the ligature *tsrō* should go with *samvat* and the symbol *srō* be taken as representing hundred like the old symbol ५. The next symbol undoubtedly represents 8. Thus, I think, the year should be read¹ as *samvat* 100×8 (i.e. 800) 90 3 (i.e., 893).

The object of the inscription is to record that Bhōjadēva granted the *agrahāra* called Valākāgrahāra which lay in the Udumbara-vishaya of the Kālāñjara-maṇḍala in the Kanyakubja-bhukti to the Brāhmaṇa born of the family of Bhaṭṭa-kāchāra-avāmin who

¹ I have read it in consultation with Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha.

belonged to the Bharadvāja-gōtra and was a student of the Vājasaneyā-śākhā, with all its income barring such as had already been granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas. The document would show that the original grant was issued by *srī-Śarvvavarmmadēva* and sanctioned by *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadēva*. It would further show that, owing to the incapacity of the controlling officer (*Vyavahārin*) in the reign of *Rāmabhadradēva*, it was disturbed for some time and Bhōjadēva, the grandson of Nāgabhaṭadēva, revived it on the old terms in the year 893 of the [Vikrama era] on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika which corresponds to Wednesday, 18th October, A.D. 836.

The charter was written by Rudraṭa, the *Dūtaka* being Bālāditya who was the son of Rājyabhaṭṭārikā. I have already stated that the donor of the grant was Bhōjadēva, the son of Rāmabhadradēva and the grandson of Nāgabhaṭadēva. That he was the Gurjara Pratihāra king of Kanauj is too clear to require demonstration. The genealogy¹ given in the document is too strong a proof to require further support. The point worth consideration is the identity of the Śarvvavarmman spoken of in the document. We are told that the grant made by this chief was confirmed by Nāgabhaṭadēva. This statement would make Śarvvavarmman to be the contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa who flourished *cir.* 816² A.D. The fact that he is described as a *Paramēśvara* would show that he was a subordinate prince. The epithet of *Paramēśvara* reminds us of Śarvvavarmman, the Maukhari king who is likewise called *Paramēśvara* in the Asīrgaḍh³ Seal inscription. But the identification depends on the contemporaneity of the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa. The Maukhari Śarvvavarmman, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴ was the son of Īśānavarmman, who flourished about the year 611 of the Vikrama era, that is, *cir.* 554 A.D., and that he ruled about the last quarter of the sixth century of the Christian era or some two hundred years before Nāgabhaṭa, the ambitious Pratihāra ruler who confirmed the grant. So Śarvvavarmman of this inscription cannot be the homonymous prince of the Maukhari dynasty; nor can we identify him with the Śarvvavarmma-Mahārāja of the Nirmaṇḍa⁵ grant of Samudrasēna or other rulers of the same name who came long before him. The only prince whose identification will fit in with this chief, as far as I am aware, is the one mentioned in the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha which have recently been published in this journal.⁶ The contents of this valuable document have been fully dealt with by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. It tells us that Gōvinda III, perhaps the most remarkable Rāshtrakūṭa king who flourished *cir.* 793-815, vanquished Nāgabhaṭa of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, who was the son of Vatsarāja or the father of Rāmabhadradēva and the grandfather of Bhōjadēva, the donor of the grant under notice. Further, it informs us that the same Rāshtrakūṭa king after his victorious return from the north came to the Narmadā on whose banks, at the foot of the Vindhyas, he temporarily settled in the kingdom of a petty ruler called Mahārāja-Śarvan. It was here that a son was born to him who was called Amōghavarsha *alias* Mahārāja-Śarvan. Māraśarva, as has been remarked by Prof. Bhandarkar, is the same as Mahārāja-Śarvan and the Śrībhavana of the Radhanpur plates of Gōvinda III must have been his capital.⁷ To which dynasty this prince belonged, we are not told in any of these inscriptions. But that he must have been an important ruler seems to be clear. Our charter shows that he must have held sway over the tract around Kālāñjara where the *agrahāra* or the Brāhmaṇa village Valāka (or Valākā) lay, otherwise he could not have made a gift of it. That he was a tributary of Nāgabhaṭa can safely be surmised from the fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the latter.

¹ For the genealogy of this dynasty see Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 10, and the *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, pp. 277 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 100.

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, (4th ed.), p. 393; Konow: *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 200.

³ Fleet: *C. I. I.*, p. 219.

⁴ Fleet: *C. I. I.*, p. 290.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 241, and Vol. VI, p. 250.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 113-4.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

Subsequently, when his liege lord, namely Nāgabhaṭa, was routed by the mighty Rāshtrakūṭa king he, 'driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate his mind by choice heirlooms such as the Rāshtrakūṭa king had never received before and feet by prostrations.'¹ About the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian era, the throne of Kanauj passed from one ruler to another very quickly. After Vajrāyudha, came Indrāyudha who was dethroned about 810 A.D. by Dharmapāla king of Bengal and was succeeded by Chakrāyudha who 'was consecrated with the consent of the kings of all the neighbouring states.'² About 816 A.D. he was dethroned by Nāgabhaṭa the Gurjara Pratihāra king. Śarvvavarman, apparently, must have taken advantage of the situation and extended his territories towards the north, but had to submit to Nāgabhaṭa, when that ruler conquered Kanauj. Nāgabhaṭa was worsted by Gōvinda III, but Bhōja, his grandson, was the undisputed master of Kanauj at the time to which our charter belongs. So, in both the cases, that is in the time of Nāgabhaṭadēva as well as Bhōjadēva, confirmation of the grant by the liege lords was necessary. That the grant was impeded, as remarked above, during the reign of Rāmaḥadradēva would lead us to surmise that the rule of this king was not free from turmoil.

As stated above, the grant is dated 893 of the [Vikrama]-Samvat i.e. 836 A.D. So this copper-plate carries the long period of the rule of Bhōjadēva back to some four years and becomes the earliest known dated document of his time.

Besides the donor, his ancestors and the donee, the grant mentions **Bālāditya**, the son of Rājyabhaṭṭārikā, and also Rudraṭa. No details being given about them, their identity remains obscure. Rudraṭa like the names Mammaṭa, Jayyāṭa, Kaiyyāṭa, etc., seems to be a Kashmiri appellation. The word प्रयुक्त would show that he acted as a herald in reading out the *śāsana* of Bhōjadēva.

It may be remarked here that this charter also employs the territorial terms *bhukti*, *maṇḍala* and *vishaya* in the same sense in which they are used in charters like the Nālandā copper-plate³ of Dēvapāladēva.

The localities mentioned in this charter are these: Mahōdaya, Kanyakubja, Kālāñjara, Udum(vb)ara and V(B)alākāgrahāra. Of these, Mahōdaya, as herein described, was a *skandhāvāra* or camp only and was not identical with Kanyakubja (or Kānyakubja) for that is mentioned separately. Generally, Mahōdaya is taken to be a synonym of Kanauj or Kanyakubja, but our charter clearly shows that it cannot always be taken as such. Fleet⁴ was perfectly right when he remarked that the epithet of *skandhāvāra* or camp could not have been an appropriate one for a *rājadhānī*, like Kanauj, and that there must have been several Mahōdayas. Kanyakubja and Kālāñjara are the modern Kanauj and Kālāñjara respectively. Valāka, (or Valākā), the *agrahāra* village which was the object of the grant, and Udumbara, the head-quarters of the district (*vishaya*) where it was situated, I have not been able to locate definitely.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति । श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानेकनौहस्त्वश्वरथपत्तिसम्पन्नस्कन्धा-
वारात्परमवैष्णवो
- 2 महाराजश्रीदेवशक्तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः
परममाहेश्वरो

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 250.

² Above, XVII, pp. 310 ff.

³ From the original as well as the impressions.

⁴ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 393.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 111.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 महाराजश्री[व]त्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीकृष्णदेव्यानुत्पन्नः परम¹-
गवतीभक्तो
- 4 महाराजश्री[ना]गभट्टदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमदीशदेव्यानुत्पन्नः
परमादित्यभक्तो
- 5 महाराजश्रीरामभट्टदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीसङ्ख्यारूपदेव्यानुत्पन्नः परम¹-
गव-
- 6 लीभक्तो महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ श्रीकृष्णकुम्भभक्तो । श्रीकृष्णरमणलाल-
- 7 ंपाति उदु(स्व)रविषयस(स्व)द्वलाकाग्रहारे समुपगतान्मूर्ध्नि यथास्था-
- 8 वनियुक्तान्प्रतिवासिनश्च समाज्ञापयति । उपरिलिखिताग्रहारस्य-
- 9 र्व्यायसमेत आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिकालमूर्ध्वदत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः परमेश्वरश्री-
- 10 शर्ववर्मादेवशासनं । महाराजश्रीनागभट्टदेवानुमतिश्च² दृष्ट्वा भागश्च महा-
- 11 राजश्रीरामभट्टदेवराज्ये व्यवहारिणी त्रैलोक्याल्लिखित्वाकम्बिकृतं ज्ञात्वा स-
- 12 या पित्रो ऽ पुण्याभिवृद्धयै । भरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिभट्टकाच-
- 13 रस्त्रास्यन्वयज्ञब्राह्मणानामन्तरा विच्छेदसप्रमाणीकृत्य घ्राग्नागक्रमेणैवो-
- 14 त्सङ्कलित इति विदित्वा भवद्भिस्समनुमेन्तव्यः प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञाश्रवण-
विधेयैर्भूत्वा स]र्वा-
- 15 या एषास्समुपनीया³ इति ॥ रुद्रटेन प्रयुक्तस्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः ।
कृतको बालादि-
- 16 त्योच्च राज्यभट्टारिकासुतः ॥ सम्वत्⁴ १०० (X) ८ (-८००) ८० ३ (i.e. ८८३)
कार्तिक शुदि ५ निवर्ष ।

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail ! From the camp furnished with a number of ships, elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers and situated at the prosperous **Mahōdaya**—(there was) the illustrious **Mahārāja Dēvasāktiḍēva**, a most devout worshipper of God Viṣṇu ; his son born of **Bhūyikāḍēvi** was the illustrious **Mahārāja Vatsarāja**, who meditated on his (father's) feet and was a most devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara ; his son, born of **Sundarīḍēvi**, was the illustrious **Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭadēva** who was greatly devoted to (the goddess) Bhagavatī and a meditator on the feet of his (father) ; his son who meditated on his feet was the illustrious **Mahārāja Rāma-bhadrādēva** born of **Isatāḍēvi** and much devoted to Āditya (the Sun-god) and his son born of **Appādēvi** was the illustrious **Mahārāja Bhōjadēva** who, a meditator on his (father's) feet, was the great worshipper of (the goddess) Bhagavatī—(he, i.e., Bhōjadēva) (thus) commands all the residents and the officers appointed to their respective posts, that have assembled at the *agrahāra*

¹ We may read परस् for the sake of uniformity.

² It was first correctly read by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.

³ Read ष्वत् स.

⁴ See *supra* p. 15.

of **Valakā** (or **Balakā**) attached to the **Udumbāra** district which is included in the subdivision of **Kālanjara** in the division of **Kanyakubja** :—

Seeing the *śāsana* of the illustrious **Paramēśvara Śarvvavarmmadēva** and the approval of the illustrious **Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadēva** and finding that the allotment was, for the time being, obstructed through the incapacity of a legal officer during the reign of the illustrious **Mahārāja Rāmabhadradēva**, the above-mentioned *agrahāra* together with all the income, exclusive of all the gifts already granted for gods and Brāhmaṇas, has been given away by me to endure as long as the Moon, the Sun and the Earth exist, for the increase of the merit of my parents, to the Brāhmaṇas born of the family of **Bhaṭṭa-kāchāra-svāmin** of the **Bhāradvāja-gotra** and the **Vājasaneyā-śākhā**, after having rejected the obstruction (of the grant) which took place for some time, and in accordance with the same old apportionment. Thus understanding, you should assent to it; the residents (of the village) also being obedient on hearing the order should take all the dues to these donees.

Here, **Bālāditya**, the son of **Rājyabhaṭṭārikā**, was the *dūtaka* of the *śāsana* of long duration which was brought into force by **Rudraja**.

Composed on the **fifth day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika in the Samvatsara 393.**

No. 3.—MAMDAPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF KANHARA: SAKA 1172.

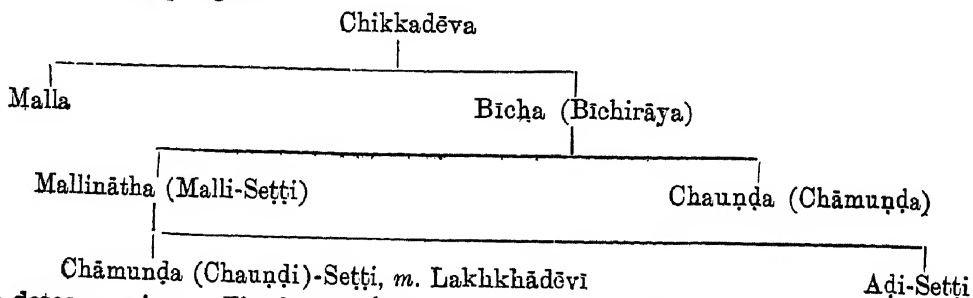
BY LIONEL D. BARNETT.

There are several towns or villages bearing the name of Mamdāpūr (“Muhammad’s Town”) in the Bombay Presidency; but the **Mamdāpūr** where the present inscription was found is a village in the **Gōkāk tāluqa** of Belgaum District lying in lat. 16° 6′ and long. 74° 59½′. On the Indian Atlas, sheet 41, the name is spelt “Mumdapoor.” The inscription was found on a well-preserved stone tablet built into the wall on the left hand inside the local temple of **Basavēśvara**, and is 3 ft. 11½ in. high by 2 ft. 7½ in. wide. There is no information as to sculptures. The text is here edited from an ink-impression prepared for the late Dr. Fleet and now preserved in the British Museum.—The character is a very good and typical Kanarese hand of the period, upright and decorative, but becoming at the end somewhat crabbed as the mason became tired with his long task. The average height of the letters in the first two lines is about ½ in., and then gradually decreases to about ⅔ in. The cursive forms of *m*, *y*, and *v* are all found. That of *y* occurs only 4 times altogether; the others are much commoner, that of *m* being found 19 times and that of *v* 8 times in lines 1-10 alone. The curious little hook on the top of a letter which seems to denote a short *u*, and to which I have called attention in dealing with the **Mādagihāl** inscription (Vol. XV, p. 316), appears in ll. 51, 54, 55, and 64; it is not certain whether we should read *koṭṭar* or *koṭṭaru* in ll. 52 f. and *Āḍi-setṭiyar* or *Āḍi-setṭiyaru* in ll. 53 f., where the hook on top of the *r* looks like the ordinary *virāma*.—The language in ll. 1-46, which are mostly in verse, is Sanskrit; ll. 47-66 are in Kanarese prose, of the early mediæval dialect. After *r* consonants are usually (but not invariably) doubled, and *v* is changed to *b* (e.g. *sarbbā*, l. 5). In the Sanskrit we may note the word *jagajjhampa* (l. 19), on which see Dr. Fleet’s note above, Vol. XII, p. 251, and in the Kanarese *vajra-baisaniga* (l. 62), *kambha*, *baṇaba* (?), and *haraḷ* (l. 65), and *nūle* (l. 66), on which see *in loco*.

The matter of the inscription is as follows. After paying homage to Śiva-Chandraśekhara (v. 1), Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation (v. 2), and Śiva-Pārvatī (v. 3), and describing the ocean, Mēru, Jambū-dvīpa (v. 4), Bhārata-varsha, the kingdom of **Kuntala**, in the latter the province of **Kūṇḍi** (v. 5), a town in the latter, which was the first of a Thirty (v. 6)

and in the vernacular was named **Kurumbetṭa** (v. 7), it proceeds to extol the **Yadu** race and its scion the **Yādava** king **Bhillama** (v. 8), his son **Jaitugi [I]** and his son **Simhaṇa** (v. 9), of whom the last-named is here said to have been a patron¹ to **Bhōja** and overcome **Arjuna**, the **Gūrjaras**, **Māgadhas**, **Chōlas**, **Gauḍas**, the **Turaga-pati** (i.e. the **Aśva-pati**), and **Ballāla** (v. 10), **Simhaṇa**'s son **Jaitugi [II]** (v. 11), and the latter's son **Kanhara**, who is now reigning after overthrowing his enemies and restoring the Vedic religion (vv. 12, 13), with his younger brother **Mahādēva** as Heir-Apparent (v. 14). Then comes a prose *prasaṣti* of **Kanhara** (ll. 18-20), giving him his usual titles, and stating that he had conquered the **Mālavas** and **Gūrjaras**, that he was suzerain to the **Tailāṅga** king, and that he was reigning at **Dēvagiri**. Next we are introduced to one of his great officers. The minister **Bīcha**, son of **Chikkadēva**, subdued, for his master **Kanhara**, the lands from **Himālaya** to **Sētu** and enjoyed half the kingdom; his eldest son was **Malla** (vv. 15, 16). **Malla**'s son **Chāmuṇḍa** conquered the **Pāṇḍya** kingdom, the **Koṅkaṇ**, the region around the **Kāvēri**, and other lands (vv. 17, 18). **Chāmuṇḍa**'s preceptor is **Vāgīśvara**; his wife is **Lakṣhādēvi** (vv. 19, 20); and he has set up many images of **Śiva** (v. 21). Then follows a prose *prasaṣti* of **Chāmuṇḍa** (ll. 30-38), which states that he suppressed the arrogance of the haughty **Hoysala** emperor **Sōmēśvara** and that besides setting up a "sapphire *līṅga*" in a certain "white temple" he consecrated in the **Trikūṭa-prasāda** of **Kurumbetṭa** two *līṅgas* of **Śiva** and an image of **Mādhava**, in the name of his father **Mallinātha** (**Malla**) and his brother **Dēva-Setṭi**, in the **Śaka year** (elapsed) 1172, and determined to give this sanctuary into the charge of an eminent divine. This divine is **Vimalaśiva** or **Vimalaśambhu**, disciple of **Bhūśaṅkara**, disciple of **Tryambakēśa**, in the succession of **Lakṣhādhyāna**, a sage in the spiritual lineage going back to the mythical **Durvāsas** (vv. 23-27). A prose passage gives the praises of **Vimalaśiva** (ll. 43-45), and a verse states that the gift was duly made (v. 28). Now comes a series of prose details of endowments to this sanctuary (ll. 47-66), the first of which mentions a former foundation in **Śaka** 1167 by **Āḍi-Setṭi**, a son of **Malli** (ll. 47-48), who now gives the village of **Sabbetṭa** (ll. 53-54). Prominent among the donors is the guild of merchants (**Baṇaṇju**, on whom see above, Vol. XVI, p. 332), among whom **Chāmuṇḍa** was a shining light (ll. 56-65).

As regards the **Yādava** kings and their exploits here mentioned, it is sufficient to refer to *Dynast. Kanar. Distr.*, pp. 518-27, and *Bombay Gaz.*, I. ii. pp. 239 ff., 243, 245. The family of **Setṭis** descended from **Chikkadēva** figures also in the inscriptions published in *J. Bo. Br. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, pp. 25 ff., 42 ff., Vol. XV, pp. 383 ff., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 304, and *PSOCI*, No. 21 (cf. above, Vol. VII, App., Nos. 351, 357), and from these sources we can establish the following pedigree:—



Two dates are given. The first is **Śaka** 1172 elapsed, **Sādhārana**; **Vaiśākha kṛi. 5**; **Saturday** (ll. 35-36). This is practically correct, for the *tithi* specified, if calculated by "true" *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, ended 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise on **Friday, 22 April, A.D. 1250**, i.e. 1.33 A.M. on Saturday morning. The late Mr. R. Sewell², who with his usual kindness

¹ [The context would show him to be his enemy. *Ambhōjāta* or *ambhōja* does not necessarily signify moon-lotus or water-lily. —Ed.]

² [This and the following article were contributed several years before the sad death of this veteran scholar. See above Vol. XVIII, p. 261 f. n. 1. —Ed.]

verified my calculations in this paper, informs me that the result is practically the same by the *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi* and the "true" *Ārya-Siddhānta*, and that by the mean system of the latter the date was quite regular. The second date is Śaka 1167, Viśvāvasu ; Pushya ba. 8 ; Monday ; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* (l. 47). This is utterly irregular. If the Southern Cycle is intended, the *tithi* corresponded to Friday, 12 January A.D. 1246, and the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred on Monday, 25 December, A.D. 1245. If we emend Viśvāvasu to Krōdhur, the result is slightly more satisfactory, giving the *tithi* in connection with Saturday, 24 December, A.D. 1244, and the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* would then fall on Sunday, 25 December ; but this solution hardly commends itself. The result is no happier if we try the Northern Cycle, in which Viśvāvasu corresponded with Śaka 1164 current ; and Mr. Sewell tells me that calculations by the *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi* and both the true and the mean *Ārya-Siddhānta* shew similar discrepancies.

The geographical names mentioned are : the kingdom of Kuntala (l. 7) ; the Three-thousand of Kūṇḍi (ll. 8, 61) ; Kuṛumbetṭa, an "immemorial town of the Baṇaṇjus," which gave its name to a *kampana* of 30 towns (ll. 10, 34 f., 48, 54, 61, 65) ; Dvārāvati (l. 18) ; Dēvagiri (l. 20) ; the Sētu (Adam's Bridge) and Himālaya (l. 22) ; the Koṅkaṇ (l. 24) ; the river Kāvērī (l. 24) ; Huligere (l. 36) ; Sabbetṭa, in Kuṛumbetṭa (l. 54) ; Bāgavāḍi (l. 55) ; Aghapaṭṭi (l. 57) ; Ahichchhattra (l. 58) ; Ayyāvale (l. 59), and Kākatyabāḍa (l. 64), besides the kingdoms of the Gūrjaras (ll. 13, 19), Māgadhas (l. 14), Chōlas (l. 14), Gaudas (l. 14), Mālavas (ll. 19, 44), Tailāngas (l. 19), and Pāṇḍyas (l. 23). On Kūṇḍi see Dr. Fleet's note in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 278 ff. Kuṛumbetṭa seems to be the village styled "Kurbet" in the *Bombay Postal Directory*, "Shindi Kurbet" on sheet 247 of the Bombay Survey, and "Kooreebet" on sheet 41 of the Indian Atlas, which lies in lat. 16° 12½' and long. 74° 50'. Its Sanskrit name (ll. 9-10) is mutilated ; only the ending *-giri* is legible. Dvārāvati is the modern Dwārka in Kāthiāwār, and Dēvagiri is now Daulatābād, in the Nizam's Dominions. Huligere is Lakshmēshwar, in lat. 15° 7' and long. 75° 31'. Ahichchhattra and Ayyāvale are several times mentioned in connection with the Baṇaṇjus : cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 332. Bāgavāḍi (now Bāgewāḍi) is the "Bagehwarree" of the Indian Atlas, which shews it in lat. 16° 18' and long. 74° 47½'. Aghapaṭṭi, which also had some connection with the cult of the Baṇaṇjus, seems to be no longer traceable.¹ Kākatyabāḍa is possibly Kākti, in Sāngli State.

TEXT.²

[Metres : vv. 1, 11, 14, 20, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 3, *Śikharinī* ; vv. 4, 5, 10, 15-18, 21, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 6, 9, 12, 22, 23, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 8, 25, *Mālinī* ; v. 13, *Āryā* ; v. 19, *Trishṭubh* ; v. 24, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 26, *Rathōddhatā* ; v. 27, *Gīti* ; v. 28, *Praharṣiṇī*. V. 7 is apparently *Āryā*, but the text is imperfectly preserved.]

- 1 ॐ Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chāndra-chāmara-chāravē |
trailōkya-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*]
- 2 Sthirā yad-damṣṭr-āgrē nivasati tadya-dyuti-chayō Hiranyāksha-sparśa-
prabhava-durita-dhvaṁsana-dhiyā | vi-
- 3 yaṁ(ya)d-Gaṁgā-pūrē dhruvam=iva³ vigāhaṁ vidadhati(tē) Hariḥ krōḍa-kriḍaḥ
sa jayati yati-stutya-vibhavaḥ || [2*] Jayaty=ā-kalpa-śrī-kalita-kamanīy-
āmrita-ka[ra]-

¹ I take this opportunity to correct an error in my paper on the Belgaum inscription A. above, Vol. XIII, p. 21, l. 46, where the division of words should be °prasannarūm=Aghapaṭṭipura°.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The stone mason has actually cut *dhruvakḥava*, and then made a slight indentation in the loop at the bottom of the *kha*, to shew that it is to be read as *mi*.

- 4 **prabhā** **mi(mi)tya-prēma-pranayi-Girijā-Sāmkara-yutiḥ** | **nija-śri-pād-ābja-praṇāḥa-**
jana-śrīti-pramathanam jagat-prādurbhāva-prathama-[mi]-
- 5 **thunam punya-kathanam** || [3*] **Asi śri(śri)mān=udavān=bahir=i(i)va parikhā**
sthūla-vēl-āchāṣya prakār-ākāra-dhāmno bhavāna-pura-bhuvah sarbba-lō-
- 6 **k-ōttamāyāḥ** | **tan-madhyē bhāti Mērur=nnirūpama-sumanō-harmya-sādharmya-**
chārur=dvīpas=tad-dakṣiṇ-āsām=adhi(dhi)vasati purā-jāta-jambū-samā[naḥ || 4*]
- 7 **Taj-Jambū-dvīpa-madhyē viḷasati Bharata-kshētram=ānanda-pātram tatr=āstē**
Kuṁṭal-ōrbhi jana-janita-yasā[ś*]-śri-sukh-āgāra-gurbhi | tasmin=susmēra-
Lakshmi-¹
- 8 **mudita-janāpad-āgānya-puny-aika-kōṣaḥ saṁpat-sampūrīt-āsāḥ sa jayati jagati-**
manḍanam Kūṁḍi-dēsah || [5*] **Dēsē tatra chakāsti vāstava-jana-śri-**
vartta[naḥ]
- 9 **pattanam pūrp-ānēka-taṭāka-kūpa-sarasi(śi)-sāmpatti-śōbh-āspadam | yat=sarbbatṛi(tra)**
latānta-pallava-phala-kshōṇija-ramy-ōrbbaram tṛi(tri)mśad-grāma-var-ādi[— ∪]
- 10 **giri-nāma śrīmatām=āśrayah** || [6*] **Tad=iha Kurumbettam=iti prakhyāta[m*]**
lōka-bhāṣayā nagaram | yatra sur-ālaya-kāśāḥ sārddham saṁdihyātē
²[— — ||] [7*]
- 11 **Rāj-āvaḥ || Mudita-muditam=āsīt=pārthivānām kulānām yad=uru Yadu-kulam**
tat-Krishṇa-janm-ābhīrāmam | nripatir=ajani tatra kshatra-dharm-aika-dhāmā
ra[na]-
- 12 **vitaraṇa-Rāmō Bhīlāmah sārbbabhaumah** || [8*] **Tasy=ābhūt=tanayah samagra-**
vinayah śri-Jaitugi-kshāmāpatih susvāyatta-chatus-samudra-raṣan-ālamkāra-bhū-
[manḍalah ? ||]
- 13 **tat-putrah kṛita-Śārngapāni-charaṇ-āmbhōjāta-pūjā-pa(pha)lam bhējē rāja-samāja-**
pūjita-mahā-simhāsanam Gi(Śi)mhaṇah || [9*] **Api cha || Bhōj-āmbhōjāta-**
rājō-Rājuna-vana-parasū[r*]=Gūrjjar[— — ∪]
- 14 **dabhra-brāta-prōchchamḍa-vātō Magadha-naga-paviś=Chōḷa-Paṇastya-Rāmah | Gauḍa-**
kshvēd-Ē[m*]duchūdas=Turaga-pati-sati-navya-vaidhavya-dātā Ballāḷa-sthūla-kūla
prapatana-taṭini-pūra-rāmhō [∪ —]
- 15 **haḥ || [10*] Tat-putrō dhavaḷa³-chchhatra-chchhāyā-viśrāmṭta-bhūtalah | Jaitugi-**
kshāmāpatih=chakrē pratāpam hridayē dvishām || [11*] Dhattē=sy=Ānaka-
durādubhēr=iva suto yas=chakravartti-śriy[am — —]
- 16 **Kriṣṇa iv=ātīnirmāṇam=alāṅkurbban=Yadūnām kulam | lil-ōnmūlita-rāshṭra-**
kāntāka-chamū-chakrām mahi[m*] pālayan=vēd-ōddhāra-parah sa Kanhara iti
khyātō jagatyām [∪ — || 12*]
- 17 **Api cha || Āśih-para-bhūṣura-kara-śēsh-ākshata-śaila-parisarē yasya [!*] prasaranti**
dāna-dhārā-jala-janitā nūtanā nadhya(dya)h || [13*] Yathā Rāmasya Saumitri-
(tri)r=yyathā [? Dharmma]-
- 18 **aya Phalgunah | yuvarājō=nujas=tasya Mahādēvas=tath=ābhavat** || [14*]



Svasti [!* **Śri-Prithvi-vallabha-mahārājādhirājah paramēśvarō Dvārāvati(ti)-**
puravar-ādhiśvarō Vishnu-vamś-ōdbhavō Yādava-kūla-kāmāla-[kalī]-

¹ There are traces of a letter at the end of the line ; the metre shews it to be superfluous.

² One or two syllables are lost here, apparently beginning with a ś or bh.

³ The *va* was begun as a *śa*, and finished as *va*.

- 19 kā-vikāsa-bhāskarō¹=ri-rāya-jagajjhaṃpū(pō) Mālava-rāya-Madana-Trinētrō Gūrjjara-
vāraṇ-āmkusās=Tailāṅga-rāya-sthāpan-āchāryyō rāya-Nārāyaṇaḥ sakala-kalā-pā[rā]-
20 yaṇa ity=ādi-nām-āvali-virājamāna-Bhujā-baḷa-Praudha-pratāpa-chakravartti-śrī-Kanhara-
mahīśvarō Dēvagiri-skaṇḍhāvārō sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdam-ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāraṃ
rājyaṃ karōti || Tat-pāda-pa[dm-ōpajivi?]
21 Śrī(śrī)mān=utsāha-dhīmān=abhavadh(d)=abhimatas=Chikkadēv-ātmajātaḥ khyātaḥ
pañch-āṅga-māntra-sthiti-nirupama-śakti-tray-ōdātta-chittaḥ | śrī-Bichah siddha-
vāchaḥ pratinripa-rathini-dhvaṃsa-gandha-dvipēndra[— — —]
22 prājya-rājy-ōnnati-karana-paṭuḥ prēshaṇā-Vātā-jātaḥ || [15*] Ā Sētōr=ā Himādrōr=
bbhuvam=avichalitām Kanhar-ōrbbiśvarasya svāyatti-kṛitya labdhv=ānvabhavad=
abhimataṃ tasya rājy-ārddham=ēsh[ah | — —]²
23 jyēshthō garishthah sakala-guṇa-gaṇair=Malla utphulla-kirtti-jyōtsnā-sampādita-śrī-
kalita-kuvalayō=³bhūd=asau bhūtal-ēnduḥ || [16*] Pāṇḍya-dhvaṃsa-prachandah
[○○○○]
24 dana[—]⁴=Kōmka-ātanka-damdaḥ Kāvērī-tira-durgg-ādhipa-vipuḷa-śiraḥ-karttana-
krūra-kāmdaḥ | damdādhiśa-prakāmdaḥ sakala-jana-manō-hāri-vidyā-karamdaś=
Chāmumdaś=tasya sū[nu ○ ○]⁵
25 ti jagad-abhisht-ārttha-kṛid=dāna-saumdah || [17*] Api cha || Udyamy=ōdyamya
bhūtyah pratinripa-dharani-mamda-ōparyy=aśēshām=ākramy=ākramya dēsān=gaja-
turaga-mahā-ratna-sūti-pradēsān [1*] ādāy=ādāya ⁶b[— — ○]
26 nam=abhilashitām Kanhar-ōrbbiśa-lakshmi=ānandya=ānandya bhāgyam suchiram=
anubhavaty=ēsha Chāmumda-rājah || [18*] Vāgiśvarō yasya gurur=amunāmdrah
Śiv-āgama-jñāna-vi[— ○ —]
27 tāh⁷ | śrī(śrī)-Sōmanāthaḥ sva-kul-ādhidēvaś=Chāmumda-damdādhipatis=sa
dhanyah || [19*] Rōpa-saumdaryya-saubhāgya-lāvanya-guṇa-bhūshaṇā |
Lakshkha-dēvi sati yasya La[kshmi-riva]
28 Mura-dvishah || [20*] Sō=yam Chāmumda-rājah sujana-jana-manō-vāṃchchhit-
āmartya-bhūjah sampann-āshtāṅga-bhakti-krama-vihita-Śiv-āṅghri-dvay-āp̄bhōja-
pūjah | nirmamāy=ānēka-dha[rmmān ? ○ ○]
29 jagati yaśah-puṇya-lakshmi(kshmi)-samētaḥ prāsādāni prabhūtāny=anu-nagaram=asau
dēvatānām vidhattē || [21*] Rāmō Dāsarathir=yyathā kiḷa tathā tirtthēshu
nānā-nadī-tirēsh[— ○ ○ pa]-
30 ttanēshu paritō liṅgāni bhū-mamdaḷē | śubhr-ābhramkasha-kūṭa-kōṭishu muni-
śrēshthaiḥ pratishthāpayaty=udyat-kirtti-lat-āmkurēshv=iva kṛit Chāmumda-
damdādhipah || [22*] Svasti samasta- * * *
31 vistāra-lakshmi(kshmi)-samtōshita-jagaj-jana-hṛidayah śaraṇ-āgata-pratyartthi-pārthiva-
sadayah samada-Hoysala-chakravartti-Sōmēśvara-mada-nivāraṇō rā * * *
32 śrēshthi-gandha-vāraṇah suduhsaha-nija-pratāp-ātisaya-bhānumān prēshaṇā-Haṇumān
chatur-upāya-Chaturānanah pañch-āṅga-māntra-pañch[ānanah]
33 shādgūnya-Shaḍānanah śrī(śrī)-Sōmanātha-dēva-charaṇ-ārādhana-pavitrikṛita-kara-
sarōruhas=sakala-saj-jana-kalpa-mahiruhō Lakshkha-dēvi(vi)-manah-samōhana-
Makara-kētuḥ sau[rya-Ka]-

¹ This is written with a regular *avagraha*, quite modern in form.

² The gap may be filled by reading *taj-jō*.




³ Written with an *avagraha*.


⁴ The letter after *na* seems to be incomplete, being like a *da* without a top. Perhaps we should read *Malaya-Madana-hrit*.

⁵ Perhaps *sūnur=jjayati*.

⁶ Possibly *ch*.

⁷ The gap may be filled by reading *visuddha-chēlāḥ*.

- 34 pi-kētuḥ śrī(śrī)man-mahāpradhānas=sarvv-ādhikāri(ri) Chāmumṇḍa-damḍādhīpaḥ
svaki(ki)ya-yaśo-dhavaḥa-prāsāda-madhyē gagana-mahā-ni(ni)la-liṅgam pratishṭhāpya
tasminn=anēdau Kurum[be]-
- 35 ṭṭa-pattanē Trikuṭa-prāsādē svasya pitur=Mallināthasya nāmna bhrātur=Ddēva-
śrēshṭhinō nāmna cha dvā-saptati-śat-ōttara-sahasra-samkhyām=atitē Śaka-
sam[vatsarē]
- 36 Sādharaṇa-vatsarē varttamānē Vaiśākha-māsasya kṛishṇa-pakshē pañchamyām
Śanaishchāra-vārē Śiva-liṅga-dvayam Mādhava-pratimām cha pratishṭhāpya
Hulige[re]-
- 37 nagarē sukha-samāvāsam kṛtvā dharmm-ārthta-kāmān=yathā-kālam=anusaran tad-
dharmma-sthānam lōkōttamasya tapōdhanasya hastē samarppayi[tav]ya[m=i]-
- 38 ti dhiyām(yam) kṛtvā ||  Śrī-Kailāsa-nivāsinaḥ Paśupatēḥ śishyēṇa
Durvvāsasā mēdinyām=avatāritē=ativimalaḥ Śaiv-ānvayē dēśikah | Lakshādhyā-
[na]-
- 39 padēna viśva-viditō jajñē jagad-vamditas=tat-santāna-sarōja-bhānur=abhavat śrī
Tryambakēśō guruḥ || [23*] Tasmāt prasanna-Śiva-bōdhaka-chakravartti
ksh[mā-chakra]-
- 40 varitti-mukuṭ-ārchchita-pāda-padmaḥ | Śaiv-āgam-āmbunidhi-śita-karō babhūva
Bhūśamkarah prasamit-ānata-janma-bhūtiḥ || [24*] Nikhila-nigama-vidyā-
vāridhis=tasya śi[sh]y[ō Vi]-
- 41 malaśiva-muni(ni)mndrō varttatē Sāmavēdi | nṛpati-mukuṭa-chūḍā-chumbit-āmggris-
tapōdhi[r*]=Draviḍa-vishaya-janmā namra-janm-āpahārī || [25*] Vādi-vāgmi-
kavi-danti-kēsari Śaiva-[śāsa]-
- 42 na-payōdhi-chamdrāmah | kirtti-kamḍalita-viśva-diṇ-mukhō mōdatē Vimalaśambhu-
dēśikah || [26*] Sahridaya-hridaya-sarōjam praviśya pulakāni janayati
tad-aṅgē | Vimala[śiva]-
- 43 sūkti-lakshmi(kshmi)ḥ sāhitya-kalā-vilāsa-nija-bhūshā || [27*]  Svasti
yama-niyam-āsana-prāṇ-āyāma - pratyāhāra - dhārapā - dhyāna - sam(sa)mādhī-sampāma-
parama-bhaṭṭāra[ka]-
- 44 Śaiv-āchāryya-nikhila-nigama - vidyā - mahārṇava - karnna(rṇṇa)dhāra - vādi - vāgmi - kavi-
chakravartti Mālavēndra-pramukha-chakravartti-chakravāla-kirīṭa-kōṭi-kriḍā-
durllalita-pād-ā[mbhō]-
- 45 ruhaḥ prabaḥa-tapaḥ-praka[r*]sha-prasamita-pranata-durita-nivaha-mahā-dēśika-Vimala-
śiva-muni(ni)mndrah sakala-bhūtaḥ tapō-vidyā-vibhavair=nnirupama iti nischitya
- 46 tasmai śrī(śrī)-Vimalaśivāya damḍanāthas=Chāmumṇḍah krama-yugayōr=nnipatya
bhaktyā | sthānam tat=paramam=adād=vitṛṇṇa-dhārō nirbbādha[m] sakala-
nṛpaish=cha vāmdaniyam || [28*] Śr[ī]
- 47  Svasti śrī(śrī)-Śaka-varsha 1167 neya Viśvāvasu-samvatsarada Pushya-
ba 8 S5 | uttarāyana-samkramaṇa-punya-dinadalu A-

- 48 di-seṭṭiya tamdey=appa śrīman-mahāpradhānam **Malli-seṭṭiyaru** muṇnam śrīmad-anādiya **Baṇamju-vatṭaṇam** **Kurumbettādelu** śrīman-mahāprabh[u]
- 49 mūliga **Holli-gāvumḍa-mukhyav=āgi** mūla-sthān-āchāryya samasta-sāsānigara muṇḍ-itṭu-komḍu māḍida brahma-puriya haṁneraḍu vīrtti(tti)ya [brā]-
- 50 hmaṇargge dhārā-pūrbbakam=āgi koṭṭa vāmana-mudreya nālkuṁ kall=olaḡaṇa nivēśanad=olage tamma haṁneraḍu maneyim mūḍalu *
- 51 kkaṁ baṭṭeg=enḍu rāḷa-hastada yik-kai-vareyaṁ kaḷadu vūḷida nivēśanavaṁ ā br[ā*]hmaṇar[u] ā Mallēśvara-Dēvēśvara-Mādhava-dēvargge koṭṭaru | mattam=ā dēvar=ā[chāry]ya-
- 52 ra maṭṭhakke ā sāsānigaru ā brahma-puriya [dēvāyada] paḷiya ni(nī)lada | 25 hastad=agalada | nivēśanavaṁ paḷi-viḍidu temka deseya[lu? ko]-
- 53 ṭṭaru | mattam=ā brahma-puriya paḍuvalu dāriyim tenkal[u] ā sāsānigaru ā dēvarggey=aṁgaḍige hṁga-mudreya kalla naḍisi koṭṭar | mattam=ā dēvargge A-
- 54 di-seṭṭiyar ā **Kurumbettāda** pravishṭa vāḍam **Sabbettavam** ā dēvar=aṁga-bhōga-raṁga-bhōgakke sarbba-bādhā-parihāram=āgi koṭṭar | mattam=ā dēvargge ā sāsānigar[u] * * *
- 55 mūḍalu Bāgavādiya baṭṭeyim paḍuval[u] koṭṭa tōṭa l ā maṭṭhakke tōṭa l baṇabege koṭṭa nivēśana l mattam=sāsānigar[u] dēvarge koṭṭa ga * *
- 56  Svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-paṁcha-sata-vira-sāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-gap-āḷamkṛita satya-śauch-āchāra-chāru-charitra-naya-vinaya-vijñāna Vir-āvatāra **Vira-Ba[ṇam]-**
- 57 ju-ga(sa)maya-dharmma-pratipālana-viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājita-ānūna-sāhas-ottuṁgarum puṇya-prasaṁgarum | **Aghapatti-gur-ūtpatti-Baladē[va-Vā]-**
- 58 sudēva-Khaṇḍali-Mūlabhadra-vamś-ōḍba(dh)avarum | **Ahichchha[ttara*]-puri-lalanā-lalāṭa-tiḷakarum** | Hari-Virimchi-Paṁchānana-Jinēndra-pūjā-niratarum śrī(śrī)-Padmā[vati]-
- 59 dēvi(vi)-labdha-vara-prasādarum Vira-Nārāyaṇa-dēva-charaṇa-smaraṇa-paripat-āmtaḥkaraṇarum=appa śrīmad-**Ayyāvaḷey**=aynūrbbar=svāmigaḷu [mu]-
- khyā-samasta-muṁmuri-damḍamgaḷum ēlu-vare haṁnoṁdu-vareya ubhaya-nānā-dēsigalum chatuḥ-samudra-mudritam=appa bhū-maṇḍalada sakala-[sā]-
- myavamtarum samaya-chakravartti **Kalidēva-seṭṭiyarum** **Kūṁḍi** mūrum-sāsirada **Kurumbettā-kampanada** modala anādiya **Baṇamju-vatṭaṇam** **Kurumbettāda** y * *
- 62 vajra-baisaṇigi(ge)y=āgi kuḷlirddu tamma samay-āchārada tōḷaman=uddharisuva rāya-śrēṣṭhiy=appa **Chāmumḍarāja** māḍisida **Trikūṭa-[prāsāda]-**
- 63 kke ā suḷalada mūḡum baḷada gāvumḍugaḷam sāmyavamtarumam muthd=itṭu-komḍu ēlu-vare ha[m*]noṁdu-vareya vaḷage jala-mārgga-pāḷa-mā[r]gga[da]-
- 64 l[u] āne māṇikava hēṇid-aḍam suṁkav=ill=enḍu koṭṭa parihārad=ettu kōṇa mūvattu yippattu [*] **Kakatiya** baḍḍadali śrī-Mallēśva(śva)ra-dēvara ni(ni)v[ē]dyak[ē] koṭṭa gadde paṁne[ra]-

¹ This word is added in smaller script over the word *bāḍadali*.

- 65 *du mattaru* [*] **Kurumbettāda** *mūliga Holli-gauḍa śrī-Mallēśva(śva)ra-dēvara*
naṁdā-dīvi(vi)gege taṁna māṁnyad-oḷage koṭṭa haraḷa keya kambha 100
baṇaba 1 *
- 66 *Nāgarasaru* **Kapila-Bhava(?)dēvarige** *bi(bhi)ksheyake nūleyali koṭṭa kambha*
 200 [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm ! homage to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu beauteous with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the construction of the city of the triple world !

(V. 2.) Victorious is that Hari whose majesty is praised by the saints and who took in sport the form of a boar, on whose tusk-tip dwells the constant mass of his peculiar radiance (*and*) with the design of dissipating the guilt arising from the touch of Hiraṇyāksha affords as it were an assured bath in the flood of the celestial Ganges.

(V. 3.) Victorious is the union of the Mountain's Daughter and Śaṅkara enamoured in eternal love, which has the lustre of a lovely moon-endowed with splendour for as long as the æon endures, the primal Pair in the birth of the universe who dissipate the sorrows of folk bowing at their blest lotus-feet, (*and*) who are the theme of holy speech.

(V. 4.) There is a splendid ocean, like a moat without to the massive mountain on its shores which has a form shaped like a rampart for the city of the earth, which of all worlds is the noblest; in the midst of the latter shines Māru, beauteous in its likeness to a peerless palace of gods; a continent like (*in shape*) to an ancient *jambū*-tree occupies the region to the south thereof.

(V. 5.) In the midst of this *Jambū-dvīpa* is conspicuous the Land of Bharata, a vessel of joy. In it lies the region of *Kuntala*, weighty with homes-pleasant with fortunes of glory arising for its folk. In it is supreme the province of *Kūṇḍi*, which is a unique storehouse of incalculable merit (*earned*) by its people rejoicing in brightly smiling Fortune, and which fills the regions of space with its wealth, an ornament of the world.

(V. 6.) In that province shines a city, a veritable haunt of popular fortune, a seat of splendour in its wealth of many full tanks, wells, and lakes; which everywhere has its lands charming with flowers, buds, and fruit-trees; (*and*) which bears the name of . . . *giri*, the first of thirty towns, a dwelling of happy men.

(V. 7.) This town here is known in vernacular speech by the name of *Kurumbettā*, in it . . . is confounded with the finials of the celestials' dwellings.

(L. 11.) The Royal pedigree :—

(V. 8.) The mighty race of the *Yadus*, which has been peculiarly happy among princely families, is pleasing because of the birth of *Kṛishṇa* (*from it*). In it was born a king who was a singular seat of knightly duty, a *Rāma* in winning his way through battles, the Emperor *Bhillama*.

(V. 9.) He had a son perfect in courtesy, the blest king *Jaitugi*, who held in due control the [circle] of the earth having as girdle-ornament the four oceans. His son *Simhapa* occupied the great throne worshipped by companies of kings, which was the fruit of the adoration paid (*by him*) to Śāriṅgapāni's lotus-feet.

(L. 13.) Moreover :—

(V. 10.) A moon to the lotus *Bhōja*, an axe to the forest *Arjuna*, a furious storm-blast to the feeble crowd of the *Gūrjara* . . . a thunderbolt on the mountain *Magadha*, a *Rāma* to that Paulastya the *Chōḷa*, a Śiva to the poison the *Gauḍa*, a bestower of new widowhood to the dames of the Lord of Horses, a . . . river's raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank *Ballāḷa* (*was he*).

(V. 11.) His son Jaitugi, who had the earth reposing under the shade of his white parasol, set his majesty¹ in the heart of foemen.

(V. 12.) His son, who carries the fortune (*śrī*) of an Emperor (*chakravartin*) as Vasu-dēva's son [Kṛishṇa] carries the Fortune (*Śrī*) of the Discus-bearer (*Chakravartin*), adorning like Kṛishṇa the perfectly stainless race of the Yādus, protecting the earth wherein he has with sportive ease torn up by the roots the banded armies that were as thorns to his kingdom, intent on restoration of the Vēdas, is famed under the name of Kanhara in the world

(L. 17.) Moreover :—

(V. 13.) At the side of the mountains of sacramental rice² (*thrown upon him*) by the hands of Brāhmaṇas busied in benediction gush forth new rivers arising from the water of the streams of *dāna* [largesses, or ichor of elephants in rut].

(V. 14.) His younger brother, the Heir-Apparent **Mahādēva**, was to him as Lakshmaṇa to Rāma, as Arjuna to Yudhisṭhira.

(Ll 18-20.) Hail! King Kanhara, the Emperor strong of arm and magnificent in majesty, who is resplendent with titles such as : "Great Emperor, darling of Fortune and Earth, supreme Lord, master of **Dvārāvati** best of towns, scion of the lineage of Vishṇu, a sun for the efflorescence of the buds of the lotuses of the Yādava race, a *jagajjhampa* to hostile kings, a Śiva to the Love-God the **Mālava** king, a goad to the elephant the **Gūrjara**, a master architect of the **Tailāṅga** king, a Nārāyaṇa of kings, perfectly versed in all arts," is reigning for as long as moon, sun, and stars at the standing camp of **Dēvagiri** in enjoyment of pleasant conversations.³

(L. 20.) One [that finds sustenance] at his lotus-feet :—

(V. 15.) The blest **Bīcha**, **Chikka-dēva's** son, was fortunate, energetic, and prudent, agreeable, famous, having a mind exalted by the triad of peerless powers⁴ for maintaining five-membered policy,⁵ approved of speech, a furious great elephant for destroying the hosts of rival kings, skilful in aggrandising the prosperous kingdom of . . . , a Hanumān in (fulfilling) commissions.

(V. 16.) Having made subject to king Kanhara the whole untroubled land from **Sētu** to the Mountain of Snow, he obtained and enjoyed an acceptable half of the kingdom. [His] eldest [son], much honoured for all kinds of virtue, was **Malla**, a moon on earth, who filled the circle of the world⁶ with splendour acquired from the moonlight of his blossoming glory.

(V. 17.) Terrible in destruction of the **Pāṇḍya** . . . a rod for the troubles of the **Koṅkaṇ**, a cruel arrow for cutting off the numerous heads of the lords of the fastnesses on the banks of the **Kāvērī**, eminent among generals, a casket of learning attracting the minds of all men, his son **Chāmuṇḍa** is [successful?], fulfilling the objects desired by the world, impassioned for bestowing bounty.

(L. 25.) Moreover :—

(V. 18.) Again and again imposing control upon the provinces of many hostile kings' lands, again and again invading all countries that are the native places of elephants, horses, and precious stones, again and again taking desired . . . again and again gladdening king Kanhara's fortunes, this **Chāmuṇḍa-rāja** has long enjoyed a happy lot.

¹ Literally, "heat"; the figure hence is that of *vidhāvanā*, or "peculiar causation."

² *Śēṣh-ākṣhatu*, in Kanarese *śēṣhe* or *sēse*, "raw rice over which incantations have been pronounced and which is thrown on the heads of the bride and bridegroom during the marriage ceremony and other joyous rites" (*Kittel, Dict.*, s.v. *śēṣhe*).

³ *Pinōdam* is to be taken as gerund : see Speijer, *Ved. u. Skt.-Syntax*, § 224, Pāṇini III. iv. 25 ff.

⁴ Viz. of *prabhu*, *utsāha*, and *mantra*.

⁵ On the five members (*aṅgas*) of policy cf. Kāmandaka's *Nīti-sāra*, XII. 36, *Śīsupāla-vadhā*, II. 23, with Mallinatha's note, etc.

⁶ A play on *kuvalāya*, which means both "lotus" and "circle of earth."

(V. 19.) Fortunate is this General Chāmuṇḍa, whose preceptor is the great sage Vāgīśvara [purified of mind?] by the lore of Śiva's traditions, and of whose family the tutelary deity is the blest Sōmanātha;

(V. 20.) Who has for consort Lakkhā-dēvī, adorned by the virtues of shapeliness, beauty, happy fortune, and loveliness, as Viṣṇu has for consort Lakshmi.

(V. 21.) This same Chāmuṇḍa-rāja, a celestial tree for the desires of worthy men's minds, performing adoration of Śiva's pair of lotus-feet according to the order of perfect eightfold devotion,¹ having created many pious foundations . . . being endowed with fame, godliness, and fortune, establishes in town after town numerous temples to the gods.

(V. 22.) Like Daśāratha's son Rāma, forsooth, the skilful General Chāmuṇḍa causes phallic images to be consecrated by most worthy sages everywhere in the circuit of earth, in holy places, on the banks of various rivers, . . . in towns on the peaks of bright cloud-grazing mountain-tops, which are as it were sprouts of the creeping plant of his lofty fame.

(Ll. 30-38.) Hail! the high minister and controller of all [departments], the General Chāmuṇḍa, gladdening the hearts of the people of the world by abounding fortune in all . . . , merciful to hostile kings seeking his protection, suppressing the arrogance of the haughty Hoysala emperor Sōmēśvara, a furious elephant to the *setti* . . . , a sun in the exceeding degree of his irresistible splendour, a Hanumān in (*fulfilling*) commissions, a Four-faced [Brahman] in the four measures of policy,² a lion³ in five-membered counsel,⁴ a Six-faced [Kārttikēya] in possession of the six qualities,⁵ whose lotus-hands are purified by adoration of the god Sōmanātha's feet, a tree of desire to all good folk, a Love-god ravishing the mind of Lakkhā-dēvī, [Arjuna] in valour, having caused to be consecrated in a temple white as his own fame a phallic image of sapphire (*blue*) as the sky, and having caused to be set up in the Three-turreted Temple in this immemorial town of Kurumbetta two phallic images of Śiva and an effigy of Mādhava in the name of his father Mallinātha and in the name of his brother Dēva-śrēṣṭhīn during the Śaka year passing the number one thousand one hundred and seventy-two, the cyclic year Sādhārana being current, during the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, on the fifth (*lunar day*), a Saturday, and having made an agreeable residence in the town of Huligere, pursuing religion, worldly ends, and earthly love, each in its due season, formed the idea that this holy establishment should be handed over into the charge of an ascetic supreme in the world.

(V. 23.) In the Śaiva lineage brought down to earth by Durvāsas, disciple of Paśupati who dwells in the blest Kailāsa, there was born a perfectly pure teacher known throughout the universe by the name of Lakshādhyaṇa (and) adored by the world. A sun to the lotuses of his succession was that preceptor the blest Tryambakēśa.

(V. 24.) After him there was Bhūṣaṅkara, an emperor among expositors of (*the doctrine of*) the gracious Śiva, one whose lotus-feet were adored by the diadems of emperors of earth, a moon to the ocean of Śaiva traditions, who stilled his suppliants' dread of rebirth.

(V. 25.) His disciple is the great sage Vimalaśiva, an ocean of all scriptural lore, a student of the Sāma-vēda, an ascetic whose feet are kissed by crests of monarchs' diadems, born in the Dravidian region, freeing suppliants from rebirth,

¹ The eight forms of worship are *archana*, *vandana*, *smarana*, *pāda-sēvana*, *stava*, *pradakṣhina*, *sakhyā*, and *ātma-nivēdana* or *ātmārpaṇa*: see Kittel's *Dict.*, s.v. *aṣṭavidhā-bhakti-kriyā*.

² Viz. the fomenting of discord among rivals, bribery, negotiations, and open warfare.

³ Literally, "a five-faced being." It may also mean Śiva.

⁴ See above.

⁵ These are the six branches of military science, viz. *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yāna*, *āsana*, *dvaiddhāvā*, and *samhāra*.

(V. 26.) A lion to the elephants disputants, orators, and poets, a moon to the ocean of Śaiva doctrine, making the face of all the regions of space to bud with his glory, the doctor **Vimalaśambhu** rejoices.

(V. 27.) The beauty of **Vimalaśiva's** goodly utterances, naturally adorned by the graces of literary art, enters the lotus of the hearts of men of taste and generates horripilation on their bodies.

(Ll. 43-45.) Hail ! "the supreme master accomplished in major and minor disciplines, sitting-postures, exercises of the breath, retraction (*of the senses*), meditation, and absorption,—the pilot over the ocean of the lore of all scriptures of Śaiva teachers,—the emperor of disputants, orators, and poets,—he whose lotus-feet are exceedingly gay with the sport of the tips of the coronets of a crowd of emperors headed by the **Mālava** king,—the great doctor who by the high degree of his most potent austerities annuls the multitude of suppliants' sins,—the noble sage **Vimalaśiva** is without peer on the whole earth in the magnificence of his austerities and learning"—being thus convinced :—

(V. 28.) Falling devoutly at his feet, the General **Chāmuṇḍa** gave to this blest **Vimalaśiva** with bestowal of water this most excellent establishment, which should be free of exactions and honoured by all kings.

(Ll. 47-51.) Hail ! on the holy day of the *uttarāyana-saṃkramaṇa*, being **Monday**, the **8th** (*lunar day*) of the dark fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic year **Viśvāvasu**, the **1137th** (*year*) of the Śaka era, whereas **Āḍi-Setṭi's** father the high minister **Malli-Setṭi** had formerly in the immemorial **Baṇaṇju** town of **Kurumbetṭa** granted with pouring of water to the Brāhmaṇs of the twelve fiefs of the Brāhmaṇ quarter, which he had founded in the presence of the Prior of the *Mūla-sthāna* and all the Controllers of Records headed by the high sheriff and *mūliga*¹ **Holli-Gāvuṇḍa** twelve dwellings for themselves among the dwellings situate within the four stones inscribed with the figure of the Dwarf, these Brāhmaṇs granted to the gods **Mallēśvara**, **Dēvēśvara**, and **Mādhava**² all the dwellings, save and excepting a strip of two cubits by the king's measure to serve for a road . . . on the east of their twelve houses.

(Ll. 51-53.) Also the controllers of records granted to the monastery of the Prior of these gods a dwelling of the same length as the wall of the temple of the Brāhmaṇs' quarter and 25 cubits in breadth, excluding the wall, on the southern side.

(L. 53.) Also the controllers of records set up and granted to these gods for the bazaar a stone inscribed with the figure of a phallus on the west of the Brāhmaṇs' quarter, to the south of the road.

(Ll. 53-54.) Also **Āḍi-Setṭi** granted to these gods **Sabbetṭa**, a village forming part of **Kurumbetṭa**, for the personal enjoyment and theatrical entertainment of these gods, with immunity from all imposts,

(Ll. 54-55.) Also the controllers of records granted to these gods 1 garden east of . . . and west of the road of **Bāgavāḍi**, 1 garden to the monastery, 1 dwelling for the *ḥaṇabe*.³ Also the controllers of records granted to these gods . . .

(Ll. 56-66.) Hail ! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the **Vira-Baṇaṇja** religion, splendid with the banner (*bearing the device*) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, holding holy conversation, scions of the races of **Baladēva**, **Vāsudēva**,

¹ On this word see the *Miraj* inscr., below, p. 40, f. n. 1.

² These are the gods mentioned above on l. 36. **Mallēśvara** is the Śiva consecrated in the name of **Mallinātha**, **Dēvēśvara** the Śiva set up in the name of **Dēva-Setṭi**.

³ This word usually means a 'stack'.

Khaṇḍali, and Mālabhadra, originating from the Master of Aghapaṭṭi, ornaments on the brow of that lady the city of Abiechhatta, constant in the worship of Hari, Brahman, Śiva, and the great Jinas, having grace of boons from the blest goddess Padmāvatī, having souls matured by remembrance of the feet of the god Vira-Nārāyaṇa, to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmis of the blest Ayyāvale, and all the chief bearers of mummuri-staffs, and the dwellers in various lands on both sides (?) from the seven regions and the eleven regions, and all the liberty-holders of the land encompassed by the four oceans, and Kalidēva-Setṭi the emperor of the community, being seated in the *vajra-baisanige*¹ in . . . of the immemorial Banāñju-town of Kuṛumbetṭa, the first (town) of the county of Kuṛumbetṭa in the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand, headed by the Givunḍus and liberty-holders of the three sections² of that place, granted for the benefit of the Three-turreted Temple constructed by the royal merchant Chāmunḍarāja, who restored the glory of their community's practices, an immunity for bullocks and buffaloes thirty and twenty declaring that there should be no tolls on loads of ivory (?) and rubies in journeys by water and journeys on foot within the seven regions and the eleven regions; they granted for the offerings to the god Mallēśvara in the town of Kākati a wet-field of twelve *matṭar*. The *mūlīga* Holli-Gauḍa of Kuṛumbetṭa granted for the perpetual lamp of the god Mallēśvara 100 *kambha* and 1 . . . *banaba*³ of gravelly land (?) within his honorary estate. Nāgarasa granted 200 *kambha* for alms to the god Kapila-Bhava (?) at the (Festival of the) Thread.⁴

No. 4.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOLHAPUR AND MIRAJ: SAKA 1058 & 1066.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

I have thought it best to publish the two following records together on account of the close connection of the subject-matter. Both were issued within a few years of one another under rulers of the same dynasty, the Śilāhāras of Karhād, namely Gaṇḍarāditya and his son Vijayāditya, and both record donations by that remarkable corporation of traders known as the Vira-Banāñjas or Vira-Valāñjiyar, to whose records I have referred in my note on the Hulgūr inscription of the reigns of Jayasīṃha II and Kanhara (above, Vol. XVI, p. 332). In our first inscription we find them blowing their own trumpets with the note of fantastic and ludicrous exaggeration which they occasionally affected; and in the second we have a full list of the names of the various classes constituting the syndicate. I have edited them from ink-impressions which formerly belonged to the late Dr. Fleet, and are now in the British Museum.

A.—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1058.

This record comes from the well-known town of Kolhāpur (anciently and more correctly spelt Kollāpura⁵); which is situate in the Kolhāpur State, in lat. 16° 42' and long. 74° 16'. It has been noticed in Major Graham's *Account of Kolhapoor*, p. 357, in *Journ. Bom. Br. As. Soc.*,

¹ Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has kindly pointed out to me that this term occurs thrice in *Ep. Carn.*, viz. XI., Dāvangere 89, l. 79 (*Hariharadalu vajra-bayisanigey=āgi kuḷḷirdu*), V., Bēlūr 75, ll. 67-68 (*Śrī-Virūpākṣha-dēvara divya-śrī-pād-padmada sannidhiyal vajra-raisanigeyan=ikki kuḷḷirdu*), and IV., Krishṇarājapēte 5, ll. 3-5 (*hebbāgila ālada maradale siṃhāsana-vajra-bayisanigeyan=ikki kuḷḷirdu*), and is inclined to think that it is merely a synonym of *vajrāsana*, the posture defined in Yogic works thus: *jaṅghābhyaṃ vajravat kṛiteḍ guda-pārvē padāv=udhaya*. He would connect *baisanige* with Marathi *bais*^o (Sanskrit *upavis*^o), "to sit."

² See above, Vol. XIII, p. 59.

³ This word, denoting a measure of area, seems to be otherwise unknown; the common word *baṇate*, "stack," is inapplicable here.

⁴ See Kittel, s.v. *nūlu*, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

⁵ On the spelling of this name see *Ind. Ant.*, XXIX, p. 280, etc.

Vol. II, p. 266, and in Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions* above, Vol. VII, App., No. 319 and a transcript is given in *Elliot's Collection* (Vol. II, fol. 313a., of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy). The stone was found on the right side of the front of the Jain temple of Pārśvanātha near the Sukravāra gate of the town. It has a pediment rounded on the top, and containing some sculptures, viz. in the middle, a Jina sitting cross-legged, with hands folded in his lap, full front, inside a shrine; a little to the proper right of this, another squatting figure, full front, with uplifted hands; still further to the right, a pitcher; on the left of the central Jina, a cow and calf; above these, the sun (on left) and moon (on right). Underneath this is the inscribed area, about 3 ft. 1 in. broad and 2 ft. 2½ in. high.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters varying in height from ⅙ in. to ½ in. The cursive *y* occurs in *ayvattu* (l. 26), and the palatal *ñ* in *pañcha-* (ll. 1, 5, 33).—The language, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is throughout Kanarese prose, more or less in the ancient dialect in the formal titles and for the rest nearer to the mediæval language. The old *ḷ* is not found: instead we have *alid-*, l. 33. Initial *p* in pure Kanarese and *tadbhava* words has become *h*; but still we find *palam pattu* on l. 28. Lexically the record is valuable, as it contains many rare words of daily life, such as the titles of various classes of traders and other words, e.g. *mudgoḍe*, l. 10, *sāsaniga* and *kāḥagāra*, l. 22, *hasara* as a measure of capacity, ll. 26, 29 f., 32, *saṃgaḍi*, l. 27, *maḷave*, ll. 27, 28, *karuse*, l. 28, *bisige*, *ibid.*, *laṃka*, *ibid.*, *maravi*, *ibid.*, *daṇḍige*, ll. 31, 32, and *hūte*, l. 32. The word *dāyāda* in the sense of rival (l. 7) is also noteworthy.

The record begins with the stanza usual in grants to Jain temples (l. 1), and then refers itself to the reign of the Śiṣhāra Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarāditya (ll. 1-5), to whom it gives the usual titles, including those of "Lord of Tagara best of cities," "scion of the lineage of Jimūtavāhana," and "possessing the golden Garuḍa-banner."¹ Then it introduces in ll. 5-10 one of his barons, the Mahāsīmanta Nimbādēvarasa, who among his many other titles is described as "an awful rutting elephant to the beds of the lotuses the barons of Toṇḍai,"—in other words, successful in some military operations against the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam—and who built in the market-place of Kavaḍegolḷa a Jain temple. Next appears on the scene the important corporation of the Vira-Bapañjas, with an enormous series of inflated self-bestowed titles of honour, and through specified representatives makes over to Śrutakirtti, prior of the Rūpa-nārāyaṇa temple at Kollāpura, certain revenues for the benefit of the temple at Kavaḍegolḷa (ll. 10-32). A short formula (ll. 32-33) winds up the document.

The date is specified on l. 24 as: Śaka 1058, Rākshasa; Kārttika ba. 5; Monday. This is slightly inexact. The *tithi* ba. 5 was coupled with Tuesday, 29 October, A.D. 1135; but as it ended 1 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on the Tuesday, and began 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Monday, it was current for the greater part of Monday, though strictly it could give its name only to the Tuesday.²

The places mentioned are: Tagara, l. 2; the *nele-viḍu* or standing camp of Valavāḍa, l. 4; Kavaḍegolḷa, ll. 10, 23; Ayyavole, also styled Ahichchhatra, ll. 18, 23; Kollāpura, ll. 20, 25; Miriñje, l. 20; Kūṇḍi-paṭṭaṇa, the town of Kūṇḍi, l. 21; Torambage, l. 22; Mayisige, l. 22; Baḷeyavaṭṭaṇa, l. 23; and the *tīrthas*, l. 33. Tagara, as Dr. Fleet has shown, is the modern Tēr, or "Thair" (see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1901, p. 537, and above, Vol. XII, p. 253). Valavāḍa is not to be identified with certainty (see *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 548, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 209). Ayyavole is now Aihole or Aivali, in the Hungund *tāluka* of Bijāpur District. On Kollāpura, now Kolhāpur, see the preceding page. Miriñje is Miraj

¹ On the two last titles see Dr. Fleet's remarks in *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, pp. 536, 538, 544-46, and above, Vol. XII, pp. 251-53. On Gaṇḍarāditya see *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, pp. 547-48.

² Mr. R. Sewell, who with his wonted kindness checked and supplemented my calculations of the dates in this paper, told me that the same result was reached by using the *Siddhānta-sirōmaṇi*.

("Meeruj" on the Indian Atlas sheet 40) in lat. 16° 48' and long. 74° 12'. On the town of Kūṇḍi see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 280 and on the Kūṇḍi province *ibid.*, Vols. XIV, p. 16, XVI, p. 20, XIX, p. 244, and XXIX p. 278. Torambage may possibly be Turambe, in the Kolhāpur State, near Gārgōti. Baḷeyavaṭṭaṇa seems to be Baliapaṭṭam or Valapaṭṭam, situate in the Chirakkal *tāluka* of Malabar District, in lat. 11° 55' and long. 75° 22'. This town is mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography, VII. i. § 6, as Βαλαίπατνα (in some editions wrongly spelt Βαλτίπατνα), and is the Παλαίπατμα of the *Periplus* (cf. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 45, and *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 127, 129; Lassen, *Alterthümer*, III, pp. 181, 183); and probably Kern is right in identifying Balaipatna with the *Baladēva-paṭṭaṇa* of the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, xiv. 16.

TEXT.¹

[Metre : v. 1, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 © Śrīmat-parama-gaṃbhīra-syād-vād-āmōgha-lāṃchchhanam jīyāt=traiḷōkya-nāthasya
śāsanaṃ Jina-śāsanaṃ || [1*] Svasti samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda-
mahāma-
- 2 ṇḍalēśvaraṃ | Tagara-puravar-ādhiśvaraṃ śrī-Śīlāhāra-narēन्द्रam | Jimūtavāhan-
ānvaya-prasūtam | suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvajaṃ mare-vokka²-sarppaṃ | ayyana
- 3 sirigaṃ | ripu-maṇḍalika-bhairavaṃ | vidviṣṭa-gaja-kaṇṭhīravaṃ | iduvar=
ādityaṃ | rūpa-Nārāyaṇaṃ | Kali-yuga-Vikramādityaṃ | Śanivāra-siddhi
giri-ḍu-
- 4 rgga-laṃghanaṃ | śrī-Mahālakṣmī-dēvi-labdhā-vara-prasād-ādi-samasta-rāj-āvali-
virājitar=appa śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraṃ Gaṇḍarādityadēvaru Vaḷavāḍada ne-
- 5 le-vidinal=sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadin rājyaṃ-geyyuttam=ire | tat-pāda-padma-ōpajivi
samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda-mahāśamantaṃ | vijaya-la-
- 6 kṣmī-kāntaṃ | ripu-sāmanta-simantini-simanta-bhaṃgaṃ | vira-vārāṃganā-priya-
bhujāṃgaṃ | vairi-sāmanta-mēgha-vighaṭana-samiraṇaṃ | Nāgaladēviya gandha-
vā-
- 7 raṇaṃ vidviṣṭa-sāmanta-viḷaya-kālaṃ | sāmanta-gaṇḍa-Gōpālaṃ | dāyāda-sāmanta-
Tār-āsura-vira-Kumāraṃ | sāmanta-Kēdāraṃ | Toṇḍa-sāmanta-puṇḍarika-
- 8 shaṇḍa-prachanḍa-mada-vēdanḍaṃ | Gaṇḍarādityadēva-dakṣa-dakṣiṇa-bhujā-daṇḍaṃ |
yāchaka-jana-manō-bhilashita-chintāmaṇi | sāmanta-sirōmaṇi | Jina-charaṇa-
sarasiru-
- 9 ha-madhukaraṃ samyaktva-ratnākaraṃ=āhār-ābhaya-bhaishajya-sāstra-dāna-vinōdaṃ
Padmāvati-dēvi-labdhā-vara-prasādaṃ | nām-āḍi(di)-samasta-prasasti-sahitaṃ
śrīman-mahā-
- 10 sāmantaṃ | Nimbādēvarasaru | Kavaḍegolḷada baḷiya santeya mudgoḍeyal=
māḍisida basadiya Pārśvanātha-dēvar=ashtavidh-ārchanakkam=ā basadiya jirṇṇ-
ōddhārakka-
- 11 m=all=ippa ri(ri)shiyar=āhāra-dānakkam | Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-
pañcha-sata-vira-śāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-gaṇ-āḷamkṛita satya-śaucha-āchāra-chāru-
chāritra-naya-vinaya-
- 12 vijñāna Vira-Baḷaṃja-dharmma-pratipālana-viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājamān-ānūna-
sāhas-ōttuṃga kīrtty-aṃga-āḷiṅgita nija-bhuj-ōpārjjita-vijaya-lakṣmī-nivāsa-
vakṣa[s*]-sthālaruṃ

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *maru-vakka* or *maru-vamka*, as in other versions of this series of titles.

- 13 bhuvana-parākram-ōnnata Vāsudēva-Khaṇḍaḷi-Mūlabhadra-vamś-ōdbhavarum | Bhagavati-
labdha-vara-prasādarum | tāvu kādi sōladarum | maṇu-vakka-mārigaḷum |
para-stri-para-
- 14 dhana-varjjitarum chatush-shashti-kaḷegaloḷ pravīnar=appudaṛim | Brahman=annarum |
chakram=ullūdaṛim Nārāyaṇan=annarum | dṛiṣṭhiyoḷ=nōḍi kolvudaṛim |
Kālāgni-rudran=annarum | ko-
- 15 ndaran=aṛasi kolvudaṛim | Paraśurāman=annarum | tulidu kolvo(lvu)darim
mad-āndha-gandha-sindhuraḍ=annarum | giri-durggamam maṇe-vokkaram tegedu
kolv=eḍeyoḷ simhad=annarum
- 16 Pātālamam pokkaram kolv=eḍeyoḷ Vāsugiy=annarum | ākāśadoḷ=irddaram kolv=
eḍeyoḷ=Garutman=annarum | peṇpinal pṛithviy=annarum | biṇpinal kula-gi-
- 17 ny=annarum | guṇpinal=mahā-samudrad=annarum | udyōgadal Rāman=annarum |
parākramadoḷ Pārthan=annarum | śauchadoḷ Gāṃgēyan=annarum | sēhasadoḷ=
Bhīman=anna-
- 18 rum | dharmmadal Dharmma-putran=annarum | jñānad=Saḥadēvan=annarum |
bhōgadal=Imdran=annarum | tyēgadal=Karṇan=annarum | tējad=Ādityan=
annarum | Ahichohhatram=enisuv=Ayyavole-pura-pa-
- 19 ramēśvararum=app=aynūrvvar=svāmigalum gavaṇeyarum | gātriyarum | seṭṭiya-
rum | seṭṭi-guttarum | gāmaṇḍarum | gāmaṇḍa-svāmigalum | bira-
- 20 rum | bi(bi)ra-vaṇigarum | Kollāpurada Bilpāna¹-seṭṭiyum | Gōvinda-seṭṭiyum |
Komara Aṇṇamayyanum | Mirumjeya Bijja-seṭṭiyum | Boppi-se-
- 21 ṭṭiyum | Gaṇḍarādityadēvara rāja-śrēṣṭhi Vesapayya-seṭṭiyarum | ā maṇḍaḷē-
śvarana biḍina Bammi-seṭṭiyum | Kūṃḍi-paṭṭaṇad=Āditya-griha-
- 22 da sāsaniḡam heggade Rāva-seṭṭiyum | Chaudhore Boppi-seṭṭiyum | Toram-
bageya prabhu Kannapayya-seṭṭiyum | Mayisigeya kājagāram Chaudho-
- 23 re Goravi-seṭṭiyum | Baḷeyavattanaḍa(da) Śānti-seṭṭiyum | Ayyavoley=aynūrvvara
siṅgam Hāliya-seṭṭiyum | Kavadeḡollada prabhu Khapparayyan=ā-
- 24 dhi(di)y=āgi samasta-dēśam neredu | Śaka-varshada sāsiraḍ=ayvatt-emṭeneya
Rākshasa-samvatsarada Kārttika-baḷuḷa paṃchami Sōmavāradandu śri-Mūla-
saṃgha-
- 25 Dēśi(śi)ya-gaṇa-Pustaka-gachchhada Kollāpurada śri-Rūpa-nārāyaṇa-basadiy=āchāryyar=
appa śri-Śrutakirtti-traividya-dēvara kālam karchchi | dhārā-pā-
- 26 rvvakam=āgi koṭṭ=āyam=ent=endode aḍake hēriṃge ayvattu | javalakk=irppattu
hasarak=aydu | ele hēriṃge nūru | tale-voreg=ayvattu | hasarak=irppa-
- 27 tt-aydu | tuppam=enṇey=emb=ivu koḍakke sollage siddigeg=ara-vānam saṃgaḍig=
or-mmānām dūsiga-vasarakkam=akkasālegam hoṃge haṇam | hatti maḷaveg=a-
- 28 y-valam | bhaṇḍiya karuseya maḷaveg=eraḍu bisige | javalakke palam pattu |
laṃkar=okkalalli āru tiṃgalge maṇetivige maraviy=emb=iv=ond=akkum |
varshakke mam-
- 29 chav=ond=akkum | allav=arisinam śuṇṭhi bell=ulḷi baḷe bhadramustey=emb=ivu modal-
āgi tūgi māruva bhaṇḍamgaḷge hēriṃg=ay-valam javalakk=ip-palam hasa-
- 30 rak=op-palam jirage meḷasu sāsaviy=emb=ivu hēriṃg=om-mānam javalakk=arp-
vanam hasarakke sollage | uppu modal=āgi haḍi(di)neṃṭu dhānyam-
- 31 galgam bhaṇḍige koḷagav=omdu hēriṃge mānav=eraḍu tale-voreg=or-mmānam
baḍu kāy=emb=ivu bhaṇḍige hattu tale-vorege nāl=akkum | bhaṇḍige daṇḍige
voṃd[u]

¹ Probably meant for *Bilhana*.

- 32 sevey=aydu hūtey=eraḍarkkaṁ danḍige vomḍu(du) sevey=eraḍu hūvina heḍaligege
māle vondu kumbararalli hasarakke maḍake vondu || Int=iy=ā-
33 yaman=aḷid-ētāṁte¹ Bānarāṣī-Kurukshētr-ādigalo! pañcha-mahā-pātakamaṁ māḍida
phaḷam=akum ||



TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Victorious be the command of the Lord of the Three Worlds, enjoined by the Jinās, which bears the infallible token of the blessed and supremely profound doctrine of possible predications !

(Lines 1-5) 'Hail ! while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarādityadēva*, who is resplendent with the whole royal series (of titles) such as "the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great musical sounds, Lord of Tagara best of cities, monarch of the blest *Śīlāharas*, scion of the lineage of *Jimūtavāhana*, bearing a banner with (the device of) a golden *Garuḍa*, a serpent to adversaries, a lion to his father, terrible to opponent barons, a lion to the elephants his foes, a sun of casters (of missiles), a *Nārāyaṇa* in comeliness, a *Vikramāditya* of the Kali Age, successful (even) on Saturdays, passing through mountain-fastnesses, obtaining grace of boons from the blest goddess *Mahālakṣmī*," was reigning in the standing camp of *Valavāḍa* with enjoyment of pleasing conversations :—

(Ll. 5-11) for the eightfold worship² of the divine *Pārśvanātha* of the temple constructed in the *mudgoḍe* of the market-place in *Kavaḍegolḷa* by one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the *Mahāsāmaṇṭa Nimbādēvarasa*, who has all the titles of honour such as "the *Mahāsāmaṇṭa* who has obtained the five great musical sounds, beloved of the goddess of victory, a breaker of the hair-parting of the dames of hostile barons, a gallant dear to the courtesans of warriors, a wind dissipating the clouds opponent barons, a furious elephant to *Nāgaladēvi*, a time of world-dissolution to enemy barons, a *Gōpāla* to the worthiest of barons, an heroic *Kumāra* to the demon *Tāra*'s rival barons, *Kēdāra* to barons, an awful rutting elephant to the beds of the lotuses the barons of *Toṇḍai*, rod for the skilful right hand of king *Gaṇḍarāditya*, a wishing-gem for the desires of the souls of suitors, a crest-gem of barons, a bee to the Jina's lotus-feet, a mine of the gems of godliness, delighting to bestow food, protection, medicine, and teaching, obtaining grace of boons from the goddess *Padmāvati*," and for the restoration of outworn (parts) of the said temple, and for the supply of food to the holy men dwelling there :—

(Ll. 11-24) hail ! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the *Vīra-Balañja* religion, splendid with the banner (bearing the device) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (won) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (extending) over the world, scions of the races of *Vāsudēva*, *Khaṇḍali*, and *Mūḷabhadra*, obtaining grace of boons from the lady, unconquered when they strive, destroyers of adversaries, abstaining from the wives and property of others ; like Brahman in being skilled in the sixty-four arts ; like *Nārāyaṇa* in having a *chakra* [discus, or association] ; like *Kālāgni-rudra* in slaying with their gaze ; like *Paraśurāma* in seeking out and slaying slayers ; like a rut-blinded furious elephant in trampling down and slaying ; like a lion when they seize and slay those who take shelter in mountain-fastnesses ; like *Vāsuki* when they slay those who come to the underworld ; like *Garuḍa* when they slay those who are in the sky ; like the earth in greatness, like the central mountains in weightiness, like the ocean in profundity, like *Rāma* in energy, like *Prithā*'s son [*Arjuna*] in

Read -ātamge.

² Namely with water, scents, flowers, grain, incense, lamps, food, and betel.

prohess, like Gaṅgā's son [Bhishma] in purity, like Bhīma in boldness, like Dharma's son [Yudhishtira] in righteousness, like Sahadeva in knowledge, like Indra in enjoyment, like Karna in bounty, like the sun in brilliance; they who are the supreme lords of Ayyavole city, which is known as Ahichchhatra; to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmis, the *gavares*, the *gātriyas*, the *seṭhis*, the *seṭhi-guttas*, the *gāmaṇḍas*, the chief-*gāmaṇḍas*, the men of valour, and the merchants of valour, Bilhaṇa (?)—Seṭṭi and Gōvinda-Seṭṭi of Kollāpura, Komara Aṇṇamayya, Bijja-Seṭṭi and Boppi-Seṭṭi of Miriñje, Vesapayya-Seṭṭi the royal merchant of Gaṇḍarādityadēva, Bammi-Seṭṭi of the Maṇḍalēśvara's household, the headman Rāva-Seṭṭi, who is recorder of the house of the Sun-god in Kūṇḍitown, Chaudhore Boppi-Seṭṭi, Kannapayya-Seṭṭi the sheriff of Toram-bage, Chaudhore Goravi-Seṭṭi the intendant of Mayisige, Śānti-Seṭṭi of Baḷeyavaṭṭaṇa, Hāliya-Seṭṭi the lion of the Five-hundred of Ayyavole, Khapparayya the sheriff of Kavaḍegoḷḷa, and others, (*representing*) the whole country, being assembled :—

(Ll. 24-26) on Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the cyclic year Rākshasa, the thousand and fifty-eighth (*year*) of the Śaka era, laved the feet of Śrutakirtti Traividyadēva, of the Pustaka-Gachchha in the Dēsiya-Gaṇa of the Mūla-Saṅgha, who is the prior of the temple of Rūpa-nārāyaṇa in Kollāpura, and with pouring of water gave the following revenues :—

(Ll. 26-32) Areca-nuts, fifty on a load, twenty on a half-load, five on a *hasara*; betel leaves, one hundred on a load, fifty on a head-load, twenty-five on a *hasara*; clarified butter and oil, a *sollage*¹ on each *koḍa*, half a maund on each *siddige*,² one maund on each *saṇḍaḍi*.³ On each cloth-merchant's shop and goldsmith's shop, a *panam* on every gold piece. Cotton, five *palas* on each *maḷave*; two *bisige* on each *maḷave* of *karuse* (*sold*) from carts, ten *palas* on each half-load. On each house of *lanḱas*⁴ there shall be every six months (*a due of*) stools, tripods, and *maravi*,⁵ one of each; every year there shall be (*a due of*) one bedstead. On goods sold by weight, such as green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, *baje*,⁶ and *bhadramuste*,⁷ there shall be (*a due of*) five *palas* on each load, two *palas* on a half-load, one *pala* on a *hasara*; cummin, black pepper, and mustard, one maund on each load, a half-maund on each half-load, a *sollage* on each *hasara*; on salt and the other eighteen kinds of grain, one *koḷaga* on each cart-load, two maunds on each load, one maund on each head-load; dry and fresh fruits, ten on each cart-load, four on each head-load; on each cart-load one *daṇḍige*, five myrobolans; on each pair of *hūṭes* one *daṇḍige*, two myrobolans; on each basket of flowers one garland; for the potters, one pot on each shop.

(Ll. 32-33 : a Kanarese prose commonitory formula of the usual type.)

B.—MIRAJ INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1065 AND 1066.

Miraj, the ancient Miriñje, is the chief town of the Miraj State in the Southern Maratha Country, and lies in lat. 16° 48' and long. 74° 12'. The present epigraph was found on a slab built into the wall in the gateway of the fort. A photograph, from the stone, was published in P.S.O.C.I. (No. 96), and a notice is given in Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, above, Vol. VII, App., No. 322.—The stone bears on its top a triangular pediment containing sculptures, namely : in the centre a *liṅga* on a stand; to the proper right of this a squatting bull facing it; above these, on the right the sun and on the left the moon. The inscribed area

¹ A measure of capacity, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *kudara* or *balla* (see Kittel, s v. *sollage*).

² *Siddige* or *sidda* means properly a leather bottle. As a measure, *sidda* is defined by the *Kīramvār Glossary* as a dry measure of 36 *tolas* in Kunta, Honawar, and Siddhapur, and 28 *tolas* in Bhatkal, and as a fluid measure of 33 *tolas* in Ankola and 28 *tolas* in Bhatkal (p. 171).

Apparently something like a double *siddige*.

⁴ Apparently "carpenters."

⁵ Some wooden article of furniture.

⁶ The *acorus calamus* (Linn.).

⁷ The *cyperus hexastachys* (Rottler) or root of *cyperus pertenuis* (Roxb)

below this is about 2 ft. broad and 4 ft. 1½ in. high.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters varying in height from $\frac{5}{8}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The cursive form for *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) is found in *-sthānamum*, l. 6, and that for *v* in *vēlā-vuramum*, l. 5, *gavunda*°, l. 7. *Chavumḍa*, l. 14, and *Chavuḍa*, l. 17.—The language is throughout Kanarese prose, of the transitional period between the ancient and the medieval dialects. The archaic *ḷ* never appears: it has become *ḷ* in *ēḷ* (l. 9), *ēḷvatt*- (l. 12), *aḷi*° (ll. 57, 59), *iḷḍa* (l. 58), and *r* in *ērchechhāsirada* (l. 12). Initial *p* in pure Kanarese and *tadbhava* words has become *h*, except in *padinarūvaru* (l. 6), *perggaḍe* (l. 15), *Piriyuguvārada* (l. 18), *piriya* (l. 40, in a formula), *pasarigaru* (l. 50), *ḥomma* (l. 51), and *ponnalū* (l. 56, in a formula). The use of genitive as quasi-nominative (see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1918, p. 105) is found in l. 29, *seṭṭi-guttam tanna biṭṭ-āyam*. The lexical interest of the record is considerable, as it contains a large number of the special names of the classes of traders (notably *bachcha*, l. 7; *maṃka*, l. 8; *bārīka*, l. 8) and some other technical words, e.g. *hasara* as a measure of capacity (ll. 27 f.), *saṃḍage*, (l. 29), *mōru* (l. 37), *krēṇikāra* (l. 44), *ḥomma*¹ (l. 51), and *āḷhānāntara* (l. 53).

The record opens with a copious list of the titles and special class-names of the members of the corporation of the *Vīra-Baṇaṇjas* (ll. 1-12), and informs us that certain representatives of this syndicate, at a meeting held at *Seḍambāl* in Śaka 1065, made a grant of various dues to the temple of *Mādhavēśvara* (Śiva) in *Seḍambāl*, which had been built by *Mādirājayya*, the *mahā-prabhu* or high sheriff of that place (ll. 12-32); and these grants were supplemented by others made by the inhabitants and traders of the town, which are also specified (ll. 32-38). A short formula (ll. 38-41) ends the first section. Then comes a paragraph (ll. 41-54) recording that in the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* *Vijayāditya* (son of the *Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya*)², in Śaka 1066, two of his officials, *Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka* and *Mālapayya-Nāyaka*, granted to the same temple certain specified dues on the taxes collected in the town, the trustee being *Sōvarāsi*. A concluding formula (ll. 54-59) ends the record.

There are thus two dates. The first is given on ll. 19-20 as: Śaka 1065, Dundubhi; Bhādrapada śu. 2; Friday. This is irregular, for the *tithi* śu. 2 corresponded to Monday, 24 August, A.D. 1142, on which it ended about 15 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). The second date is given on ll. 46-48 as: Śaka 1066, Rudhirōdgāri; Māgha kṛi. 14; *Vaḍḍavāra* (here apparently in the meaning of Thursday);³ the Śiva-rātri festival. Strictly speaking, this is slightly irregular. The *tithi* kṛi. 14 was coupled with Friday, 4 February, A.D. 1144, when it ended about 13 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. But it was current during the last 10 h. 25 m. of the preceding Thursday, 3 February, having begun 4 h. 25 m. before midnight on Thursday; and at that midnight began the Śiva-rātri, the moon being then in the *nakshatra* Śravaṇā, and being still there at mean sunrise on the Friday (see Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's note above, Vol. XI, p. 289); so the Śiva-rātri day was Friday.⁴

The places mentioned are *Ayyāvale*, also called *Ahicchhatra*, l. 9; *Miriñje*, l. 12, and its *nāḍu*, l. 44; *Bāge*, l. 14; *Dōṇikōḍu*, l. 14; *Toḷakale*, l. 15; *Kūṇḍili*, l. 16; *Seḍambāl* ll. 16, 19, 20, 45, 49; the *taḷas* of *Piriyuguvāra*, *Siriguppe*, and *Juḡḷakoppa*, l. 18; the *tīrṭhas*, ll. 38-40, 55, 57; and the *nele-viḍu* or standing camp of *Valavāḍa*, l. 42. On *Ayyāvale* (*Ayyavole*), *Miriñje*, and *Valavāḍa* see above (p. 31). *Bāge* may possibly be connected with the *Bāgaḍage* or *Bāgenāḍu* Seventy, or the *Bāge* Fifty in the *Tardavāḍi* Thousand (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 265, 267, 380). *Seḍambāl* is *Shedbāl* (the "Sherbal" of

¹ *Pommu* now means a tax on tobacco; but to understand that sense in our record would be an anachronism.

² See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 548, and the preceding inscription.

³ See Mr. Venkatasubbiah's *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, pp. 57 ff.

⁴ This date has also been examined by Mr. Venkatasubbiah in *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 107, and he comes to practically the same result.

the Indian Atlas sheet 40), in lat. 16° 43' and long. 74° 49½'. The Siriguppe *tala* seems to be connected with the modern Shirguppi or "Shirgoopee," in lat. 16° 37½' and long. 74° 47½', and that of Jugulakoppa with Jugal or "Joogul" in lat. 16° 36½' and long. 74° 44½'.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-pañcha-śāta-vīra-śāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-[gaṇ-ā]-
- 2 laṁkṛita satya-sauch-āchāra-chāru-charitra-naya-vinaya-vijñāna Vīra-Baṇamja-
- 3 [dharmma-pra]-
tipālana-viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājita-ānūna-sāhas-ottuṅga kirtty-aṁgan-āliṅgita
- 4 [nija]-
bhuja-vijaya-lakshmi(kshmi)-nivāsa-vaksha[s*]-sthaḷa bhuvana-parākram-ōnnata
- 5 Vāsudē[va-Kha]-
ṇḍaḷi-Mūlabhadra-varaś-ōdbhavarum dvātrimśad=velā-vuramum=ashṭādaśa-paṭṭaṇamum-
- 6 [aru]-
vatta-nālku ghaṭikā-sthānamum nānā-dēś-ābhyaṁtarad=emtu nāḍa padinaṛuvaru
- 7 [gava]-
regarum gātrigarum seṭṭiyarum seṭṭi-guttarum bachcharum balegāṭarum
- 8 gaṁdhigarum gāvunḍarum gāv[unḍa]-
svāmigaḷum=arasugaḷum=arasu-makkaḷum māṁkarum māṁka-meṇavarum
- 9 birudarum bi(bi)ra-vaṇigarum bārikarum b[ā]-
rika-jana-hastarum sāsirad=ēl-nūru gavaṛegaḷum=Ahiōchhatra-vinirggatarum=
- 10 Ayyāvaḷe-pu[ra-pa]-
mēśvararu[m*] śrī-Bhagavati-dēvi(vi)-labdha-vara-prasād-ādy-anēka-nāṁ-āṁka-mālā-
- 11 virājitaru[m=appa]-
śrīmad-aynṭirvva[r*]-syāmigaḷum samasta-bhallumki-daṁḍa-hastarum mummuri-
- 12 daṁḍamum [mu]-
khyav=āgiy=ēlvatt=ēr-chchāsirada prabhu Prithvi-seṭṭi Miri[m*]jeya Boppanayya-
- 13 rāja-śrē[shṭhi ma]-
hā-yaḍḍa-yyavahāri Vesapayya-seṭṭiyarum samaya-samuddharana Sōvana-[seṭṭi]-
- 14 yarum Bāgeya mūliga Chikka-Chavumḍa-seṭṭiyum Dōṇikōḍa mummuri-daṁḍa
- 15 Da . . .
va-seṭṭiyum Jayasiṁgada Tolakaleya Siriyama-seṭṭiyum nāḍa perggade
- 16 Hemma-seṭṭi[yum]-
Kūṁḍiliya seṭṭi-gutta Mālla-seṭṭiyum Kuvara Lakka-seṭṭiyum Nigalada Kēti-
- 17 seṭṭiyum [Sedam]-
bāḷa Bomdalabbeya Sūra-seṭṭiyum Ākēta-seṭṭiyum Chavuḍa-seṭṭi alliya
- 18 Koppa-seṭṭi . . .
ya Holla-seṭṭi Piriuguvārada tala Siriguppeya tala Jugulakoppaḍa
- 19 tala . . .
geya tala yintu samasta-tala-mukhyav=āgi Sedambālalu mahā-nāḍ=āgi(gi)
- 20 nerad[u Śaka]-
varsha 1065neya Dumdubhi-samvatsarada Bhādrapada-śudhdha 2
- 21 Śukravāradamdu Sedambāla
mahā-prabhu Mādirājayyam māḍisida śrī-Mādhavēśvara-dēvar=aṁga-bhōgakke āy-
- 22 [ūra]-

¹ From the ipl-impression.

- 22 lu Su(Śu)kravārada samteyaṁ māḍi biṭṭ=āyam=ent=e[m*]doḍe mārīda aḍakeya
[java]-
- 23 lakk=aḍakey=irppattu hasumbeg=aḍake hannerāḍu katteya hēriṁg=irppatt-aydu
ko¹
- 24 ettina javaḷamaṁ birichidalliy=aḍakey=ayvattu mārū-gomḍavaralli hoṁgey=
adu[key=i]-
- 25 ppattu hēriṁge ele nūr-aivattu eṇṇeya koḍakke solasav=eraḍu tuppada koḍakke
so[lasa]-
- 26 v=eraḍu bhaṁḍi-goḍakke eṇṇe mānav=omdu dhānya-varggakke kōnana hēriṁ[ge*]
mānav=ā[ru]
- 27 ettina hēriṁge ballav=omdu katteya hēriṁge mānav=eraḍu basarakke mānav=
omḍalu
- 28 satṭṅav=omdu voṭṭiliṁge kolagav=omdu hattiya basaradalli dēvara soḍariṁge
batti-
- 29 ge samḍage-vatti voṁdu [*] seṭṭi-guttam tanna biṭṭ=āyam=ent=emdoḍe
hasumbeyan=ikku-
- 30 valli haseya javali gaṁdhara-baṭṭalu omdu gōmṭu viḥāraṁ-geydavaralli mudrā-
paṇam hoṁ-
- 31 ge hāgam=arana bhaṁḍi māriṁ(ri)dalli mēlu-dakk=omdu bhaṁḍiyalu mārīda
dhānya-varggakke ko-
- 32 lagav=omdu [*] Chayitrada parvvakke pura-varggada prajegalu mithunakke
biṭṭa hāga-
- 33 v=omdu Dipāvaliya parvvadalu belaguva soḍar=eṇṇege u(ā)r-olagaṇa sēṇigaru
- 34 tamma manegaḷge maneyal=omdu hāgav=omdu biṭṭa hāgav=omdu kuṁbāra
hasa[ra*]-
- 35 kke madake voṁdu akkasāle Bammōja-halladiṁ mūḍa hoṁge haṇavina
pārīkh-ā-
- 36 yad=olage dēvargge biṭṭa aḍḍav=omdu sammmagāraṇalli aru-diṁgaḷige kuḍuva
pāda-
- 37 rakshe tod=omdu mēdaralli samtege kuḍuva mōranu voṁdu mādegaralli
aru-diṁgalim-
- 38 ge kuḍuva mīli voṁdu [*] Yimt=I sā(sā)sana-maryyādeyaṁ kiḍisid-āta[m*]
Gaṁge-Prayāge-Vā-
- 39 rapāśi-Kurukshētradalū sāyira kapileyaṁ konda mahā-pātakaman=eydu-
- 40 va ĀdiṭṭatIrthamgaḷalli tanna piriya maganaṁ kōndu avana kapāladal-
uṁḍa ma-
- 41 hā-dōshaman=eyduva || ☉ ☉ || Svasti śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraṁ
- 42 Vijayādityadēvarasaru Vaḷavādada nele-vīdinalu sukha-samkathā-vi-
- 43 nōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyvuttam=iralu tat-pāda-padm=ōpajivigal=appu mahāpradhā-
- 44 nam sumka-verggaḍe Bhāyipayya-nāyakaru Muṁṁge-nāḍa krēṇikāraṁ Mā-
- 45 ḷapayya-nāyakar=ant=irvvaru Sedaṁbāla prabhu sāmantaṁ Mādirājyaṁ-
- 46 galu māḍi-ida śrī-Mādhavēśvara-dēvar=aiṅga-bhōgakk=alliya tapōdhanai=āhāra-
dānakkam Sa(Śa)ka-va-
- 47 rsha 1066 neya Rudhirōdgāri-samvatsarada Māgha-bahula 14 Vaḍḍavāradaṁdu
Śivarātre(tri)-

¹ Perhaps to be restored as *kōnana*.

- 48 ya parvva-nimittav=āgiy=ā dēvara mathad=āchāryya śrīmatu-Sōvarāsi-siddhānti¹-
dēvara kā-
- 49 lam karchchi dhārā-pūrvvakam mādi koṭṭa sumkam=ent=endod=ā Sedambāla
mundana hallādim mūḍa pura-
- 50 varggav=olag=āgi kaṭṭid=amgaḍigalgam telligaru pasarigaru bhatta-haṭṭigam
vokkalu-dere pa-
- 51 rihāra mattam santēya volagapa koḍad=enney=eleya hēṇgaḷa ponma kiṇu-
- 52 kuḷa dhānya-varggamgaḷa moṭṭeya sumkav=olag=āgi arddh-ādāna alli ambara-
vaṭṭadim tivi-
- 53 da ettina aḍakeya hēṇge mēl-aḍake nūr-ayvattu āṭhānānta-
- 54 radalu naḍava sumkigaru saupa(va ?)rṇakke tiṇṇaḷinge vomdu bēḷeyam
kuḍuvar=Int=I
- 55 dharmmamam sa-dharmmadim pratipālisidargge Gaṅge-Vāraṇāsi-Kurukshētradolu
s[ā]-
- 56 sira kavileya kōḍum koḷagumam ponnalu kaṭṭisi sāsirvva brāhmaṇa-
- 57 rige koṭṭa phalam=akku mattam=idan=aḷidam(dam)ge Gaṅgā-Yamunegaḷ-eradaṇa
- 58 saṅgamadol=agaṇṇya-puṇṇya-vara-tirtha-sthānamgaḷol=iḷda tapōdhanara gē-brāhma-
- 59 naran=aḷidan=int=idan=aḷida ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12) Hail ! Headed by the Five-hundred Svāmis, all the bearers of *bhallunki*-staffs and all the bearers of *mummuri*-staffs, who are resplendent with a series of numerous titles such as " adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the *Vīra-Baṇaṇja* religion, splendid with the banner (*bearing the device*) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (*won*) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (*extending*) over the world, scions of the races of Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali, and Mūlabhadra, (*inhabitants of*) the thirty-two coast-towns and eighteen *paṭṭaṇas*² and sixty-four *ghaṭikā-sthānas*,³ the sixteen *gavarigas*⁴ and *gāṭrigas* and *seṭṭis* and *seṭṭi-guttas* and *bachchas* and bracelet-sellers and scent-merchants and *gāvunḍas* and chief *gāvunḍas* and ' kings ' and ' princes ' and *maṇkas*⁵ and *maṇkaṣṇavas* and title-bearers and merchants of valour and *bārikas*⁶ and *bārika-jana-hasta*⁷

¹ The second *dh* has been omitted and then inserted in very small script.

² Explained by some as a place to which there is access by land or water, by others as a place of *fevel-munes*. Cf. *Kāṁikāgama*, XX. 8-9, *Yugādi-dēśanā*, V. 50, and my translation of *Antagaḍa-dasāo*, p. 45 n.

³ This word is fairly common in inscriptions (cf. *Epig. Carn.*, VII. i. Sk. 94, XI. i. Kl. 170, XII. St. 33; *Madras Govt. Epigr. Report*, 1912-3, p. 99, 1916-7, p. 115; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 19, 35 n.; *S. I. I.*, II, p. 511), but the meaning is not quite clear. It seems to denote a place of assembly or synod, and so must be connected with *ghaṭige*, *gaḷige*, or *ghaḷige*, on which see above, Vol. XIII, p. 327 n., and which are obviously Prakrit forms of *ghaṭikā*. Perhaps these facts should be considered in the interpretation of the Mānikāla inscription (see *J. B. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 641 ff.), seeing that the normal meaning of *ghaṭikā* is a certain division of time or a clock.

⁴ This is evidently the same as the modern *gavariga*, " a man of the basket- and mat-maker tribe or caste " (kittel); but the meaning seems to be different here.

⁵ Perhaps connected with Skt. *maṇka*, on which see Hoernle's *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, translation, p. 108 n.

⁶ Cf. *Madras Govt. Epigr. Report*, 1912-3, p. 9, Brown's *Mirasi Right*, p. 74, and above, Vol. V, p. 23 n.

⁷ Possibly meaning " fellows of the *bārikas*."

and the thousand and seven-hundred *gavares* of the eight provinces in the interior of various lands, who have come out of **Ahichchhatra**, who are supreme lords of the town of **Ayyāvale**, and who obtain grace of boons from the divine Lady,"—

(Ll. 12-19) **Prithvi-Setti**, sheriff of the Seventy-thousand; **Boppanayya** of **Miriñje**, the royal merchant; the great trader **Vesapayya-Setti**; **Sōvana-Setti**, restorer of the church; **Chikka Chavunḍa-Setti**, the *mūliga*¹ of **Bāge**; **Da . . va-Setti** of **Dōṇikōḍu**, the bearer of the *mummuri*-staff; **Jayasīṅgada Siriyama-Setti** of **Tolākale**; **Hemma-Setti**, head-man of the province; **Malla-Setti**, *setti-gutta* of **Kūṇḍili**; **Kuvara**²**Lakka-Setti**; **Nigalada Kēta-Setti**; **Sūra Setti**, **Ākēta-Setti**, (*and*) **Chavunḍa-Setti**, (*sons* ?) of **Bondalabbe**, of **Sedambāl**; **Koppa-Setti**, of the same place; (*and*) . . . **Holla-Setti**, meeting at **Sedambāl** as a general county-assembly representing all the districts, namely the district of **Piriyuguvāra**, the district of **Siriguppe**, the district of **Jugulakoppa**, and the district of . . .

(Ll. 19-22) on Friday, the 2nd of the bright fortnight of **Bhādrapada** in the cyclic year **Dundubhi**, the 1065th (*year*) of the **Śaka** era, holding the Friday's market in that town, granted the following revenues for the personal enjoyment of the god **Mādhavēśvara**, (*whose temple had been*) constructed by **Mādirājayya**, the high sheriff of **Sedambāl** :—

(Ll. 22-29) on the sale of a half-load of areca-nuts, twenty nuts; on a shoulder-bag, twelve nuts; on an ass-load, twenty-five; on opening a [*?* buffalo's or] bullock's half-load, fifty areca-nuts; for purchasers, twenty areca-nuts per gold piece; on each load, a hundred-and-fifty betel-leaves; on a *koḍa* of oil, two *soḷasa*; on a *koḍa* of clarified butter, two *soḷasa*; on each *bhaṇḍi-goḍa*,³ one maund of oil; for the various kinds of grain, on a buffalo-load six maunds, on a bullock-load one *baḷḷa*,⁴ on an ass-load two maunds, on a *hasara* one ladleful in every one maund, on an *oṭṭil* one *koḷaga*⁵; on each *hasara* of cotton, one *saṇḍage*-wick for wicks for the god's lamps.

(Ll. 29-32) The *setti-guttas* on their part granted the following revenues :—on laying down each shoulder-bag, one cloth for a couch (*and*) one *gandhara*-bowl (?); for those who examine *gōṇṭu*, a stamped *fanam*, one quarter *fanam* on each gold piece; on each sale of *arana bhaṇḍi*,⁶ one stick of better quality (?); on the various kinds of grain sold in a cart, one *koḷaga*.

(Ll. 32-38) For the festival of **Chaitra** the people of the parish gave a quarter *fanam* for each pairing. For oil for the lamps to be lit at the festival of the **Dīpāvali** the guilds-men within the town granted on their own houses one quarter *fanam* for each house; on each shop of the potters, one pot; the goldsmiths granted to the god one *aḍḍa* ⁷ in the assay-fee of a *fanam* on every gold piece. In the case of the leather-workers, they gave one pair of slippers for every six months. In the case of the basket-makers, they gave one *mōru* ⁸ for every fair. In the case of the cobblers, they gave one strap for every six months.

(Ll. 38-41) So he who infringes the constitution of this decree shall incur the deadly sin of slaying by the Ganges, in **Prayāga**, in **Benares**, or in **Kurukshētra** a thousand kine; he shall incur the deadly sin of slaying his own eldest son at the **Āditya-tīrthas** and eating from his skull.

(Ll. 41-43) Hail! While the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijayādityadēvarasa** was reigning in the standing camp of **Valavāḍa** with enjoyment of pleasing conversations :—

¹ The meaning given by Kittel for *mūliga* is "a vendor of (medicinal) roots"; but here it must denote some *snk.* Cf. above, Vol. V, p. 27, where the *mūligas* rank after the *mahījanas*.

² [Kuvara means son.—Ed.]

³ A measur. of unknown capacity; literally, "cart-pot."

⁴ Equal to 4 maunds.

⁵ Equal to 16 maunds; hence the *oṭṭil* (literally, "pile") must be a large measure.

⁶ Obscure; the literal meaning is "king's cart."

⁷ On this weight see Kittel, s.v.

⁸ Apparently meaning "head-load."

(Ll. 43-49) they who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, both **Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka** the high minister and controller of taxes and **Mālapayya-Nāyaka** the *krēṇikāra* of the province of Miriñje, for the personal enjoyment of the god Mādhavēśvara (*whose temple was*) constructed by the baron **Mādirājayya**, the sheriff of Seḍambāl, and for the provision of food to the ascetics of that place, on Thursday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the cyclic year **Rudhirōdgāri**, the 1066th (*year*) of the Śaka era, on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival, laved the feet of **Sōvarāsi Siddhāntidēva**, prior of the monastery of the god, and with pouring of water granted the following dues :—

(Ll. 49-54) For the shops built within the parish east of the river on the east of Seḍambāl, the oilmen (*and*) shopkeepers shall give in the paddy-market, excluding the household-tax, half the takings within the market inclusive of a *koḍa* of oil, the *pomma* on loads of betel leaves and the petty dues, and the tolls on bags of the various kinds of grain; on each bullock's load of areca-nuts filled up there from the *antara-vatṭa* (*they shall give*) one hundred and fifty superior nuts; the toll-collectors on duty in the revenue-office shall give every month an eighth on each *sauvarṇa* coin.

(Ll. 54-59 : a Kanarese commonitory formula of the usual type.)

No. 5.—ANTIRIGAM PLATES OF JAYA-BHANJA-DEVA.

BY THE LATE TARINI CHARAN RATH, B.A.

These three copper-plates were unearthed by a ryot while cultivating a piece of waste land situated in the village of **Antirigām** of Pūrva-khaṇḍa, Chatrapur Division, Ganjam District, Madras Presidency. A similar set of three other plates was also discovered along with these which will be edited separately.

The plates measure 7 inches by 3 inches, their thickness being about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch. Each plate has a circular hole on its left side through which passes a copper ring of a diameter of 2 inches, from which the plates are suspended. The two ends of the ring are not in this case secured at the bottom of an oval or circular seal as usual. We have here a lump of copper of a rather peculiar conical shape, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, which holds the two ends of the ring together. This mass of copper is at its bottom in shape a cube, measuring about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch on each side and has at the top a pot-shaped finial marked by a number of circular ridges. On one side of the cube is the following inscription, written in two lines :—

Śrīmad-sūbha

Jadēva-nripatiḥ

The word 'Jadēva' in the beginning of the second line is obviously a mistake for 'Jayadēva,' the name of the king who made the grant. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second or middle plate has inscription both on the obverse and reverse. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims. The inner side of the first plate and the two sides of the second plate have nine lines on each of them, while the inner side of the third or last plate contains ten lines, the total number of lines of the inscription being thus 37. The inscription is clear and the letters are fairly big in size. The plates with the ring weigh 72 tolas

¹ [It is very unlikely that the name of the king would be written *Jadēva* by mistake for *Jayadēva*. The suffix *bhañja* which is the characteristic title of the rulers of the Bhañja dynasty would in no case have been omitted. Hence I think we must read *Bhañjadēva* together; and what is read in the beginning as *śrīmad-sū* is probably *śrīmad-Yasa-*. Besides, the last *akṣhara* in the first line clearly reads *bhañ*. Thus we will have the name *Yasa-Bhañjadēva* which according to the author himself was another name of *Jaya-Bhañjadēva*; see below page 43 —Ed.]

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the characters used are a highly specialised form of the old Northern Nāgarī type. They deserve special notice, inasmuch as they very closely resemble the Uriyā characters. The type is quite important for tracing the development of the present Uriyā alphabet. The following letters on the plates are no other than the modern Uriyā ones:—*śrī* (3rd letter l. 1), *kha* (19th letter l. 5), *ga* (4th letter l. 7), *pa* (4th letter l. 6), *na* (5th letter l. 1), *kshi* (last letter l. 2), *kshmi* (21st letter l. 1), *sha* (26th letter l. 10), *ñja* (8th letter l. 3) and *pra* (8th letter l. 10). Again the following letters also very closely resemble the present Uriyā ones and are in fact their archaic forms:—*ka* (14th letter l. 1), *gha* (7th letter l. 1), *sa* (9th letter l. 1), *ma* (2nd letter l. 4), *ja* (26th letter l. 2), *ya* (22nd letter l. 1), *ta* (4th letter l. 10), *bha* (20th letter l. 3), *da* (21st letter l. 2). Several other instances of both these classes of letters can be found in the inscription on a very close examination. Though Uriyā was both a spoken and a written language in Orissa, its Rājas or ruling chiefs were accustomed to use Sanskrit in their grants relating to landed property. On the whole, I think, it can be said that the characters of the inscription are the prototypes of the modern Uriyā characters.

The plates record the grant of a village by king Jaya-Bhañjadēva, son of Rāya-Bhañja and grandson of Vira-Bhañja, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēsthā (May-June) to a Brāhman named *śrī-Jagadharā*, son of Paṇḍita Dhārādharā belonging to the *Mādhyaṇīna-śākhā* and the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*. The name of the village gifted thereunder is *Reṅgaraḍā* situated at the centre of the province *Khiñjaliyagaḍa-vishaya*. The grantor issued the charter from his camp *Kōlāḍa* in the third [year] of the victorious reign and proclaims this fact of his grant to his ministers, his heir-apparent Vira-Bhañja and other sons, and also the several administrative officers of the province. The inscription was incised by Gaṇeśvara.

The village *Reṅgaraḍā* is stated to have been situated in the province *Khiñjaliyagaḍa-vishaya*. The grant was issued from the camping place known as *Kōlāḍa*. *Khiñjali*, according to traditional accounts, is believed to be a tract of country forming part of the Baud State and from it the smaller States of Gumsur and Dasapalla are said to have been carved out. *Kōlāḍa* was the later capital of Gumsur which continued to be so till the extinction of its Bhañja line of kings. It is popularly known now as *Kullāḍa*. It is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from *Russelkonda*, the head-quarters of the Gumsur Division and Taluk, called after the Commissioner Russel and is connected with it by a good metalled road. The remains of the residences of the old chiefs of Gumsur are still to be seen here covered by jungle growth. The place stands on the bank of a river adorned with the venerable old temples built by the Gumsur Rājas who have richly endowed them with fertile lands and costly movable properties. It is hemmed in all round by beautiful ranges of hills. The name *Khiñjaliyagaḍa-vishaya* signifies the division adjoining the fort of *Khiñjali*, the former name of Gumsur. *Gaḍa* in Uriyā means a fort. *Khiñjaliyagaḍa* corresponds to the present name of "Gaḍamuṭha," a subdivision of the old Gumsur State, now a British possession ever since the year 1835 when its Rāja, late Dhanañjaya-Bhañja, died in the course of a campaign with the British and his minor son, late Brajārāja-Bhañja, was removed to Vellore as a State prisoner. Village names like *Bhangaraḍa* and *Geraḍa* which are to be found to-day in the Gumsur Taluk may be compared with *Reṅgaraḍā*, the village granted. The copper-plate grant thus, I think, relates to the ancient State of Gumsur, formerly known as the *Khiñjali* country.

The grantor is a scion of the illustrious dynasty of the Bhañjas, so very famous in Orissa. According to the traditional account of Gumsur it was founded in the ninth century A.D. by a son of the brother of the Bhañjarāja of Keunjhar who had settled with his brother in Baud, both having been adopted by its king. Keunjhar was carved out from the ancient

Mayūrbhañja State of Orissa, both of which still exist. The account further states that one of the Rājas of Gumsur named Pratāpa-Bhañja captured the Khond Chief of Kullāda and changed his residence by constructing a big fort there, at a very great cost, during the twelfth century A.D. Jaya-Bhañja, son of Rāya-Bhañja and grandson of Vira-Bhañja, appears from what is stated in the inscription to have ruled the country around Kōlāda. The names of these kings are quite new and are neither met with in the traditional account of Gumsur, nor in any one of the several Bhañja plates hitherto discovered and published. It is not possible at present to state how the latter are connected with the Bhañja kings whose names have been discovered by these plates. The second set of copper-plates found with the present one and referred to in paragraph 1 above also mentions these very same names. The grantor and the grantee of both are identically the same persons, the occasion and the village granted alone being different. Jaya-Bhañja is, however, called therein¹ by the name of **Yaśa-Bhañja**. These plates of Yaśa-Bhañja have been noted as No. 10 in Appendix A of the *Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1917-18* and noticed at page 137 thereof. This king is described therein as the lord of the entire **Khiñjali** country. The village **Komyāna** granted thereunder has been observed as being situated in the Gumsur Taluk by the above-said officer, to whom the plates had been sent by me for examination.

The grant of Jaya-Bhañja is said to have been made in the third year of the victorious reign, no particular era being given. According to the traditional account of Gumsur, Kullāda was conquered and made the capital in the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. The characters of the inscription are found to be later in date than those of the Gumsur plates of Nētri-Bhañja edited at pages 667-671 of Volume VI of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the Baud plates of Raṇa-Bhañja edited at pages 321-328 of Volume XII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and the inscription has probably to be assigned to the twelfth century A.D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² [||*] Svasti śrī-guṇa-saṃgha-saṃyuta-tarē lōk-[ā]bhikīrty-ōttamē (||) Lakshmi[ṛ*]=
ya[tra]
- 2 nivāsini suvirālā jātās=cha vīr-ōttamāḥ | Dharmō yatra sadā sthitō ripu-jayah
khyātaḥ kṣhi-
- 3 tau sa[rvva]dā vaṃśō Bhañja-susamjñakē ripu-hariḥ śrī-Vīra-Bhañj-ō[bha]vat || [1*]
Tat-sūnu[ṛ*]=dvi(i)ja-dēva-pū-
- 4 [jana-rataḥ śrī]-Rāya-Bhañjō nṛipaḥ durvvār-āri-narēndra-darpa-dalanō vīryeṇa
Śakr-ōpa-
- 5 maḥ [1*] tat-putrō Jaya-Bhañjadēva-nṛipati rājñām si(śi)rah-sē(śē)kharah [rū]pair=yō
- 6 Madan-ōpamaḥ kṣhiti-talē dāna(a)ś=cha Kar[n]n-ōpamō(maḥ) || [2*] Mānaś=ch=āpi
Suyōdha-
- 7 n-ōpama-gataḥ Śakr-ōpamō vikramaiḥ durvvār-āri-kuraṅga-māraṇa-hariḥ śrī-Śaṃka-

¹ [This is not so. They were apparently brothers. Yaśa-Bhañja was the elder of the two. Jaya-Bhañja issued this charter under the seal of his brother the king.—Ed.]

² [Expressed by a symbol. An interesting paper on "The Svastika and the Ōmkāra symbols" is contributed by Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, M.A., to the *Jo. and Pro. A. S. B.* (new series), Vol. XVII, 1921, No. 3. This is a direct refutation of the theory of some that the symbol represents a figure of Gaṇapati.—Ed.]

- 8 rē bhaktimāna(n) (||†) bhaktō vai pitṛi-mātṛi-pāda-yugalē śrī-vaishṇavaḥ sāmpratam
|| [3*]¹ Sa cha ma-
9 hā-maṇḍalēśa(śva)ra-śa(sa)rvva-g[u]ṇ-ālaṁkṛita-śrīmad-rāja(jā) Jaya-Bhañja-dēvaḥ
kuśali || Kō-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 lāḍa-kāṭaka-[sthītō](taḥ)pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē tṛitiya-samvatsarē Jyēshṭha-
śukla-
11 pañchadasya(śya)m sōma-grahaṇa-vēlāyām Kṣiṇjaliya-g[a]ḍa-vishaya-madhyā-
vartti(i)-Rēṅgaraḍā-grā-
12 maṁ sa-jala-sthalam s-ōdvēlam [sa-ni]dhi s-ōpanidhikam sa-viṭap-āraṇyam
a-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-[pra]-
13 vēsam su(sa)rvv-ōpadrava-vivarjitam sarvva-sas[y*]-ōtpatt[i]-sahitam chatu[s*]-sīmā-
vichchinnam (||†) u[t]ki-
14 rṇa-tā[mra]m² [a]dhi-vidhim śāsanam=akarikṛi(kṛi)tya (||†) Madhyadēśiya-Tākāri-vipra-
sa-
15 -mudbha[va]m=āgatāya³ Ko[nḍa]rāvaṅga-vishaya-Dakṣiṇa-Tōshala-stha-Paṭavāḍa-pāṭa-
16 ka-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrāy=Āṅgīrasa-Vā(Bā)ras[pa]tya-Bhāradvāja-
trih⁴-pravarāya
17 Yaju[r*]-vēd-ādhyāi(yi)nē Mādhyamdi(ndi)nīya-śākhāya Paṇḍita-Dhārādharasya
putrāya Daivajña-
18 [Śrī]-Jagadharāya bhūmi(m*)-dāna-vidhinā hast-ōdakam dat[t*]vā yathākāla[m*]-
bh[ā*]vina[h] samu(†)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 [p-ā]gatān=a (||†) śēsha-pārthivāna(n) prārthayati anyāmś=cha rājaput[r*]-āmātya-
yuvarā[ja]-
20 Vīra-Bhañjadēvaḥ⁵-akṣhapāṭali(li) - Vajradat [t*]a-sandhi-vigraha(hi)-Puṇanāga-prati-
nāra-Bhōpāla-rā-
21 paka - [La]kṣmikalaśa - rājamātula - Jaṭhīnāga⁶-vyavahāri(ri) -Arapōta-prabhri(bhṛi)-
tinām⁶ rāja-
22 pād-ōpajivinaḥ (†) kirtitāḥ(n-a)(†)kirtitān Khaṇḍapāla-Purañjaya-sarah⁷ (†) yathār-
ham māna-
23 itya⁸ samājñāpayati matam=astu bhavatām bhūmi-dānam=idam=asmaḍ-
dat[t*]a[m*] bha-

† Superfluous.

¹ [The fourth pāda of this verse is missing.—Ed.] Verses 1 to 3 are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita metre.

² Read tāmram=adhī-.

³ [Samudbhavam=āgatāya seems to be used in the sense of jātāya. It is also possible that we have to divide the words as samudbhava-Māgatā(dhā)ya in which case the phrase would mean “a Māgadha born of the Brahmas of Tākāri (modern Tikāri?) who had immigrated from Madhyadēsa.”—Ed.]

⁴ Cancel the visarga.

⁵ [Between ga and vya there seems to be a symbol for vi which has been possibly scored.—Ed.]

⁶ Read -prabhritin.

⁷ [Read śārān; the adjective kirtitān being in the plural, the mention of only two heroes Khaṇḍapāla and Purañjaya must be taken to include also similar other heroes.—Ed.]

⁸ Read yitā.

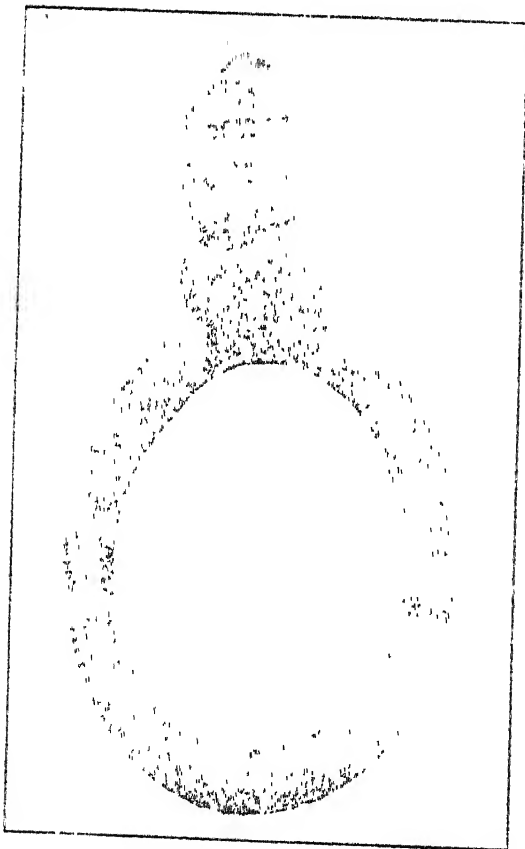
ii a.

iib.

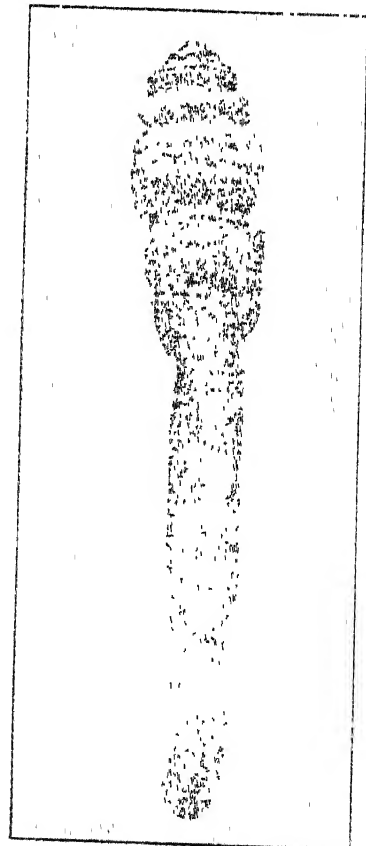
[illegible]

28 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसादात्प्राप्तं ज्ञानं नृपस्य उग्रधामिनः ॥
 २८ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसादात्प्राप्तं ज्ञानं नृपस्य उग्रधामिनः ॥
 ३० वराहो जगन्नाथस्त्वयि शरणं प्रसीद ॥ सर्वपापहर्त्रा त्वया ध्याता ॥
 ३० श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ३२ श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ३२ श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ३४ श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ३४ श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ३६ श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ३६ श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्भगवत्पदोत्तरे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीधाम कुरुक्षेत्रे

SEAL (FROM PHOTOGRAPHS).




FRONT VIEW



SIDE VIEW.

- 24 vadbhiḥ (|†) bhāvibhiḥ=cha (||†) ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam pālaniyam [||*] Atra dharm-ānu-
- 25 sam(śam)sinaḥ ślōkāḥ [||*] Bhūmi-dāna-samam dānam na bhūtam na bhavishyati | dānēna ya-
- 26 ta(t) phalam prōktam pālānēna tatō=dhikam ||[4*] Va(ba)hubhir=vassu dhā da[t*]-tā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ā-
- 27 dibhiḥ [*] yasyayasya yadā bhūmis=tasyatasya tadā ¹phalam ||[5*] Mā bhūmi-²phala-

Third Plate.

- 28 śamkā vaḥ (|†) para-da[t*]t=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[m*] para-datt-ānupālanaḥ || [6*]
- 29 Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām | sva-[vī]-shṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha
- 30 pachyatē|| [7*] Asārēpi cha samśārē jivitasya phala-dvayam [*] pālanaḥ para=kīrtti(ti)nā[m]
- 31 svayam karṣitvam=ēvacha || [8*] Anuchintya śrī(i)yam jivyaḥ padma-patr-ānuvind[u]-vata(t) [†] vu(bu)[dh]v=ātr=ōdāhri(hri)taḥ
- 32 sarvvaḥ na lōpyāḥ para-kīrttayaḥ || [9*] Asmad-vaṁsa(śa)-ja-bhūpatir=yadi punar=bhūp=ōnya-vaṁs-ō(ś-ō)-
- 33 dbhavō mad-dattām paripāla[yē]d=iha mahim tasmai dhṛit=ōsmy=amjalim | [† 10*]³ Mata(t)-śā(chchhā)sanē pi-
- 34 tri(tri)-pitāmaha-bhūmi-bhāga-madhya-pradatta iha yaḥ kurutē=pakāram | Śambhōḥ pura[h*]sthita-va(ba)-
- 35 [hu]-dvija-vatsa-pō(ghā)ta-nihsantatiḥ sakala-janma-satōshu bhūyāt || [11*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigri-
- 36 [hṇāti] yasya(yaś=cha) bhūmim praya[ch*]chhati | ubhau [t]au [punya-karmāṇau niyatau svarga-gāminau [||] [12*]  ||
- 37 [Asya Kāla-paṇḍi]ta[sya] vaṇika(g)-Ganē[s]varēṇa li(li)khitam=iti ||

No. 6.—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HAMMIR OF RANTHAMBHOR,
DATED (V.S.) 1345.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

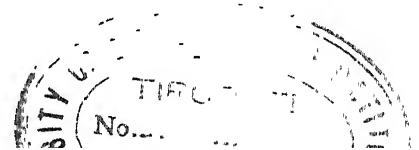
This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a niche of the reservoir in front of the temple of Kavalji (Kapālīśvara) lying in the Balvan estate of the Kotāh principality of Rājputānā. It was discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, who gave a brief account of it in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer for the year 1920-21. It is in a good state of preservation. On account of its importance for the history of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor as well as the Paramāras of Mālwa, a detailed notice of it seems to be necessary, and is given below with the text based on the ink impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the said scholar.

† Superfluous.

¹ The syllable *pha* is written below the line.

² Read *bhūd=aphala-* as in other inscriptions

³ The second half of verse 10 is missing.



The inscription contains thirty-nine verses written in twenty-nine lines with nearly half a line of prose at the end. The character is Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.D., common in Rājputānā during that period. The letters show no peculiarity except in one or two instances, namely, इ in इव and इति (lines 4 and 21 respectively) where it is written in a different way from that in other lines. Also, च, when joined to a letter, is written in a quite different way as in मध्यच (l. 5), स्थिति (l. 19), etc. Such इs and चs are generally found in the inscriptions of earlier period. Also च is written in two ways as in कच and चीच in lines 1 and 19 respectively. The letters are on the average about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in height and the area covered by the writing is about 3 sq. ft. The language is Sanskrit throughout with some occasional mistakes which are duly shown in the foot-notes accompanying the text. As regards orthography, it may be noted that *v* is used for *b* throughout. Consonants are mostly doubled after *r* as in रविर्भवः सुवर्ण, दुर्गो, विनिर्गत, वितीर्णा, etc. (lines 5, 7, 9 and 16 respectively). *Anusvāra* is mostly used for nasals as in लंबोदरी, कुंड, बंधु, शृंगो, पंच, etc., in ll. 1, 2, 11, 15 and 16 respectively and also at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in दासता (l. 7), जौवित (l. 24), सुख्यता (l. 26), etc., and is redundant in सप्तत्य (l. 7). The symbol *ṛi* is used in हत (l. 22) and others but not in द्वितीय (l. 19). Redundant strokes are to be seen as in ll. 3, 10, 24, etc.

The inscription is a *prasaṣti* of the Chauhān kings of Ajmer and Ranthambhōr, and gives a eulogistic description of the family of the minister of Hammīra, the last Chauhān king of Ranthambhōr. After the usual invocation of Gaṇēśa and Kapālīśvara Śiva, it names the surroundings of the temple in front of which it is found, and mentions the Chakrataṭinī, Mandākinī and Kētumukhā as flowing close by it (vv. 1-2). It then praises the Chauhān rulers. Prithvirāja, the well-known Chauhān king of Ajmer, is mentioned in the fifth verse; while Vāgbhaṭa, the Chauhān king of Ranthambhōr, in the sixth. Jaitrasimha, who succeeded Vāgbhaṭa, is mentioned as having harassed Jayasimha of Maṇḍapa and killed the Kūrma king and a king of Karkarālagiri (vv. 7-8). He is also said to have defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the king of Mālwa at Jhampāithā-Ghaṭṭa (Ghāt), and kept them as prisoners at Raṇastambhapura (v. 9). Hammīra succeeded Jaitrasimha and is said to have defeated Arjuna in a battle, thereby depriving Mālwa of the fame and glory which it then enjoyed (v. 11). He also erected a three-storied golden palace called Pushyaka (? Pushpaka) at Raṇastambhapura (v. 12).

Next, the family of Hammīra's minister is described. In it, both Narapati, the minister of Jaitrasimha and Hammīra (v. 35), and his wife Nayaśrī stand prominent on account of their many acts of charity. Verse 13 says that Ananta, Sēdha, and Śrīdhara were born in succession in the Kaṭāriyā-Kāyastha family, which migrated from Mathurā. After them came Lakshana whose son Pūrṇapāla had a son named Yamunāpāla (vv. 14-15). His son Sōmaṇa married Sōmaladēvī, daughter of Dēvarāja (v. 16). His son was Narapati (v. 17). Narapati's younger brother was Śrīpati and wife was Nayaśrī, who got herself weighed against various metals ten times (vv. 18-20). She had five sons, namely, Padmasimha, Thīrū, Lōla, Lakshmīdhara, and Sōma (vv. 22-30). Padmasimha's son was Mōkshasimha (v. 31). Thīrū had two sons Kēsava and Sōdha (v. 32). Lōla's son was Gāṅgadēva, and Sōma's was Jayasimha (v. 33). Then, the name of the composer of the record is given as Vaijāditya, who was the *Purāṇa*-reciter at the court of king Hammīra (v. 39). In the prose line at the end, the date is given as Samvat 1345 (A.D. 1288) and also the name of the *Sutradhara* (engraver), viz., Gājūka, son of Trivikrama.

As regards the places or other names mentioned in the inscription Kapālīśvara (v. 2) and Kādamālēśvara (v. 34) are still represented by the local name Kavālī. Chakrataṭinī is

the **Chākapa** which flows to the left of Kavālji's temple. Mandākinī is the **Madākapa** which flows behind the temple. **Maṇḍapa** (v. 7) is the famous fortress of **Māṇḍu**. **Jhampāitha Ghaṭṭa**, as the name shows, might be a hill pass or a river ford somewhere in or about the Kotah territory. **Kētumukhā** (v. 2) and **Karkarālagiri** (v. 8) I cannot identify. **Rapas-tambhapura** is the fortress of **Rapathambhōr** in the Jaipur State. **Pushyaka** (v. 12) may be the old palace of Hammira.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, **Prithvirāja** is the famous chivalrous Chauhan king of Ajmer. **Vāgbhaṭa** was the fourth in succession from **Gōvindarāja**,¹ and is also known as **Bāhaḍa** or **Bāhaḍadēva**. He went for some time to **Mālwa** owing to some internal dissension with his nephew, and consequently **Ranthambhōr** fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. He, however, soon returned and once more became master of **Ranthambhōr**.² He was twice attacked by **Ulugh Khān** in the time of '**Alāu-d-dīn Khilji**'.³ **Jaitrasimha** (v. 7) was the son and successor of **Vāgbhaṭa**. In Samvat 1339 (A.D. 1283), he handed over the reins of Government to his son **Hammira** and went into seclusion.⁴ **Hammira** (v. 10) was the last independent Chauhan king of **Ranthambhōr**. His fame is sung in many a Sanskrit and Prākṛit verse. According to the *Uammira-mahākāvya*, the date of his accession is Samvat 1339 (A.D. 1283), but, according to the genealogy given at the end of the *Prabandhakōsha*, it is Samvat 1342 (A.D. 1285). He led a series of successful warlike expeditions into different countries. In one of the many battles fought by him, he is said to have defeated **Rājā Arjuna** of **Saraspura**⁵—a fact which does not quite agree with that of this inscription. He was killed in Samvat 1358 (A.D. 1301).⁶ **Jayasimha** (v. 7), who was harassed by **Jaitrasimha**, was the **Paramāra** king **Jayasimhadēva** III of **Mālwa**. He succeeded **Jayavarman** II between Samvat 1317 and 1326 (A.D. 1260 and 1269), and ruled from A.D. 1261-1280.⁷ The **Kūrma** king, who is said to have been killed by **Jaitrasimha** (v. 8), belonged to the **Kachhavāha** (**Kachchhapaghāta** or **Kachchhapāri**) family of **Āmber**. It is generally believed that the **Kachhavāha** prince **Pajjuṇa** was one of the great vassals of **Prithvirāja** III of **Ajmer**.⁸ So, the **Kūrma** king mentioned above must be a descendant of **Pajjuṇa**. The **Kachhavāhas** of **Āmber** belonged to the junior branch of the **Kachhavāhas** of **Gwalior**. They were the descendants of **Sumitra**, the younger son of **Maṅgalarāja**, the third⁹ **Kachhavāha** ruler of **Gwalior**. According to the writer **Muhnot Nainsy** (A.D. 1610-1670), **Sōḍha** (**Sōḍhadēva**), who belonged to this junior branch, migrated to **Rājputānā** and took **Dyōsa** in **Jaipur** territory from the **Baragujaras**, and established his rule there.¹⁰ His descendants took **Āmber** from the **Mīnās** and made it their capital. **Āmber** remained the capital of the **Kachhavāhas** of **Rājputānā** till the time of **Sawāi Jaisimha** (A.D. 1699-1743) who founded the modern city of **Jaipur**. As to **Arjuna** (v. 11) of **Mālwa**, who is said to

¹ He was the founder of the ruling dynasty of the Chauhāns of **Ranthambhōr**. After the death of his father **Prithvirāja** in A.D. 1192, he was appointed governor of **Ajmer** by **Muhammad Ghori** but was soon driven out of **Ajmer** towards **Ranthambhōr** by his uncle **Harirāja** (**Hemrāja** or **Hirāj**). (Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 193.)

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 63-64.

³ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 367-70.

⁴ The *Hammira-mahākāvya*, *Sarga* 8, *Śloka* 56. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 64, n. 14.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73, n. 20.

⁷ *The Parmāras of Dhār and Mālwa* by Captain C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele, p. 41.

⁸ Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 717, n. 3.

⁹ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. II, p. 374.

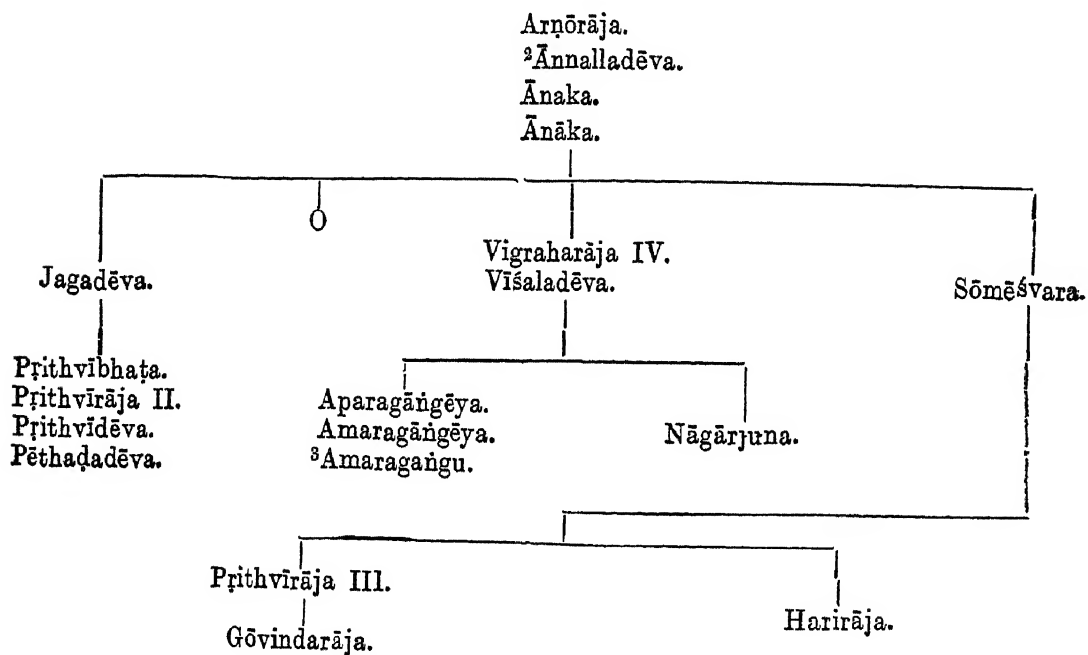
Muhnot Nainsy's Khyāta (manuscript), pp. 63-64. [Muhnot Nainsy was the minister of the **Mahārāja Jaswant Singh** (A.D. 1635-78) of **Jodhpur** and was a reliable writer of historical accounts of **Rājputānā**.]

¹⁰ **Muhnot Nainsy's Khyāta** (manuscript), p. 64. Supplementary notes to Tod's *Rajasthan* (in Hindi) by **R. B. Pt. Gourishankar H. Ojha**, p. 373.

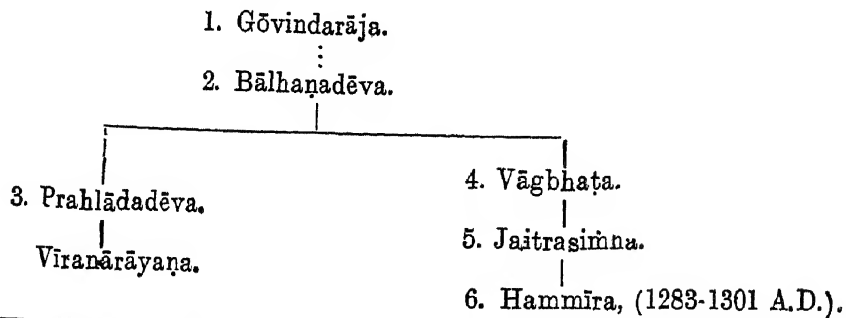
have been defeated by Hammīra (v. 11), he must be designated as Arjunavarman II in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa, as stated by Pandit Gourishankar Hirāchand Ojha and is different from the king named Arjuna or Arjunavarman who ruled Mālwa, but died before Samvat 1275 (A.D. 1218) and consequently could not be the contemporary of Hammīra of this record. In fact, he (Arjuna of this record) was the sixth in succession from Arjunavarman I and, therefore, must be the successor of Jayasimhadēva III of Mālwa, who was defeated by Hammīra's father Jaitrasimha. The defeat of Arjuna might have taken place between Samvat 1339 and 1345 (A.D. 1283 and 1288); that is, between the period of Hammīra's accession and the date of this record.

The genealogy of the Chauhāns of Ajmer and Ranthambhōr in the light of this inscription and other authorities would be :—

¹The Chauhāns of Ajmer.



⁴The Chauhāns of Ranthambhōr.



¹ According to *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, *Hammīra-mahākāvya* and several inscriptions.

² Professor Kielhorn read this name as Avēlladēva (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 218). The same is written in Duff's *Chronology*, p. 154. The correct name, however, is Ānnalladēva.

³ This name is given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*. [*Cunningham's Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. I, p. 153.]

⁴ According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*.



PROFESSOR DR. E. HULTZSCH, PH. D. LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST
(1886—1903).

Born: 29th March 1857
at Dresden, Germany.

Died. 16th January 1927
at Halle (Saale),
Germany.

The position of Arjuna of this record in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa commencing from Arjunavarman I. would be (according to the inscriptions) :—

1. Arjunavarman I. (1210-15 A.D.).
⋮
2. Dēvapāladēva (1218-35 A.D.).
⋮
3. Jayatugidēva or Jayasimha II. (1243-57 A.D.).
⋮
4. Jayavarman II. (1257-60 A.D.).
⋮
5. Jayasimhadēva III. (A.D. 1269-....).¹
⋮
6. Arjuna or Arjunavarman II.

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15, 19 to 22, 28 to 39, *Anushtubh*; v. 2, *Sāṁdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 5, *Āryā*; vv. 6 and 13, *Gīti*; vv. 8 and 10, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 11 and 26, *Indravajrā*; v. 14, *Rathōddhatā*; v. 16, *Svāgatā*; v. 17, *Pañjhaṭikā*; v. 18, *Upajāti*; v. 23, *Sālinī*; v. 24, *Harṇī*; v. 25, *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*; v. 27, *Śukharīṇī*.]

1

ओं ॥

[शं] वो ^१लंबोदरी देयादेककालं कलत्रयोः । ^२बुद्धिसिद्धयोः स्तनस्यशहे-
तोरिव चतुर्भुजः ॥ १[॥*] दद्रुश्लोपदकुष्ठदुष्टवपुषामाधिं विनिघ्नवृणां कारुख्येन
समोद्धितं

2

वितनुतां देवः कपालोश्वरः ।

वामे यस्य चकास्ति चक्रतटिनी पृष्ठे च मंदाकिनी निर्यत्केतुमुखापगा-
जलवहं कुंडं प्रसिद्धं पुरः ॥ २[॥*] यदंतिके आङ्गतां कुलजी-

3

टिविसुक्तिदः ।

अनादिपादपोद्यापि दृश्यते किल शाल्मलिः ॥ ३[॥*] चाहमाननरेंद्राणां वंशो
विजयतामयं । उपायुज्यत यदंडः कलौ गौवृषरक्षणे ॥ ४[॥*]
क-॥^४

4

लिकालकेसरिकुलत्रस्यज्ञोचक्ररक्षणे दत्ताः ।

अभवन्विजितविपक्षाः पृथिवीराजादयो भूपाः ॥ ५[॥*] तदंशे राजानो भानव
इच(व) वैधवा ^५वभूवांसः । वाग्भट-

5

देवप्रमुखा जनकुमुदोक्तासनैकसद्भावाः ॥ ६[॥*]

ततोभ्युदयमासाद्य जैत्रसिंहरविर्व्ववः । अपि मंडपमध्यस्थं जयसिंहमतो-
तपत् ॥ ७[॥*] कूर्मक्षितीशकमठो-

¹ His reign may have lasted longer than 1280 A.D., *vide f. n. 7* on p. 47 above.

² Read लंबो.

³ Read बुद्धि.

⁴ The strokes are redundant.

⁵ Read वभूवांसः.

6

कठिनोत्कंठ-

पोठीबिलुंठ(ठ)नकठोरकुठारधारः । यः कर्करालगिरिपालकपालपालि-
खेलत्करालकरवालकरो विरेजे ॥८॥*] येन भंपादयाघट्टे

7

[मा]लवेगभटाः शतं ।

¹वद्वा रणस्तंभपुरे क्षिप्ता नीताश्च दासतां ॥९॥*] तस्मिन्नुक्कण्ठधनदाननिदान-
पुष्पपण्यैः पुरंदरपुरीतिलकायमाने । ²सांस्त्राज्यसाज्यपरि-

8

तोषितहृदयवाहो

हंमीरभूपतिरविंव(द)त भूतधाच्याः [1*]॥१०॥*] यः कोटिहोमद्वितयं चकार
श्रेणीं गजानां पुनरानिनाय । निर्जित्य येनार्जुनमाजिमूर्ध्व

9

श्रीर्मालवस्योज्ज्वलं हठेन ॥११॥*]

रणस्तंभपुरे दु[र्गे] वेश्म पुण्य(ष्य)कसंज्ञकं ।¹ तिस्रभिर्भूमिभिर्युक्तं² यः कांचन-
मचौकरत् ॥१२॥*] मथुरापुरीविनिर्गतकाय-

10

[स्थ]कटारियान्ववायाव्यौ⁴ ।

जाता अनंतसेढश्रीधरसंज्ञाः क्रमेण मणयः प्राक् ॥१३॥*] लक्षणस्तदनु
लक्षणाधिको लक्षलक्षणविचक्षणोभवत् । यश्चलत्वा-⁵

11

मलकोमलक्षणो कं(र्ष)धुवत्सलतयेव लक्ष्मणः ॥१४॥*]

पूर्णपालः स भूपालप्रियोस्य तनयोभवत् । यः प्राप यमुनापालम⁶वाल-
चरितं सुतं ॥१५॥*] तस्य सूनुरज-

12

निष्ट वरिष्ठो(ष्ठो)

विष्टपेपि खलु सोमणसंज्ञः । देवराजदुहिता परिणोता येन शीलनिधि-
सोमलदेवो ॥१६॥*] तस्य सुतोजनि नरपतिनामा भानुकृशानुक-⁷

13

नकसमधामा ।

यद्गुणजनितकीर्त्तिस्तदुवामा दूरमियर्त्ति सततमभिराम[1*] ॥१७॥*] तस्यानुजन्मा-
भवदग्रकर्मा स श्रीपतिः श्रीपतिसक्तचेताः । अन्या-

14

गनासोदरताव्रतं यो

दधौ सुधासंघमिवास्ततांशुः ॥१८॥*] श्रीमत्परशुनामाख्यमोचा⁸ग्धेरिंदिरोपमा ।
नयश्रीरिति विख्याता भार्या नरयतेरभूत् ॥१९॥*

15

१९॥*] एक[मि(स्मि)ने(जे)व दिवसे इनात्वा अद्वासुधांशुधा⁹ ।¹ Read वद्वा.² Read साचा°.³ Read °दुक्तं.⁴ Read °याव्यौ.⁵ This stroke is redundant.⁶ Read °वाल्.⁷ This stroke is redundant.⁸ Read °नाग्धे°.⁹ Read वुधौ.

- तामकास्याद्विस्तृतां ददौ सा दशधा तुलां ॥२०[॥*] वाचस्यती सिंहमते
मौलम्यां स्नातया यया । सुवर्णं^१स्थो
- 16 विप्रेभ्यो वितोष्णां घनवः शतं ॥२१[॥*]
व्यावलात्कुंडलाश्चरुनेत्रा भूतिविभू[षि]ताः । व(व)भूवस्तुताः पंच महेश्वर-
मुखोपमाः ॥२२[॥*] तेषु ज्येष्ठः पद्मसिंहो नि-
- 17 रोहो
दोषव्यूहवस्ति यत्कोर्तिहंस्था । प्रत्यर्धिलोवक्त्रपात्रान्निपोतं हास्यक्षोरं
तद्वगंभो विमुक्तं ॥२३[॥*] यदतिललितं रूपं दृष्ट्वा स्मरज्वरतप्तया सुसर-
- 18 सि तथा सस्ने कान्स्ने कयापि मृगोदृशा ।
तदुदकभरैरुष्णीभूतैर्दृशं परितापितः सकलसकुलव्यूहो^२वाह्येष्टतानि पतन्त्यथा ॥
२४[॥*] परिज्ञातः ॥^३
- 19 सप्ताश्वमंजैकसारो^४
वभूव द्वितीयश्च थीरुददारः । प्रियांभोजपुंजस्थितिं योत्र लक्ष्मीमधा-
त्पात्रहस्ता^५जगामेव शुभो [॥*]॥२५[॥*] लोलसि(स्तु)तीयसि-
- 20 पुरापराज्य^६-
पादा^७जपूजाधिगतप्रसादः । भानूद्भवातोयतरंगसंगिहंसत्रियं^८ विभ्रदसंभ्रमो-
भूत् ॥२६[॥*] चतुर्थो भूनाथस्तुतविविधदेशोद्भव-
- 21 लिपि-
प्र^९वोधप्रावीण्यः समजनि स लक्ष्मीवर इति । यमाजगमुर्विद्या युग-
पदनवद्या द्विजहितं शुंकादौनां माया^{१०} बहुफलरसोलदुममिव ॥२७[॥*] स-
- 22 त्वरं गत्वरं मत्वा वित्तं वाडवसेवया ।
पात्रचाक^{११}तस[र्व]स्वो यो वदान्यान्वयसिम्पत् ॥२८[॥*] सोमः स पंचमो जोज्या-
दपूर्वं यन्मुखं^{१२}वुजं^{१३} । समस्थितवहि^{१४} ॥^{१५}
- 23 चमीरंतर्द्वो सरस्वती ॥ २९ [॥*]
अभग्नमानमजडमकलंकं विलोक्त्वा यं । हृदये मर्षमालिन्यमिदुर्द्वर्त्तककौ-
तवात् ॥३०[॥*] पद्मसिंहस्य तनयो मोक्षसिंहः
- 24 सदा पितुः ।
चैमातुरः प्रियं कु[र्व]न्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयात् ॥३१[॥*] थीरुनाच्चोस्ति तनयद्वितयं
दीर्घजीवितं । तत्रैकः केशवो नाम्ना द्वितीयः सोढसंज्ञ- ॥^{१६}

^१ Read वाह्ये.

^२ Read °जगा°.

^३ Read प्रवी°.

^४ Read °वृजं.

^५ The strokes are redundant.

^६ The strokes are redundant.

^७ Read °दास्ज°.

^८ Read बहु°.

^९ Read बहि°.

^{१०} Read वसव.

^{११} Read द्विध°.

^{१२} Better read पात्र चाक°.

^{१३} The strokes are redundant.

25

कः ॥३२[॥*]

गङ्गादेवो(व)स्तु गङ्गाया लब्धो^१ लोलात्मजः सुखी । जयसिंहस्तु सोमस्य
सुतः ^२स्तात्सूतप्रियः ॥३३[॥*] कर्दमालिखरस्याग्रे ज्ञानवापोति नामतः ॥
शि-

26

लासु^३वहसीपानं कुडं नरपतिर्व्यधात् ॥ ३४[॥*]

जैत्रसिंहस्य भूभर्तः शोहंसीरनृपस्य च । नोतिशास्त्रेषु निष्णातो यो
लेभे मंचिसुख्यतां ॥३५[॥*] सहैव धीर-

27

स्वामिन्या समाश्वः कुलदेवता ।

यत्कुलेनादिपुरुषादारभ्याद्यापि पूज्यते ॥३६[॥*] रणस्तंभपुरे दुर्गं देवालय-
चतुष्टयं । कारयामास वा-

28

पीं च ग्रामे पिप्पलवाटके ॥३७[॥*]

सिंहपुर्यां कुरुचेचे गोदावर्यां क्रमेण यः । गवां सहस्रमेकैकं विप्रेभ्यः
प्रत्यपादयत् ॥३८[॥*] शोहंसीरनृवी -

29

रस्य पीराणिकप्रदे स्थितः ।

वैजादित्यो नृपामात्यः[*] प्रशस्तिमतनीदिमां ॥३९[॥*] संवत् १३४५ वर्षे
घटिता सूत्रधारत्रिविक्रमसुतगाजूकेन ॥

No. 7.—AHAR STONE INSCRIPTION.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved is stated to have been discovered in a ruined house in the ancient town of Āhār situated on the banks of the Ganges at a distance of seven miles north of Anūpshahr and twenty-one miles from Bulandshahr. Mr. W. E. J. Dobbs, Collector of Bulandshahr, was informed of this discovery when he was camping at Āhār for the Christmas week of 1923, and at the suggestion of the Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, C.S.I., of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, the inscribed stone has been transferred to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The impression published with this paper has been kindly supplied by Mr. Prayag Dayal, the Curator of that institution.

According to Mr. H. R. Nevill,⁴ I.C.S., the name of Āhār is locally derived from *ahi* and *hār* (Sanskrit *hāra*), the killing of the serpent,⁵ and the present town is said to be the place where Janamējaya performed the great Snake-sacrifice. Āhār is also locally believed to have been the residence of Rukmiṇī, the wife of Kṛishṇa, and the temple of Āmbikādevī at Muhammadpur is said to be that from which Kṛishṇa carried her off.⁶ The numerous mounds in and about Āhār show that the town was the seat of a Hindu principality for some centuries previous to the Musalman invasion. None of these mounds has yet been explored.

¹ Read स्त्री.² Read 'सुख्य'?³ [Evidently an instance of popular etymology.—Ed.]⁴ [But that was in Vidarbha (Berār) !—Ed.]⁵ [Perhaps सूयस्मृता^c is meant.—Ed.]⁶ *Bulandshahr Gazetteer*, p. 172.

The inscription consists of twenty-eight lines which cover a space of 3' 4" × 1' 8½". The whole of the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation except for a portion measuring 8" × 5" which is defaced on account of the flaking off of the stone in the upper left corner of the slab. Three or four letters have also mostly disappeared in the lowest or last line. The letters measure about half an inch in height exclusive of the vowel marks. The characters are Nāgarī of about the 10th century A.D., and are regularly and beautifully formed and artistically engraved from beginning to end. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose throughout, though the author of the record would seem to have been equipped with a meagre knowledge of Sanskrit grammar while some of the mistakes appear to betray the influence of the vernacular of the period. As regards orthography, *ba* has throughout been denoted by the sign for *va*, while the dental sibilant has often been employed in place of the palatal. Besides this we notice many other mistakes and defects of various kinds. Some of these are —

The use of the vowel *च* for *रि* and *री* in *चतुर* in place of *चत्रिय* (ll. 14, 16 and 20) and *पटकाय* for *पटिकाय* (l. 24) and *मृ* for *म्री* (ll. 11 and 27); the use of *अन्सु* for *अंग* (l. 3), *सन्सार्जन* for *सन्सार्जन* (l. 5) and *सन्सत* for *सन्सत* (ll. 12, 18 and 21); the use of short vowels in place of long ones as in *भद्रप्रकाशनाम* in place of *भद्रप्रकाशनामा* (l. 3, etc.); single consonants for double ones and *vice versa*, as in *उत्तर* for *उत्तर* (ll. 7, 10, etc.), *दृष्टादृतक* for *दृष्टादृतक* (ll. 7 and 20), *सद्वाजनेन* for *सद्वाजनेन* (ll. 6, 20, etc.), *आघाट* for *आघाट* (ll. 9, 10, 13, etc.) and *भाटक* for *भाटक* (ll. 10, 11, 21, etc.).

Examples of wrong *sandhi* are *एकन* for *एकोन* (l. 1); *वणिक्का* for *वणिक्का* (l. 5, etc.). In some cases *sandhi* is ignored between the component parts of the same compound as in *दक्षप्रायिक अन्तर* in l. 2; *अत्रैतपक्षचट्पत्* in l. 6; *भद्रद्व* in l. 10; *भद्रचित्तराजअनाकयो* (l. 13), etc. Specimens of extraordinary *sandhi*, one of which is repeated several times in the inscription, are *आवायाराघाटा* in place of *आवायां आघाटा* and *पृञ्चतो इद्वैव* for *पृञ्चत इद्वैव* (l. 4). Examples of wrong absolutives are *दत्ता* for *दत्ता* (l. 11), and *मतीभूता* for *मतीभूत* (ll. 8 and 18). Examples of irregular participles are *प्रतिवसमान*; (l. 3) and *प्रतिवसमाना*; (l. 17), etc.

As regards the treatment of nouns, we observe the omission of case-endings in *अन्सु(अंग)-वाक्युच्च* (l. 3), *सधुसूदनतथा* (l. 8), *गृहभूमि* (l. 10), etc. Sometimes wrong cases have been employed:—

Cf. *त्रिप्रकोष्ट* for *त्रिप्रकोष्टा* (l. 4), *समस्तोच्चयसमेता* for *समस्तोच्चयसमेता* (l. 4), *अपापुरे* for *अपापुरात्* (l. 7), etc. Bases ending in consonants are in some cases declined like those ending in *ञ*, e.g., *वर्धने* in place of *वर्धना* (l. 9), and *वणिक्* for *वणिक्* (l. 23).

In connection with compounds, the *visarga* is sometimes wrongly used in the earlier components, *cf.* *पादानुध्यातःपरम* (l. 1). As instances of irregular causatives and their derivatives, we notice *अभिलिखाय* (l. 3), *उत्कर्षिता* (l. 7) and *धत्तापन* (ll. 5 and 28). In the text given below many of the mistakes have been corrected in round brackets. Owing to bad grammar the meaning of some of the passages remains uncertain. For this reason only a comprehensive summary of the contents instead of a complete translation is given.

Like the Siyaḍōni stone inscription, the present epigraph is a collective public copy, of a series of ten separate documents recorded at different dates. The inscription itself is not dated, but each of the component records contains its own date. Inscription No. I is interesting inasmuch as it is dated in the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and illustrious Bhōjadēva (of Kanauj), the successor and, presumably, the son of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and illustrious Rāmabhadradēva. Other known inscriptions of this king are the Deḡgaḍh Jain pillar inscription of the Vikrama year

919 and the Śaka year 784, the Pehevā (Pehoa) inscription of the Harsha-Saṃvat 276, the undated *prastāvi* at Gwalior, the inscription in Pāṇḍavō-kā-kila at Delhi,¹ the Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 932, and the Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 933.²

The remaining nine documents of the present inscription do not mention the names of the kings who were ruling at the time they were recorded. Nine of the ten dates mentioned in the inscriptions are given in terms of the Harsha era, though the name of the era is nowhere specified. This is also the case in the Dighwā Dubauli plate of Mahārāja Mahēndrapālādēva and other inscriptions, the dates of which must evidently be referred to the Harsha era. It will be observed that the tens and units figures of the dates in the first two inscriptions are denoted by numerical symbols, and the hundreds by ordinary numeral figures, as is the case with the dates of the remaining eight inscriptions. These dates range between the years 258 and 298, corresponding respectively to A.D. 864 and A.D. 904. The tenth inscription, i.e., No. IV of the series, is dated in the Vikrama year 943. The exact duration of the reign of Bhōjadēva is not known and all that we know at present is that he was ruling at Kanauj (Mahōdaya or Kānyakubja) in the years 862, 875, 876 and 882. Smith³ assigned to Bhōja a reign of half a century (*circa* 840-890 A.D.), although no inscription of as early a date as A.D. 840 and attributable to his rule was forthcoming when he wrote. This want is now supplied by an inscription of Bhōja found at Barah, District Cawnpore, which is dated in the Vikrama-Saṃvat 893 (A.D. 836) and has recently been published.⁴ It clearly shows that the king had come to the throne of Kanauj even four years earlier than had been tentatively supposed by the late Mr. Smith. There is, however, no epigraphical evidence of Bhōja having continued to reign beyond A.D. 882 and consequently we can only refer documents Nos. I, II and IX with certainty to Bhōja and Nos. III, VIII and X to his successor Mahēndrapāla, who, we know from the Siyaḍōni inscription, was reigning between the years 903-04 and 907-08 A.D. The remaining four inscriptions (Nos. IV to VII) whose dates range between A.D. 886 and A.D. 902 must have been issued in the time of either Bhōja or Mahēndrapāla.

Summary of the inscription.

Document No. I. [Lines 1-2.] This epigraph simply states that on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra, (Harsha)-Saṃvat 259 (=A.D. 865), (given in words and figures), in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Bhōjadēva, meditating on the feet of Mahārājādhirāja Rāma-bhadrādēva, this excellent eulogy was engraved at Tattānandapura at the bidding of the messenger, the *daṇḍapāsika* Amarāditya and under the orders of the illustrious (and) noble Chāturvaidya, i.e., the community of Brāhmaṇas⁵ acquainted with the four *Vēdas*.

Document No. II. [ll. 2-6.] This inscription appears to state that on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, [Harsha]-Saṃvat 258 (in words and figures), Bhadrarakāsa, son of Bhaddāka Aśuvāka of the *vaṇik-varṇakata* caste which had migrated from Bhīllamāla and was residing at Tattānandapura, and Māuṇka, son of Gōśuka and of the Lambakañchuka-*vaṇik* caste, purchased with *drammas* belonging to the illustrious Kañchanadēvi,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 546; *A. S. R.*, 1903-04, pp. 277 *seq.*, and the *Annual Report of the Ajmer Museum* for 1923-24, p. 3 respectively. The Delhi inscription was found built in a modern flight of steps inside the Talaqi gate of the Pāṇḍavō-kā-kila or the Indrapat Fort, as it is commonly called. At my suggestion this inscription has been taken out and placed in the Delhi Fort Museum.

² [The Barah copper-plate may also be added to this list.—Ed.]

³ *Oxford History of India*, p. 183.

⁴ See above, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ Now called Chaube.—Ed.]

an *āvārī* (a shop or enclosure), which contained three rooms, together with entire elevation, and that the community of the *Sauvarṇṇika* traders together with the two persons Bhadra and Māumka assigned the *āvārī* in question to the aforesaid temple of Kañchanadēvī to provide funds for perpetual cleaning and plastering, saffron, flowers, incense, lamps, flags, whitewashing and the repairs of broken and cracked buildings. Obviously what is meant by the passage is that the materials, etc., mentioned above, were to be provided for out of the rent of the place acquired and the entire community of the *sauvarṇṇikas*, with sons, grandsons and other descendants, is enjoined to respect the transaction mentioned in the record. The inscription contains a detailed description of the situation and boundaries (*chaturāghāṭa*) of the *āvārī*, which stood in the centre of the town (Tattānandapura), in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar.

Document No. III. [ll. 6-7.] Like document No. I, this epigraph also simply records that this inscription was engraved at Tattānandapura at the bidding of the messenger Kaluvā and under the orders of the illustrious *Uttara-sabhā* (Supreme-association), on the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, when two hundred years of the [Harsha] era increased by ninety-eight (=A.D. 904) had elapsed.

Document No. IV. [ll. 7-11.] This inscription registers the fact that there were four persons, named Mādhava, the son of Nāga, who was the son of . . . , his (Mādhava's) younger brother Madhusūdana, Kēsava, the son of Gōvinda, the son of Sarvvasa, and Dēvanāga, the son of Sarvvasa, and that, after bathing in the Ganges at a lunar eclipse, they gave, on the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa of [Vikrama]-Samvat 943 (expired), for the increase of their parents' and their own religious merit and fame, as surety for a monthly payment of ten *vr̥śōpakās* to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, a house-site which had been acquired by their grandfather Maṅgalavarman for a term of ninety-nine years and on which they had themselves constructed with burnt bricks two *apavarakas* (inner apartments) which faced to the east, half of which was occupied by a large pillared hall, and which were entered by doorways on the east side. The donors further enjoin their sons, grandsons and other descendants in succession to enjoy the rent of the above-mentioned house after they had paid every month ten *vr̥śōpakās* to the temple of the goddess named above. The house in question was situated in the central portion of the eastern bazaar of Tattānandapura and its boundaries were :—

On the east, a lane ; on the south, the site of the house belonging to Vijāṭṭa ; on the west, the site of the house belonging to Bhaṭṭa Im̐dra ; and on the north, the house of the merchant Ujuvāka.

Document No. V. [ll. 11-14.] This inscription states that on the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, when 280 years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, the *gōshṭhi* purchased with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, by a deed of ninety-nine years, the southern half of a building site, measuring 27 cubits on each side, which was situated in the south-eastern portion of the same town and contained a dwelling of burnt brick facing to the west and two *āvārīs* facing to the south together with all the inner apartments and total elevation, from Bhaṭṭa I(Ṛ)śvara, the son of Mahādēva, and Mahādēva, the son of Asaiva, who belonged to the illustrious noble Chāturvaidya caste, residing at the illustrious Tattānandapura, with the consent of the mother Iyaṭṭā and gave it to the temple.

Document No. VI. [ll. 14-16.] This inscription records that on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra, when two hundred and eighty-seven years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, an *āvārī* comprising three rooms, and facing towards the west, which was situated in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar, inside the town of Tattānandapura, was acquired, with padlocks and wooden doors together with entire elevation, with money belonging to the

illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, from the *kshatriya* merchant Sāhāka, the son of Ichchhuka, by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years. The boundaries of the place were:—

On the east, the house belonging to the merchant Pāṇeka; on the south, the *āvāri* of Gandhaśrīdēvī; on the west, the bazaar; on the north, the *āvāri* belonging to Sarvvadēva, the son of the merchant Jayamti.

Document No. VII. [ll. 16-20.] This document registers the fact that on the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 296 of the [Harsha] era, the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana acquired, with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, by a charter of ninety-nine years' duration, an *āvāri*, which faced to the east, was constructed with burnt bricks, comprised three rooms, and was situated in the town of Tattānandapura in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar, together with the padlocks and doors and the entire elevation, from Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Tārāgaṇa, Achyutaśiva and Dāmōdaraśiva, the sons of Saiva-Bhaṭṭa-Diyāka, and Ānanda-Bhaṭṭa-Śiva, the son of Achyutaśiva, all of whom resided in Tattānandapura, belonged to the noble Chāturvaidya caste, followed the Bahvṛicha-śākhā of the Rīgvēda and belonged to the Śarkarākshi-gōtra.

The *āvāri* in question was bounded on the east by the bazaar, on the south by the *āvāri* belonging to the illustrious Daśāvatāra-dēva (ten incarnations), on the west by the temple belonging to Śrī-Nandā-Bhagavatī, and on the north by the *āvāri* belonging to the temple of Sarvvamaṅgaladēvī in the orchard of Sutuvāka with the consent of the mother Bhaṭṭinī Mahādēvī.

Document No. VIII. [ll. 20-22.] This inscription was recorded at the bidding of the messenger Kavilāka and under the orders of the illustrious Uttara-sabdhā at Tattānandapura on the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year 298 of the [Harsha] era (=A.D. 904). Here we learn that formerly (*i.e.*, in Vikrama-Saṁvat 943) Sarvvāsa, the son of Maṅgala-varmman mentioned above (inscription No. IV), together with sons and grandsons, had given a house, facing towards the east, as a surety for the monthly payment of ten *viśōpakās* out of its rent. This inscription records that the *kshatriyas* Kōkāka and Padmanābha, the sons of Madhusūdana, who resided in Tattānandapura, also Lachchhikā, the wife of Dēvanāga, and Sampat, the wife of Mādhava, made over the entire rent by a deed of ninety-nine years to the holy Kanakaśrīdēvī in consideration of payment out of the funds of the said temple by the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana.

Document No. IX. [ll. 22-24.] This inscription states that on the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, when 26½ years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana purchased with money belonging to the illustrious Kañchanaśrīdēvī, by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years,¹ a house constructed with burnt bricks, together with its entire elevation, which faced towards the west, and was situated in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar in the town of Tattānandapura, from the merchant Mādhava, the son of Lēvanāga who belonged to the Māthura caste and was a seller of perfumes, residing in the above-mentioned town, who had originally purchased the house with his own money.

Document No. X. [ll. 24-28.] This inscription states that on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, in the year 298 of the [Harsha] era, the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana acquired, by a deed of ninety-nine years, with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, six *āvāris*, namely, one *āvāri* measuring 27 cubits along each side, the northern half of which was occupied by a house built with burnt bricks, one other which comprised two rooms, also three *āvāris*, each comprising two rooms, and one *āvāri* consisting of two rooms one of which faced to the north and the other to the west, from Bhaṭṭa Īśānadatta, the son of Bhaṭṭa Kēśava, who belonged to the noble Chāturvaidya caste, the Bhāradvāja.

¹ Mr. H. Sastri informs me that the ninety nine years' lease is well-known in Southern India.

gōtra and the *Bahvricha-sākhā* (of the *Ṛigvēda*). These *āvāris* were situated in the middle portion of the north-eastern part of the town of *Tattānandapura*, and had descended to the seller from his father and grandfather, after being duly partitioned with his uncle, grandfather and brothers. The boundaries of the property purchased are duly mentioned and it is further remarked that whatever rent accrues from this immovable property should be religiously applied to the provision of saffron, incense, flowers, lamps, flags and to whitewashing and the repairs of the broken portions of the temple.

From the above extracts it will be seen that as many as seven of the documents included in the inscription record acquisition of land or houses with the revenues of a temple of the goddess *Kanakadēvī* which was situated in the town of *Tattānandapura*. This goddess is denoted by the synonymous name of *Kāñchanadēvī*, i.e. *Kāñchanadēvī*, in documents Nos. II and IX. Six of these purchases (Nos. II, VI-X) were effected by the *Sauvarṇṇika-Mahājana* while the seventh (No. V) was accomplished by *gōshṭhis* or a certain *gōshṭhi*, presumably the managing committee of the temple, which, apparently, controlled the *Mahājana* mentioned above. This assumption is borne out by document No. X from which we learn that whereas the acquisition of the property mentioned therein was made by the *Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana*, it was the function of the *gōshṭhi* to ensure the application of the rent derived from it to the provision of the usual materials of worship and repairs, etc. The *Uttara-sabhā* mentioned in inscriptions Nos. III and VIII would appear to have been identical with the *gōshṭhi* referred to above or the general controlling body. The object of these purchases would appear to have been the safe investment of the income of the temple. The houses or other property thus acquired were let out on rent and the amount thus obtained was utilized for the maintenance of the temple, the entire capital thus remaining intact.

The persons from whom the property referred to above was purchased were either merchants of different castes (Nos. II, VI and IX) or *Bhaṭṭas*, i.e., *Brāhmaṇas* (Nos. V, VII and X), all of whom resided in the town of *Tattānandapura*. It will be noticed that most of these sales were subject to a lease of ninety-nine years' duration. Inscription No. IV is the only record of a free gift which was donated by four private persons after bathing in the *Ganges* at a lunar eclipse.

The temple of *Kanakadēvī*, mentioned above, was situated in the town of *Tattānandapura*, spelt as *Tātānandapura* in one or two places, which must have formed part of the dominions of *Bhōjadēva* as is evident from document No. I. This town was most probably identical with the town of *Āhār* where the inscription under discussion has been discovered and like which it was situated on the banks of the *Ganges*. *Tattānandapura* must have been an important town, for, besides the temple of *Kanakadēvī*, it contained temples dedicated to other Brahmanical deities also. Such were the temples of the goddess *Nandā-Bhagavatī* and *Vāmana-svāmin* mentioned in inscription No. II; *Gandhadēvī* (inscription No. VI); the ten incarnations of *Vishṇu* and *Sarvvaṃsaladēvī* (No. VII). Some of these edifices may still be buried in the mounds at *Āhār*. The town contained main bazaars (*haṭṭa-mārgga*), main streets (*v(b)ṛihad-rathyā*) and small streets (*ku-rathyā*), and the houses in it were constructed mostly with burnt bricks. It must also have been an important centre of trade, for merchants migrated to it from the distant towns of *Bhillamāla* (modern *Bhinmāl* or *Bhilmāl*), the ancient capital of southern *Rājputāna* mentioned in inscription No. II, and *Apāpura*¹ (inscription No. IV) which cannot yet be identified.

¹ It is difficult to say if this place has anything to do with *Apāpuri* or *Pāpī* or *Pāvā*, situated seven miles to the south-east of *Bihār* town, where *Mahāvira*, the 24th *Tirthankara*, died or attained *Kēvalhood*. Vide *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, by *Nandlal Dey*, *Indian Antiquary*, October 1923, page 148.

The only state official mentioned in the inscription is the *daṇḍapāśika* Amarāditya in No. I. Only two varieties of coins are named in the inscription. These are the *drammas* (l. 3) and the *vimśōpakās* (ll. 10, 11 and 20). Coins of the former designation are well known. The *vimśōpakās* would appear to have been a fractional part of the *dramma*.

TEXT.¹

[Document No. I.]

- 1 [परम]भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीराजभट्टदेवपादानुध्यातः(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानामभिप्रवर्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स्वस्वत्तरशतद्वये एक(को)नषष्टाधिके म(मा)र्गशिरसासव(व)हुलपञ्चदशस्यां सम्बत्सो²(त्तराः) २५८
- 2 [मा]र्गशिर [वदि १० अस्यां स]स्वत्तरसासदिवसपूर्वायान्तिथाविह श्रौतत्तानन्दपुरे श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वेद्यादेशाद्विष्णुपाशिक अमरादित्यदूतकवचनासम्प्लेय-मुक्तीर्षा³ ॥ [Document No. II] तथाऽतीतसम्बत्तरशतद्वये अष्टपञ्चाशदधिके आषाढमासव(व)हुलपञ्चदशस्यां सम्बत्सो²(त्तराः) २५८ आषाढव(व)दि १० अस्यां सम्ब-
- 3 त्तरसासदिव[सपूर्वायान्तिथा]विह श्रौतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानः श्रीभिन्नमाल-विनिर्गतवणिग्कर्कटजातीयभट्टप्रकाशनाम(मा) भट्टाकचन्सु(चंश)वाकपुत्रः[⁴] तथा लख(ख)कञ्चुकवणिग्जातीयभाउकः गोकुलपुत्रः[⁵] अनयोर्मात्रा पञ्चमभिलिखाप्य श्रीमत्कञ्चनश्रीदेव्या द्रव्यैः क्रयक्रोतावारी इहैव पत्तनाभ्य-
- 4 [न्तरे] पूर्ववृद्धमध्य[प्रदेशे चिप्रकीर्णां(छा)] तलार्द्धसमस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतां(ता) अस्या-वार्यारा(आ)घाटा वस भवन्ति पूर्वतो(त) इहैव पत्तनाह(ह)हिर्दक्षिणस्यां दिशि या नन्दा भगवतो देवी तस्यास्सत्कं पक्षेष्टकं गृहं दक्षिणतो भट्टगोलाकव(व)हिस्कोटसत्कावारी पश्चिमतो वृद्धमार्गः उत्तरतो वामनस्का-
- 5 [मि]⁶ . . सत्कावारी एवं [चतुरावाह(ट)विश्व]⁶ . . . [इहैव] पत्तनाह(ह)हिर्दक्षिणस्यां दिशि श्रीकञ्चनश्रीदेव्यायतनस्य इहैव श्रीमत्तानन्दपुरनिवासिसौवर्णिकवणिक्(रम)हाजनेन भट्टमाउकाभ्यां च सदा सन्मा- (मा)र्जनोपलेपनकुम्भपुष्पधूपप्रदीपध्वजाधवलापनसिन्दूरखण्डस्फुटित-

¹ [The floral designs separating these documents, though seen on the plate, are omitted in the text.—Ed.]

² [The conjunct letter त् of the ligature goes with *samvat* and the symbol for *srō* stands for hundred. So the correct reading would be *samvat* 100 × 2 (i.e., 200) etc.—Ed.]

³ Written below the line.

⁴ The usual form would be प्रशक्तिरिधिसुरकीर्षा, though the words in the original inscription might do, if some such word as कृतिः, प्रशक्तिः etc. were supplied by the reader.

⁵ Here two letters are missing.

⁶ Here three or four letters are missing.

- 6 [समरचनादिषु]¹ प्रतिपादिता । यतोद्य
प्रभृति समस्तसौवर्षिकमहाज्ज(ज)नेन पुत्रपौत्रात्व(न्व)यसहितेन यथाभिलि-
खितपात्रनेयं कर्त्तव्येति ॥ [Document No. III] तथातीतसम्बत्सरशतद्वये
अष्टनवत्यधिके चैक्षमासशीत²पक्ष अष्टम्यां सम्ब-
- 7 [त्सर २६८ चैत्र शु० ८ अस्यां सम्बत्सरमासदिवसपूर्वा]र्वायामिह श्रीतत्तानन्द-
पुरे श्रीमदुत्त(त्त)रसभादेशादू(द्)तककलुवावचनात् लिखितमु³त्कीर्षिता
च ॥ [Document No. IV] त[थ]स(था) अतीतसम्बत् ६४३ पौषव(व)दि
१३ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीमदपापुरे का[र्या]भ्यागताः श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरवास्त-
- 8 [व्य*] सुतनागः नागसुतमाधवः अस्य लघुभ्राता मधु-
सूदन[.:] तथा सर्वसुतगोविन्दः अस्य सुत[.:] केशवः तथा सर्वसुत-
देवनाग[.:] चत्वारो ये ते [ए*]कमतीभूत्वा(य) श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे पूर्व-
हृदमध्यप्रदेशे श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वै-
- 9 व्य[स्तस्य] [सत्का गृहभूमि][.:] अस्मदीयपितामहमंगल-
वर्म्मे(म्मी)ण(णा) नवनवतिपक्षेण गृहीता स्वयंकारितपूर्वाभिमुखपक्षेष्टक-
मपवरकद्वयं⁴ विशालकस्तम्भसा(शा)लातलाईं समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतं पूर्वद्वा-
रभोग्यं अस्याघाटा(टा) यत्न भवति पूर्वतः कुरथ्या दक्षिण-
- 10 तः विज[र]इसत्का गृहभूमि[.:] पश्चिमतो भट्ट-इन्द्रसत्का गृहभूमि[.:]
उत्त(त्त)रतो वणिक-उज्जुवाकगृहं एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहं
सोमग्रहणे गंगादेव्यां स्नात्वा मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिः(भि)वृध्य-
(द्व)र्थं प्रतिग्रहपक्षेण दस(श)विंशोपकामासप्रदेयभाट(ट)कन्यासे-
- 11 न श्रीकनकश्री(श्री)देव्याय(व्यै) प्रदत्तं अस्मदीयपुत्रपौत्रसंतत्यानुक्रमेण भाट्ट-
(ट)कमध्ये विंशोपका दश दत्वा(त्वा) भोक्तव्यमिति ॥ [Document
No. V] तथातीतसम्बत् २८० फाल्गुन व(व)दि ८ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानश्रीमदार्यचातुर्वैद्यसामान्यभट्ट(ई)श्वर-
- 12 महादेवपुत्रशैवसुतमहादेवमाताइयडासन्म(म्न)तेन इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यन्तरे पूर्व-
दक्षिणदिग्विभागे स्वकीयक्रयक्रोता उभयसप्ता(प्त)विंशतिहस्तप्रमणा गृहभूम्यङ्गं
दक्षिणपारश्वो(श्री)यं पश्चिमाभिमुखं पक्षेष्टकं गृहं दक्षिणाभिमुखं(खं)
आवारीद्वयं समस्तपव-

¹ Here about 22 letters are missing.² [Possibly it stands for सित°.—Ed.]³ Read ° लिखित.⁴ I had originally read पक्षेष्टक(का)मपवरक. I am indebted to Mr. H. Sastri for the reading मपवरक.

- 13 रकैः समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतं अस्य गृहावार्योराघाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः भट्ट-
च्छितराकत्रमाकयो[:*] सत्कगृहभूमि[:*] दक्षिणतो ह(वृ)हद्रथ्या पश्चिमतः
कुरथ्या उत्त(त्त)रतो(तः) सहस्राकसत्कगृहभूम्यर्द्धं उत्त(त्त)रपारश्वो(श्वी)यं
एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहभूम्यर्द्धं गृहावारोदयसमेतं
- 14 ओकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रव्येण गो[ष्टि]भि[:*]र्क(क)यक्रीताः(तं) भट्ट(ई)श्वरादिभिः
नवनवतिपक्षेण विक्रीता(तं) सम्प्रदत्ता(त्त)श्च(श्च) ॥ [Document
No. VI] तथातीतसम्बत् २८७ मार्गशिर व(व)दि ११ अस्यां
तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानराजा क्षत्र(त्रि)यान्वयः वणिक्सहाक
इच्छुकपुत्र इहैव
- 15 पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहृदमध्यप्रदेशे स्वकीयक्रयक्रीता पश्चिमाभिमुखारो
त्ति(त्रि)प्रकोष्ठा तलो(ला)र्द्धं तालकपट्टकसमस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतास्यावार्या [आ*]घाटा-
(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः वणिक्पाणिकसत्कगृहं दक्षिणतो(तः) ओगन्धश्रीदेव्या-
वारो पश्चिमतः हृदमार्गः उत्त(त्त)रतो व-
- 16 णिकजयन्तिसुतसर्वदेवसत्कावारो एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धा पश्चिमाभिमुखा-
वारो ओकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रव्ये(व्ये)ण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन क्रयक्रीता क्षत्र(त्रि)-
यमाहाकेन नवनवतिवर्षाण्यां (णां) चावत्यन्तिकविक्रयपक्षेण^२ विक्रीता संप्रदत्ता-
(त्ता) च ॥ [Document No. VII] तथा संव-
- 17 त्वरशत^१ २८६ भाद्रपद शुद्धि १४ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिव-
समाना[:*] ओमदा[र्य]चातुर्वैद्यसामान्याः शर्कराक्षिसगोक्षाः व(व)हृचस[त्र]क्ष-
चारिणा(णो) भट्टदिवाकरभट्टतारागणपुत्रतथासैवभट्टदौयाकपुत्रौ अच्युत-
शिवदामोदरशिवौ अस्य अच्युतशि-
- 18 व[स्य*] पुत्रो(त्तः) आनन्दभट्टशिवो मातुभ(र्भ)ट्टिनोमहादेवोसम्भ(म्भ)तेन एकसती-
भूत्वा(य) इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहृदमध्यप्रदेशे पूर्वाभिमुखा पक्षेष्टका-
त्ति(त्रि)प्रकोष्ठा तलो(ला)र्द्धं तालकपट्टकसंयुक्तावारो समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेता
भट्टदौयाकेन स्वयमा(म)जिता क्रयेण अस्या वार्यारा(श्वा)-
- 19 घाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः हृदमार्ग[:*] दक्षिणतो(तः) ओदशावतार-
देवसत्कावारो पश्चिमतः ओनन्दाभगवत्या[:*] सत्कगृहं उत्त(त्त)रतोपि सुतुवा-
कवाटि(टि)कायां ओसर्वमंगलदेव्यायतने(न)सत्कावारो एवं चतुराघाट(ट)-
विशुद्धावारो ओकनकश्रीदेव्या[:*] द्रव्येण सौवर्षिकमहा-

^१ Read अनयोः.^२ The word शत is singular.^३ Read चात्यन्तिकविक्रयपक्षेण.

- 20 क्क(ज)नेन क्रयक्रोताभट्टदोयाकादिभिः नवनवन्नि(ति)पत्तेण विक्रोता ॥
[Document No. VIII] सम्बत् २८८ ज्येष्ठ शुदि १३ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे श्रीमदुत(त्त)रसभाद्ये(दे)शादू(दू)तककविलाकवचनात् लिखितं
इहैव प्रतिवसमानौ चतु(त्रि)यजातीयौ कोकाकपद्मनाभौ म-
- 21 धुसूदनपुत्तौ तथा देवनागभार्या लच्छिका तथा माधवभार्या सम्पदाभ्यां
सन्म(म्)तेन उपरिलिखितमंगलवर्मासुतसर्वसत्कपुत्तपौत्तेश्च अतीतकाले
दशविंशो(शो)पकमासप्रदेयभाट्ट(ट)कन्यासेन पूर्वाभिमुखं गृहं दत्ता(त्तमा)सीत्तां-
प्रतं कोकाकादिभिः सर्वभा-
- 22 दृ(ट)केन नवनवतिपत्तेण श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रवे(व्ये)ण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन
क्रयक्रोतं कोकाकादिभिः सर्वभाट्ट(ट)केन निवेदितमिति ॥ [Document
No. IX] तथातीतसम्बत् २६१ आषाढ व(व)दि ३ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानगन्धिकमाथुरजातीयवणिक्(ग)माधव-
- 23 देवनागपुत्त इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहृटे मध्यप्रदेशे स्वकीयक्रयक्रोतं
पश्चिमाभिमुखं पक्केष्टनं(कं) गृहं सर्वोच्छ्रयसमेतं अस्याघाटा(टा) यच्च
भवन्ति पूर्वतः[*] सवचन्दाकसत्कावारी दक्षिणतोष्यसै(स्यै)वमाधवगृहं पश्चि-
मत(तो) दृ(वृ)हद्रथ्या उत्त(त्त)रतो वणिक(ग)मेचाकसत्कगृहं एवं च-
- 24 तुराघाट्ट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहं श्रीकञ्चण(न)श्रीदेव्या द्रव्येण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन नव-
नवत्यात्यन्तिकविक्रयपत्तेण क्रोतं वणिक्(ग)माधवेन स्वहस्तपटु(त्रि)कायां
विक्रोतं सम्प्रदत्त(त्त)च्च ॥ [Document No. X] तथा सम्बत् २८८
भाद्रपद व(व)दि ५ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमान-
- 25 श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वैद्यसामान्यभारहाजसगोक्षव(व)हृचसन्न(न्न)क्षचारी भट्ट(ई)शानदत्त
(त्त) भट्टकेशवपुत्त इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वोत्त(त्त)रदिग्विभागमध्यप्रदेशे पितु-
पितामहो(ह्म)यातपितृव्यपितामहावण्टनायातभ्रातृभिः सह वण्टनपु(प)त्ते-
णायाता क्रयक्रोता उ-
- 26 भयसप्ता(प्त)विंश(श)तिहस्तप्रमाणा गृहभूम्या(म्य)र्द्ध उत्त(त्त)रपारखी(र्षी)यं पक्केष्ट-
कावारी एकप्रकोष्ठद्वयं तथा द्विप्रकोष्ठा(ष्ठं) वारोक्ष(क्ष)यं उत्त(त्त)राभिमुखा
तथा पश्चिमाभिमुखा द्विप्रकोष्ठमेकं एवं(व)मावारो(र्यः) षट् आगमपत्तैः[*]
सह सर्वोच्छ्रयसमेता श्रीमोषाम्मावा-

- 27 यीं(रीणां) रा(सा)घाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः कमलानकभट्टहरदत्त(त्त)-
पुत्राणां गृहं दक्षिणतः अस्मैव भूमे(र)दक्षिणपारखी(शी)यं भट्टतत्त
वट्ट(ट)नाद्यातं पश्चिमतो(त्तः) कुर्यात्ता उत्त(त्त)रतोपि वट्ट(ट)वट्टया एवं चतु-
राघाट(ट)विभु(भु)वं गृहभूमिर्व पक्षेष्टका(क)मावारी(र्यः) षट् शोक्नकम्(ओ)
देव्या[ः*] द्र-
- 28 व्येण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन भट्ट(ट)सा(शा)नदत्त(त्त)हस्ते नवनवतिपन्नेन क्रीता
द्र(ट)सा(शा)नदत्त(त्त)न विक्रीता[ः*] सम्प्रदत्ता(त्ता)श्च ॥ एतेषां स्थाव-
राणां भाट्ट(ट)वं यत्तुत्त(त्त)द्यते तत्सर्व्वं [गीर्तिभिः] कुकुमधूपपुष्प(पु)दीपक-
ध्वजाधवलापनखण्डस्फुट्टि(टि)तसमरचनादिषु धर्मीपयोग्यं कर्त्तव्यं ॥

No. 8.—JEJURI PLATES OF VINAYĀDITYA : ŚAKA-SAMVAT 609.

By Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

These plates, which belong to the early Chalukya dynasty, came from a village called Jējūri in the Poona District. In September, 1917, Mr. P. B. Gothoskar of the Bombay Asiatic Society was good enough to send them to me for inspection. But, as my hands were then too full with other matters and I had not enough leisure, I had to be content with merely publishing a short notice of the inscription, for the information of scholars, in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March, 1917. I have since then been able to prepare the necessary transcript and am now in a position to edit the plates.

These are three plates, each of them measuring about 9½" by 4". The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is on both the sides. The letters, on the whole, are in an excellent state of preservation, and have been neatly incised. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is throughout in prose. In point of phraseology, it resembles other published records of the early Chalukya family, especially the Sorab and Harihar grants which also belong, like the present one, to the Chalukya king Vinayāditya.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets prevailing in the 7th century A.D. In respect of orthography, the letters *ṛ*, *ḍ*, *n* and *v* are doubled after *r* as in *arṇṇavam* (l. 1) ; *Sēnānir-ḍḍaitya-balaṁ* (l. 16) ; *smābhīr-nnavōttara* (l. 21) and *nirvviśēṣaṁ* (l. 30). *Ri* is employed instead of *ri* only once in *krimih* (l. 35). In many places the *anusvāra* is wrongly omitted.

The inscription refers itself to the 9th year of the reign of Vinayāditya and is dated in Śaka era 609 (expired) corresponding to A.D. 687. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a village called Vīra situated between Kaḷahaṭṭhāna, Parāñchika and Hariṇayiga, on the north bank of the river Nirā, in the Sātimāla-bhōga, in the Paḷayaṭṭhāna-riśhaya. The name of the donee is Allaśarman, son of Pāñchālaśarman and grandson of Durgāśarman, of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra. The gift was made when the king was encamped at the village of Bhāḍali near Paḷayaṭṭhāna.

Most of the localities mentioned in the record can be easily identified. Paḷayaṭṭhāna is the same as the modern Phaltan (North Lat. 18°, E. Long. 74° 30"), the chief town of the lower Nirā Valley and capital of the Native State of the same name. Bhāḍali, from where the grant is issued,

is undoubtedly the present Budleebudruk (Atlas Sheet No. 39), five miles south-east of Phaltan. **Vira**, the village granted, is certainly the modern Veer of the Atlas Sheet (N. Lat. 18° 9', E. Long. 74° 9'), from which the surname Virkar among Dēśastha Brāhmaṇas is derived. It is about 1½ miles to the north of the river Nirā, which again is identical with the river of the same name mentioned in this grant. The village of **Kalahaṭṭhāna** cannot be identified at present. **Parāñchika** is obviously Paramchi (or Porinche) and **Harinayiga** is the same as the modern Harñi, about 3 and 2½ miles north and north-east of Vira, respectively.¹

Before the discovery of these plates, eight records² of the reign of Vinayāditya were known. Of these, one, namely, the Lakshmēśvara inscription, which professes to bear the earliest date (Śaka 608) among the dated records of Vinayāditya, has been proved to be spurious³ by the late Dr. Fleet. So the Jējūrī inscription, which bears the Śaka date 609, is to be regarded as the earliest of the dated records of that prince.

This record is not altogether without some importance. One eminent scholar has said that Vinayāditya subdued the Pallavas, Kalabhras and others and made them his faithful vassals between his eleventh and fourteenth years.⁴ He was led to this view, because this fact "is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors."⁵ But we can now say that the event certainly took place at least in the ninth year of his reign as it is found mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

Svasti [*] Jayaty=āvishkṛita[m*] Vishṇōr=vvārāham kshōbhit-ārṇavam [*] dakṣiṇ-
ōnnata-damshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam vapuḥ [[]*] Śrī-
matām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtraṇām⁷ Hāriti⁸-putrāṇām sapta-
lōka-māṭṛibhi-

s=sapta-māṭṛibhir=abhivarddhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-param-
parāṇām Bhagavan-Nā-

4 rāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa - vaśīkṛit - āśēsha - mahībhṛi-
tām Chali-

5 kyānām kulam=alaṅkarishṇōr=aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-gātrasya śrī-
Pulakēśi-vallabha-

6 mahārājasya sūnuḥ parākram-ākra[m*]ta⁹-Vanavāsy-ādi-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇi-
baddha-[vi-]

7 śuddha-kīrttiḥ śrī-Kīrttivarmma-prithivivallabha-mahārājas=tasy-ātmajas=samara-
saṁsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpa-

8 th-ēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-ōpalabdha - paramēśvar - āpara - nāmadhēyas=
Satyāśraya-śrī-prithiviva-

¹ *Annual Progress Report of the Archl. Surv. of India, Western Circle*, 1917, p. 49.

² Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 368-70; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 240.

³ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 368, note 8.

⁴ *Early History of the Dekkan*, Second Edition, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 188-89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 189, note 1.

⁶ From the original plates.

⁷ Read "sagōtrānām."

⁸ Read *Harñi*.

⁹ Read *ākṛānta*.

- 9 llabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=tat-priya-sutasya **Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-**
bhaṭṭārakasya
10 pavi-sahāyā¹-sāhasa-mātra-samadhiṭata²-nija-varṇsa-samuchita-chita - rājya - vibhavasya
vividha-rasi-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 11 ta-sita-samara-mukha-gata-ripu-narapati-vijaya-samupalabdha-kīrtti - patāk - āvabhāsita-
dig-a-
12 ntarasya himakara-kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vilaya-hētu-Pallava - pati - parājay-
ānanta-
13 ra-parigrihita-Kāñchī-purasya prabhāva-kulīsa-dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōla-Kēraḷa-dhara-
ñidhara-trāyamā-
14 śna-māna-śrīmgasya ananya-samavanata-Kāñchī-pati-makuta-kaṭa⁴-kīraṇa-salil-ābhi-
shikta-chara-
15 ṇa-kamalasya tri-samudra-maddhyavartti-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ādhiśvarasya sūnuḥ pitur-
ājña[yā]
16 Bāl-ēndu-śēkharasy-ēva Sēnānir=ddaitya-balam=atisamuddhataṁ trairājya-Kāñ-
chī-pa-
17 ti-balam=avashṭabhyā samasta-vishaya-prasamanād=viḥita-tan-manō-nurañjanaḥ at-
yanta-vatsalatvād=Yu-
18 dhishṭhira iva śrī-Rāmatvād=Vāsudēva iva nṛp-āṁkuśatvāt=Paraśurāma iva rājāśra-
yatvād=Bha[rata i]-
19 va Pallava-Kaḷabhra-Kēraḷa-Haiḥaya-Viḷa-Maḷava-Chōla-Pāṇḍy-ādyāḥ yēn-
Āḷuva⁵-Gaṅg-ādyai-
20 r=mmaulais=samābhṛityatān=nītāḥ **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-Prithivīvallabha-**
mahārā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya [[*] Vīditam=astu vō=smābhīr=nnav-ōttara-
shaṭ-chhatēshu Śaka-
22 [va]rshēshv-atītēshu śaka-varshēshv=atītēshu⁶ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-
sarnvatsarē navamē vartta-
23 mānē Paḷayatṭhāṇa-pratyāsanna-Bhāḍali-grāmam=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē
Āshā-
24 ḍa⁷-Paurṇamāsyām Bhammaṇa-rāja-vijñāpanayā Kaunḍinya-gōtrasya Dugga-
śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Allaśarmmaṇē Paḷayatṭhāṇa-vishayē Sā(?) -
25 timāḷa-bhōgē Nirā-nady-uttara-taṭasthaḥ **Kaḷabhaṭṭhāṇa-Parañchika-Hari-**
ṇayiga-
27 grāmayōr⁸mmadhyasthaḥ **Vira-nāmā** grāmas=sabhōgas=sarvva-parihār-ōpētō dattaḥ
[*]

¹ Kaed *matī-sahāya*°.

² Read *trāyamāna*°.

³ [The plate seems to have *pa*.—Ed.]

⁴ Evidently this has been repeated through oversight.

⁵ [Better omit *°yōr=ṁ* or read *grāmāṇām*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *°samadhigata*°.

⁷ Read *°Kūṭa*°.

⁸ Read *°Ashāḍha*°.

i.

2
4
6
8
10

2
4
6
8
10

ii a.

12
14
16
18
20

12
14
16
18
20

ii b.

22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark, textured background. The text is arranged in lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in white ink on a dark, textured background. The script is a form of Burmese, possibly from a historical document. The text is arranged in lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in white ink on a dark, textured background.

iii.

30 30
32 32
34 34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark, textured background. The text is arranged in lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in white ink on a dark, textured background. The script is a form of Burmese, possibly from a historical document. The text is arranged in lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in white ink on a dark, textured background.

28 Tad-āgāmibhir=asmad-varṇśyair=~~ayaiś=cha~~ rājābhir=ayur-aiśvaryy-ādīnām vilasita-

Third Plate.

29 m = achirāṁśu - chaṁchalam = avagachchhadbhir = ā - chandr-ārka - dhar - āṇṇava - sthiti-
sama-kāla[m*]

30 yaśaś=chichīshubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśēshaṁ paripālanīyaṁ [*] ¹Prōktañ=cha Bha-
gava-

31 tā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhis=Sagar-ādibhir=
yyasya-²

32 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasyatasya tadā phalam [*] Svan=dātum=sumahach=chhakyam

33 duḥkham=anyasya pālanam [*] dāna[m*] vā pālanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrēyō-
nupāla-

34 nam [*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] shashṭi-
varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāya-

35 tē kri[m]iḥ [*] Mahā-sāndhivigrahika-śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabhēna likhitam=idam
śāsanam [*] Om

No. 9.—SEVEN INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAJ BAHADUR.

The seven inscriptions edited in this paper are some of those brought to light in recent years by Raj Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archæology at Mathurā. Some of these have been found in excavations carried out by him on behalf of the Director General of Archæology in India, while others have been acquired from private possession. All the seven inscriptions discussed in this note are comparatively short dedicatory records which register the installation of images or other objects on which they are inscribed. With the exception of inscription No. V, all the others are in a more or less damaged condition. Like most of the other Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāna period, the documents edited here are composed in the *mixed dialect*, consisting partly of Prākṛit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms. Peculiarities of this dialect have been fully discussed by Bühler³ and it is not necessary to make any further remarks here. Six of the objects on which the inscriptions are engraved belong to the Buddhist faith, while document No. IV is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna. Only one of the inscriptions, viz., No. II, contains the name of the ruler of the time, namely, **Huvishka**. No. I, which is dated in the year 22, must have been installed in the reign of **Kanishka**,⁴ while No. IV dated in the year 84 would belong to the reign of **Vāsudēva**. A point of interest in these documents is the mention of the names of four monasteries which existed at Mathurā in the Kushāna period. These are the **Prāvārika-vihāra** or the monastery of the cloak-makers (No. I), the **Śīri-vihāra** (No. V), the **Suvarṇakara-vihāra** or the monastery of the goldsmiths (No. VI) and the **Chutaka-vihāra** or **Chūtaka-vihāra**, i.e., the mango monastery (No. VII). None of these edifices appears to be referred to in any of the previously known inscriptions.

¹ [The original has *paripālanīyam=uktañ=cha*.—Ed.] ² Read *ādibhiḥ* [*] *yasya*. ³ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 373.

⁴ *Vide* my paper on "Three Mathurā Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushāna dynasty" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1924.

No. I.—Buddha image inscription of the year 22.

This inscription, which consists of two lines, is engraved on the lower rim of the base of a headless image of Buddha (height 2' 1"; w. 1' 6½") which was found in the city of Mathurā and acquired for the Museum in 1918. The first line is in a good state of preservation but only one or two *akṣaras* have survived in the second.

TEXT.

1. Ōm Siddham Sa[m*] 20 2 grī 2 di 30 asyām pūrvāyām Prāvārika-vihārē
Buddha-pratimā pratisṭ(ṭh)āpitā

2. [saṁdhi]

TRANSLATION.

“ Ōm Success! On the 30th day of the 2nd [month] of summer, in the year 22, on this occasion as specified, (*this*) image of Buddha was installed in the Prāvārika-vihāra”

No. II.—Bōdhisattva image inscription of the year 39.¹

TEXT.

1. [Mahārājasa dē*]vaputrasa Huv[i]shkasya saṁ 30 9 va 3 di 5 ētasyām
pūrvayām bhikkhūṇiyē Puṣahathiniyē sa-

2. bhikkhūṇiyē Budhadēvāyē Bōdhisattvō pratithāpitō sahā mātāpitihi sarva-satva-
hita-sukha[yā*]

TRANSLATION.

“(In the reign) of the *Mahārāja*, the *Dēvaputra*, *Huvishka*, on the 5th day of the 3rd [month] of the rainy season in the year 39, on this date as specified above, (*this*) *Bōdhisattva* was set up by a nun named *Puṣahathini*, together with the nun *Budhadēvā*, together with (*her*) parents, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.”

No. III.—Bōdhisattva image inscription.²

TEXT.

1. Mahārājāsa Dēva[putrasa] sa sa hē di 10 9
[asyām] pūrvāyām s[ā]rthavahāsa bha-

2. vaśa [nī]sa kuṭubiniyē Dha[ṇya]bhavayē [dānam Bōdhisa]chō [ya]-
d=attra p[u]-ṇya[m] ta[d=bhavatu]

TRANSLATION.

“ On the 19th day of the . . . month of the cold weather in the . . . year of the reign of the *Mahārāja*, the *Dēvaputra* this *Bōdhisattva* is the gift of *Dha[ṇya]bhavā*, the wife of . . . , the caravan merchant. Whatever merit there is in it, may it be”

¹ The image in question is described in the *A. S. R.* for the year 1916-17, Pt. I, p. 13, and illustrated in Pl. VII, fig. C. See also the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

No. IV.—Vardhamāna image pedestal inscription of the year 84.¹

TEXT.

1. Ōm Siddha[m] sa[m] 80 4 va 3 di 20 5 ētasmi purvaya[m] Damitrasya
dhit[u] Ōkha-
2. rikāyē kuṭubīniyē Datāyē dānam Vardhamāna-pratimā pratithapitā
3. gaṇatō Kōṭṭiyatō [ba] s[ya] Satyasēnas[ya] . . .
dharavṛdhisya ni[rvartana*]

TRANSLATION.

“Ōm Success! On the 25th day of the 3rd (month) of the rainy season in the year 84, on this occasion as specified, (this) image of Vardhamāna, a gift of Ōkharikā,² the daughter of Damitra, and Datā (Sanskrit Dattā), the wife of a householder,³ was set up under the advice of . . . Satyasēna and . . . dharavṛdhi, of the Kōṭṭiya-gaṇa.”

No. V.—Stone slab inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab, measuring 2' 11" in length, 11" in width and 2½" in thickness, which was reclaimed from the Gau-Ghāt well in the city of Mathurā. It is roughly dressed on three sides. The fourth side contains an inscription of three lines, each measuring 1' 2½" in length. The inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

Neither the date nor the name of the ruling king is mentioned. The inscription records the installation of an image of a Bōdhisattva, and the slab on which it is engraved must have been exhibited by the side of the statue.

TEXT.

1. Bōdhisattvō sahā mātā-pitihī sahā upajhāyēna Dharmakēna
2. sahā ātēvāsikēhī sahā ātēvāsinihī Śiri-vihārē
3. āchariyāna Samitiyāna parigrahē sarva-Budha-pujāyē

TRANSLATION.

“(This) Bōdhisattva (was dedicated by somebody, whose name is not mentioned), together with parents, together with the preceptor, Dharmaka, together with male pupils, together with female pupils, at the Śiri-vihāra for the acceptance of the Samitiya teachers, for the glorification of all the Buddhas.”

No. VI.—Stone bowl inscription.

This inscription is engraved round the outer upper edge of a hemispherical stone bowl supported on the broken head of a male figure (ht. 1' 8"). The fragment was lying in the Jamnā Bāgh on the right bank of the Jamnā river just outside the Mathurā city and was being used for watering cattle. Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna acquired it for the Museum by substituting a little masonry reservoir for the aforesaid purpose. The head of the statue is

¹ Vide Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917, p. 10.

² This name also occurs in a Mathurā inscription of the year 299 (Ind. Ant., Vol XXXVII, p. 33 and Pl. facing p. 66).

³ In the translation of the epigraph, I have interpreted the word *kuṭubīni* (Sanskrit *kuṭumbinī*) in its generic sense as the wife of a householder. It might equally well be a proper name. If this suggestion were correct, it would be possible to identify the three female figures to the right of the wheel in the centre of the base of the image with the three ladies who donated the image, and the three male figures on the opposite side with the three men who suggested the pious act.

much defaced and the features of the face and the ears are damaged. The turban is interlaced with a flower garland and we notice, above the forehead, a large round knot encircled with a garland and leaves. The inscription consists of two lines measuring $3' 7\frac{1}{2}"$ and $3\frac{1}{2}"$ respectively. The first line which begins immediately above the level of the right ear of the statue is preceded by a blank space of two inches to mark the commencement of the document. The inscription records that the bowl, on which it is engraved, was presented by **Ayala, the son of Imhrasama or Idrasama**, at the hospice of the goldsmiths in honour of all the Buddhas for the acceptance of the *āchāryas*, who were great preachers. The name Imhrasama may be construed as "equal to Indra" or it may stand for the Sanskrit Imhrasārman. Another bowl similarly mounted on a well-preserved female figure is now kept in the Fyzabad Museum. The bowl being described was presumably used for worship. Fa-Hian informs us that in his time the Buddha's bowl was worshipped in a monastery at Purushapura (modern Peshawar).¹ There are in the Mathurā Museum two or three other bowls of stone one of which (ht. $1' 11"$, diameter $2' 1"$) is labelled a *Mahāpātra*² and must have been used for veneration as an imitation of the Buddha's alms-bowl. It is, however, noteworthy that a stone bowl unearthed by Sir John Marshall at Sāñchī bears a short inscription to the effect that the bowl in question was used for the storage of the food, which, having first been presented to the deity, was afterwards distributed among the pilgrims.³

TEXT.

1. Imhrasama [or Idrasama]-pūṭasa Ayalasa dana sava-Būḍhanam pūjāya
Suvanakara-[vihārē] āchariyana [ma]hōpad[ē]sakana
2. parigahē

TRANSLATION.

"(This bowl is) the gift of Ayala, the son of Imhrasama (or Idrasama) in the monastery of the goldsmiths for the adoration of all the Buddhas (and) for the acceptance of the teachers who were great preachers."

No. VII.—Stone channel inscription.

This inscription is incised on one side of a stone fragment (length $11"$) which probably formed part of a stone channel for carrying off water. The fragment was found in the débris of a house which fell down in 1917 in the Mātā Galī lane of Mathurā city and was acquired for the Museum in August of the same year.

The inscription is complete at the top and at the bottom but broken off at both ends. A continuous translation of the document is not practicable. It is, however, manifest that it records the erection of something, possibly the channel itself, on a piece of which it is engraved, in a monastery designated **Chutaka-vihāra** which may possibly be interpreted as **Chūtaka-vihāra**, i.e., the mango monastery. The last line contains the year 91 which presumably is the date of the inscription. It should probably be referred to the **Kushāna era**. The pious act mentioned in the epigraph was executed for the increase of the religious piety and strength of the [Ma]hāsāṅghikas, one of the eighteen schools into which the Buddhist church was split up early in the history of that religion. Two *aksharas* at the end of the first line which may be read as *vyāstā* cannot at present be explained, though I am inclined to think that the word intended was *vāstavya*.

¹ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, translated by Legge, p. 34.

² *Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 8.

³ See Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 104, and *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi*, p. 37, No. B. 1.

TEXT.

1. pitō Chutaka-vihārē vyāstā
2. . . . [Ma]h[ā]sāṅghikana dharma-va(ba)la-[vṛiddhyartham*]
3. . . . [va]rshaṇā 90 1 kārūṇika

TRANSLATION.

“ was erected for the increase of the religious merit and strength of the [Ma]hāsāṅghikas (residing) at the Chutaka-vihāra ninety-one years ”

No. 10.—THE KALVAN PLATES OF YASOVARMMAN.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The inscription edited below was discovered in a village near **Kalvan** in the north-western part of the Nāsik district of the Bombay Presidency. It was brought to the notice of Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I.C.S., then Collector of the Nāsik district, by Mr. Gajanan Gopal Joshi, a teacher of a school at Kalvan, who also read portions of the inscription. In the first instance, only the first two plates were recovered from a Bhīl, but on a reward being announced the third plate also was found at the same place. The plates were purchased for the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay through Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I.C.S., who spared no pains to obtain them for that institution.

The inscription is incised on three plates of copper each measuring 10" × 5½". There is a hole in the upper part of each of these plates proving that they were attached together at one time by a ring. The ring as well as the seal, that must have been attached to it, are missing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, the second plate being inscribed on both the sides. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the imprecatory verses, the entire record is in prose. The inscription abounds with mistakes. *sa* is generally substituted for *śa* : cf. *yasa* for *yaśaḥ* (ll. 2, 4, 7, 8, 14), *sira* for *śiraḥ* (l. 3), *aśīti* for *aśīti* (ll. 8-9), *subha* for *śubha* (l. 11), and *Kalakalēsvara* for *Kalakalēśvara* (l. 12). So also we find *sa* for *śa* in *sahasra* instead of *śahasra* in ll. 8, 33 and 37. *Vakaigala* (l. 21), *pañchavīsa* (l. 20 f.), *tēlaghāṇaka* (l. 22 f.), *jin-ālaḥ* (l. 25), *chāurika* and *daṇḍavāsika* (l. 27) are instances of Prakṛitism.

The alphabet of the inscription is Nāgarī of the Northern variety of the eleventh century A.D. and may be very well compared with that of the Banswara¹ and the Ujjain² plates of Bhōjadēva. The *a* symbol is represented by the two usual strokes at the top of the consonant or by a single stroke and a vertical line placed before the letter. Long initial *ī* is distinguished from the short by a rectangular stroke placed over the latter (l. 16). A peculiar final form of *n* is to be found in *ādīn* in l. 28. The letter *ya* in l. 2 (Sīyaka) is not closed at the top as is generally done. *Ṇa* has two forms (see ll. 23 and 24).

The inscription is not dated but refers itself to the reign of a subordinate chief named **Yaśōvarmman**. Even the genealogy of this prince, in whose territory the land was granted, is omitted. He is simply introduced as having obtained one-half of the town of **Sēlluka** from the illustrious **Bhōjadēva** (I) and as being in the enjoyment of 1,500 villages. This Bhōjadēva is said

¹ Above, Vol. XI, plate opposite p. 182.

² Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, pp. 53-54.

to have defeated the kings of the **Karṇāṭa**, **Lāṭa** and **Gurjara** countries as well as the lords of **Chēḍi** and **Komkaṇa** and to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, who cleansed the earth from the mountains to the sea by his wide fame and meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva** (II), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sīyakadēva** (II) of the **Paramvāra** (**Paramāra**) family of **Dhārā**. The reference is very clearly to **Bhōja I** of the **Paramāra** dynasty of **Dhārā**, who was the son of **Sindhurāja**, the brother's son of **Vākpatirāja II** and the grandson of **Sīyaka II**. The very fact that an ordinary feudatory chief dares to make a grant of land without referring the matter to his suzerain shows that the power of the **Paramāras** of **Mālava** had weakened considerably at the time of the issue of the grant. It is known from the other inscriptions of the **Paramāras** of **Mālava** as well as the **Hahayās** of **Tripurī** that **Bhōja I**, the conqueror of the **Komkaṇa** and the great patron of literature, had suffered a crushing defeat and had most probably fallen on the battle-field while trying to stem the tide of a combined invasion on the kingdom of **Mālava** by **Karṇa**, the king of **Tripurī**, and **Bhīma I** of **Gujarat**. Though the successor of **Bhōja I** was on its throne in V. S. 1112 (=1055 A.D.), yet history shows that the kingdom of **Mālava** lost its independence for a short time about that period. It regained its independence under **Udayāditya**, a kinsman of **Bhōja I**, and continued to be a divided kingdom up to the twelfth century. It was during these troublesome times that the grant was issued by a subordinate chief **Yaśōvarmman**, who, apparently, gave the genealogy of **Bhōja I**, by way of custom only. The **Śvētapāda** country, which is the same as the northern part of the modern district of **Nāsik**, was once conquered by the **Hahaya** king **Lakshmaṇarāja**¹ and again by **Vapullaka**, a general of **Karṇa**, the king of **Tripurī**, some time before the **Kalachuri Chēḍi** year 812 (=1061 A.D.). When he (i.e., **Vapullaka**) erected a temple of **Śiva**, in the inscription recording its construction he enumerated some of the famous battles in which he had fought for his king. Therein he also mentions his having defeated a king of Southern **Gujarat** named **Trilōchana**, who is known from the **Surat** plates of Śaka 972 (=1051 A.D.), and a **Jain** ascetic named **Vijjala**. The conquest of **Śvētapāda**, which is adjacent to **Surat**, must have taken place after 1051 A.D. and before 1061 A.D., i.e., about the time of the fall of **Bhōja I**. We know from the **Nāgpur** *prasaśti* of the rulers of **Mālava** that "**Bhōjadēva**'s end was unfortunate, and that during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, **Bhōjadēva**'s relative **Udayāditya** became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the **Chēḍi**) **Karṇa** who, joined by the **Karṇāṭas**, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean."² The same fact is referred to in v. 21 of the **Udaipur** *prasaśti* of the rulers of **Mālava**.³

The grant under notice differs from the regular land grants of the **Paramāra** kings of **Mālava** in the following details :—(1) The absence of the **Garuḍa** and snake seal or the emblem of the **Paramāras**. (2) The absence of the date and of the mention of the reigning king as *kaśālī*. (3) The absence of the customary verse at the beginning in praise of **Śiva**. It is, therefore, almost certain that this subordinate chief **Yaśōvarmman** had issued this grant during the period of anarchy which followed the fall of **Bhōja I** and the occupation of **Mālava** proper by **Karṇa**, the king of **Tripurī**, the anarchical state of things lasting up to the time of the defeat of **Karṇa** by **Udayāditya**. The **Śvētapāda** country whose location is now fixed by the mention of the temple of **Kālakālēsvara**, which still exists at a distance of ten miles from **Kalvan**, was not included in **Mālava** proper, but formed a part of the country that lay within the sphere of influence of the **Paramāra** rulers at the time of their ascendancy.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 86 and note 3, 89, l. 6.

² *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 181.

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, pp. 236, 238.

The inscription belongs to the *Śvētāmbara* sect of the Jaina religion and is, therefore, important, for very few Jaina grants have come down to us. Herein we are informed that the **Rāpaka Amma**, who was a chief of the **Gaṅga** family, while in the village of **Muktāpali**, in the district of **Āudrahādī** which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages (*Mānyakapaṭṭa*), after hearing the exposition of *Dharmma* and *Adharmma* from the mouth of the illustrious *Āchārya Ammadēva* of the *Śvētāmbara* sect and having been made to understand by his teaching that the principal *Jaina-dharmma* gives more auspicious results than other *dharmmas* in this world as well as in the next, gave certain pieces of land at **Mahishabuddhikā** in the holy *tīrtha* of **Kālakālēśvara**, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the new-moon day of **Chaitra**. The grant consisted of several pieces of land, the first of which measured 40 *nivartanas* and the second 25 *nivartanas*. The latter, however, appears to have been once given by a prince named **Kakkapairāja**. The third measured 35 *nivartanas* while the fourth measured two *nivartanas* and consisted of a flower garden. In addition to these pieces of land two oil mills (*taila-ghāṇakas*), 14 Baniya shops (*Vanik-haṭṭāḥ*), and 14 *drammas* were also given to the illustrious **Muni Suvratadēva** in the temple of the Jina in the country of *Śvētāpāda* which was completely repaired (*lupta-jirṇṇōddhāraṁ*). The land, the oil mills and the shops were given to defray the expenses of worship, which are enumerated in detail (*pūjā, abhishēka, naivēdya* and *Chaitra-pavitraka*), as well as for the maintenance of the Jaina monks, who are called *Rishis*. The officers mentioned are *Dēsulaka, Grāmaṭaka, Gōkulika, Chāurika (Chaurika), Saulkika (Śaulkika), Daṁḍavāsika (Daṇḍapāsika), Prātirāṇyika* and *Mahattama*. There are eight imprecatory verses at the end of the grant, which are numbered. The deed was written by the illustrious *Sāṁdhivigrahika Yōgēśvara* of the twice-born race.

Among the places mentioned, **Dhārā** is the modern city of Dhar, which is the capital of the native state of the same name in the Mālwa Agency of Central India. **Kālakālēśvara**, spelt **Kalakālēśvara**, is, as has been stated above, a temple of Śiva, ten miles to the west of Kalvan, in the Nāsik district of the Bombay Presidency. I am unable to identify the village of **Mahishabuddhikā**, where the **Rāpaka Amma** resided, and also the district of **Āudrahādī**.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [*] Śrīmām(n)¹-**Dhārāyām** Mēru-mahā-giri-tuṅga-śrīṅg-ōpamē Pravāmr²-ānvayē anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-[sā]-
- 2 dhita-śatru-paksha-vistṛita-yasa(śō)-dhavalita-dig-aṁtarālaḥ³ - śrī - **Siyakadēva**-pād-ānu-dhyātaḥ Sara[sva]-
- 3 tī-mukha-tilaka-bhūta(h) kṛita-kāvya-mukta-sāyaka-ghūrmmāyita⁴ si(śi)raḥ-kavi-jana-śatta(tru)-paksha-
- 4 śrī-**Vākpatirājadēva**-pād-ānudhyātaḥ anēka-mah-āhava-vijit-āri-jana-prathita-yasa(śō)-nirmmalī-
- 5 kṛita-sakala-dharādhara-dharā-jaladhi - sīmā - śrī - **Sēm(Sim)**dhurājadēva - pād-[ā⁺]nu-dhyātaḥ mahā-va(ba)la-prachamḍa-ri-
- 6 pu-paksha-nirddārta-**Karṇṇāṭa-Lāṭa-Gūrjjara-Chēdy-ā(a)dhīpa** - **Komkaṇēsa(śa)** - prabhṛiti-ripu-vargga-nirddārta-

¹ [If it goes with **Dhārā**, we should expect *Śrīmatyām* instead.—Ed.]

² Read *Paramār°*.

³ Cancel the *visarga* [or the case-ending here as well as in some of the following attributes.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *-ghūrṇṇāyita*.

- 7 janita-trāsa-yasa(śō)-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayaḥ śrī-Bhōjadēva-prasād¹-āvāpta-nagara-
Sē[lluk-ārddha]-
8 s-ārddha-sahaśra(sra)-grāmāṇām bhōktāraḥ² śrī-Yasō(śō)varmmaḥ³ | Tasmin=
vishayē Mukta[pa]lyām chatur-āsi(śi)-
9 ti-Mānyaka-paṭṭa-Āudrahādi-vishayē sāmāntō Gaṁga-kula-tilaka-bhūtaḥ śrī-
A[mma]rā-
10 pakēna | Svē(Śvē)tāmva(ba)ra-śrī-Ammadēv-āchārya-mukh-ākhyāta-dharmm-ādharmm-
āgama-vākya-pravō(bō)dhita-
11 chih⁴[u*]ēna mukkhā(khya⁵)-Jina-dharmmam=anyē(nyad)-dharmmā[d*]=iha para-lōka-
su(su)bha-phala-dāna[m=*] iti vichim-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 12 [tya] jāta-manasā Mahishav(b)uddhikāyām | śrī-Kalakalēsva(śva)rē puṇya-
ti[rthē Chai]-
13 tra-mās-āmā[vā]syā[yā*]m sūryya-grahan[ē] sāgara-taraṁga-chaṁchala-jīvalō.
[ka]chchhā-
14 yā-samā Lakshmī phēn-ōpamam jivitamam(tam)=avadhārya mātā-pittrōr-ātmanasya⁶
puṇya-yasa(śaḥ)-
15 śrī-vriddhayē sōpavitēna pāṇinā puṇy-ōttama-tīrtthē amvum(bu) grīhītvā supūrṇē.
[na] ka-
16 mamḍalunā Chālviv⁷-ānvaya-prasūta-dharmmapatnī śrī-Chachchāi-rājāi-kara-grīhita-
[nikshipta]-
17 jalēna pāḍau prakshālya bhūmir-iyam dattā Muktaṭpalyā uttarēṇa Māhūḍalā-
grām-ōttara-
18 disā(śā)yām bhūmī(mi)-nivarttanāni chatvārimś(ś)=āśya⁸ sīmā pūrvvē nadi dakshinē
Hathāvāḍa-grā-
19 ma-sīmā Kakaḍaḥ paśchimē garttā uttarē parvvataṁ(taḥ) ēvam chatur-āghāṭa-
visu(su)ddhā bhūmī(mi)[r=i*]yam ta-
20 thā Kumāristana-ḍōmgarikā-ubhaya-taṭē śrī-Kakkapai-rāja-datta-bhū-niva[r*]tta-
nāni [pa]mcha-
21 visa⁹ tathā śrī-Vakaaigala-prabhṛiti-nagarēṇa Saṁgāma-nagara-sīmā-pārsvē Chāḍai-
22 livatē niva[r]ttanāni paṁcha:ri(tri)mśa[t*] puḥpa¹⁰-vāṭikā-bhūmi-nivarttana-dvayam
taila [ghā]-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 23 naka-dvaya[m] vaṇika(k)haṭṭās=chaturddaśa dramma ēva shātra¹¹ chaturddaśam
dadāti [i*] Aṭṭaṇi¹².
24 kāyām vōli[kām¹³] pratipatrāṇi paṁchāśa(śa)¹⁴ity=asē(śē)sham lupta-jirṇṇōddhāram
kṛitam āchamdr-ā-
25 rkka-kālam yā[vat] Svē(Śvē)tapada-Jin-ālaē(yē) śrī-Muni-Suvratadēvāya niv[e*]
ditā | Pūj-ābhishē-

¹ [This would indicate that Yasōvarman was a Sāmanta or rather some subordinate officer of Khōja.—Ed.]

² Cancel the syllable *rah*.

³ Read *varmma*.

⁴ [Doubtful ; °chihē(iti)na would be more likely.—Ed.]

⁵ [The reading seems to be *muktvā-Jina-dharmmam=anyē dharmmā ihaparalokē mu(su)bhapaladā na iti*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *ātmanas=cha*.

⁷ Read *Chālviky*.

⁸ [The reading should be °msad-a-ya.—Ed.]

⁹ Re. d *paṁchavimśat*.

¹⁰ Read *puḥpa*.

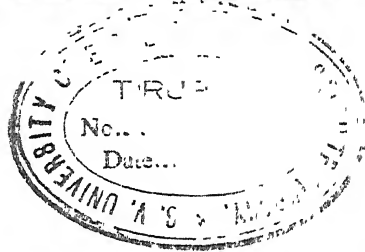
¹¹ Read *ēvaśēch-ātra*.

¹² [It seems to be *aṭṭāli[ti]kā*.—Ed.]

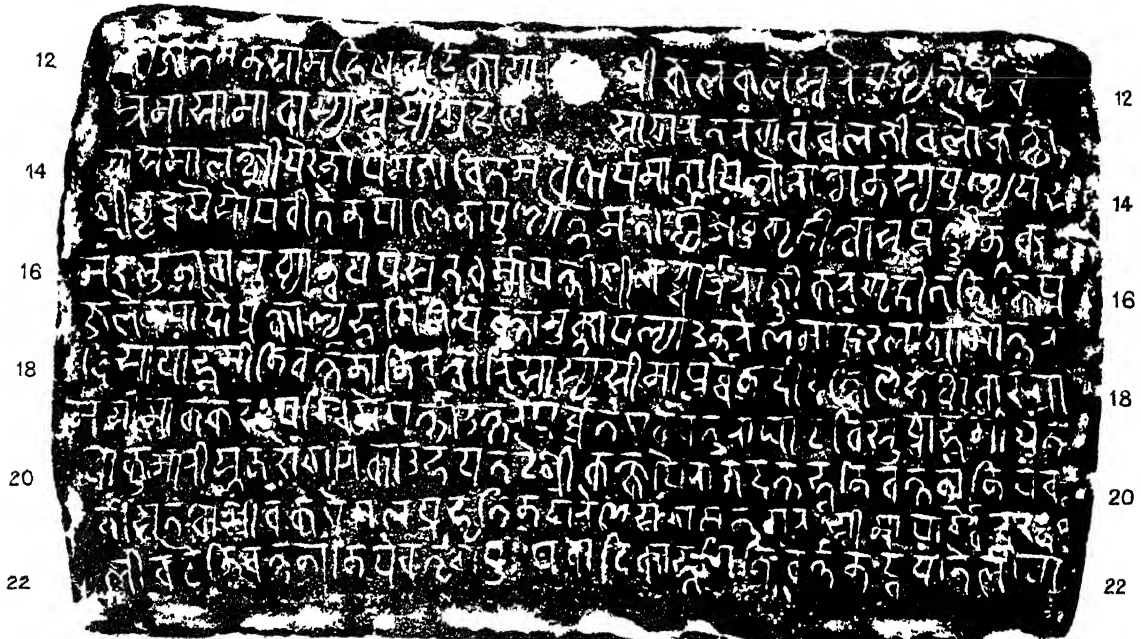
¹³ [Doubtful.—Ed.]

¹⁴ [Better read °sa(śa)[d*]-ity.—Ed.]

i.



ii.



- 26 ka-naivēdya-chaitra-pavitraka-grās-āchchhādām(da)nēshu ri(ri)shīnām=upayōgyā [*]
asmin=vishasa(ya)-vāsī(i)
- 27 [dē]silaka-grāma[ta]ka - gōkulika - chāū(au)rika - sau(śau)lkika - damdā(ḍa)vā(pā)si(śi)ka-
prātirājyi-
- 28 ¹ka-mahattama-kuṭumv(b)inō=nyāś=cha tan-nivāsinō janapad-ādīn v(b)ōdhayaty-asya
(astu) vō
- 29 viditaṁ mayā dattaṁ | mad-vamśajair=anyair=vv=āgāmi-nṛipati-bhōgapatibhir=iyam=
asmad-dā-
- 30 yō=numam̐tavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha | yō v=ājñāna-timira=pa[ta]l-āvṛita-matir=āchchhi-
m̐dy[ā]-
- 31 d=āchchhim̐dyamānaḥ saḥ pañchabhir=mmahā-pātakair=upapātakaiḥ saṁyukta[h*]
syād=iti | U-
- 32 ktaṁ va(cha) bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Dēva-dravyaṁ gurōr=dravyaṁ dravyaṁ ch=aiva
Jinēsva(śva)rē [*] tṛi(tri)vidhaṁ pata-
- 33 nam̐ dṛiṣṭaṁ dāna-bhākṣhaṇa-lamghanē | 1 | Shashṭir=vvarsha²-sahasrā(srā)ṇi svarggē
tishṭhā(ṭha)-

Third Plate.

- 34 ti bhūmidāḥ [*] āchchhētā ch=ānumam̐tā cha³ tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | 2 | -
- 35 Sam̐(Sam̐)kham̐ bhadrāsanaṁ chchha[tra]m̐ ⁴ var-āsṡvā(śvā)vara-vāhanāḥ [*] bhūmi-
dānasya chih̐nāni
- 36 dṛiṣya(śya)[ntē] tāni Bhārata | 3 | Sapta-janui-ām̐tarēṇ=a(ai)va yat=punyaṁ pūrvva-
sam̐chitam | arddh-ām̐gu-
- 37 lēna sīmāyā haraṇēna praṇasya(śya)ti | [4] | Agnishṭōma-sahasra(sra)ś=cha ⁴
Vājapēya-śata(tē)-
- 38 shu cha | gavām̐ kōṭi-pradānēna ⁴ bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyati | [5] | Kim̐ sūryaḥ-
(s)=tīvra-tāpō daha-
- 39 ti śasi(śi)-kalā[m̐*] pāvako=ti jvalam̐tē ⁴ nō rūḍham̐ bhūmi-sasyaṁ ⁴ na vasati
vishayē ⁴ mā
- 40 dhavaś=ch=ālpa-vṛiṣṭiḥ | kim̐ gōshu kshīram̐=alpaṁ śushati sarisarā(ō) jīvalōkē na
vṛiddhiḥ
- 41 yatr=āyaṁ bhūmi-harttā vasati parijanē tasya chih̐nāni=māni(tāni) | 6 | Ya[smi]nu(n)
kulē jāyati
- 42 bhūmi-dātā ⁴ sa mōdatē putra-kalatra-dhānyaiḥ | susthaṁ prajānām̐ vasatē cha
yatra s[au]khyam̐ śri(śri)yā-
- 43 nam̐dati bhūmipālā(laḥ) | 7 | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhiḥ⁵ Sagar-
ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya-
- 44 dā bhūmīm̐(miḥ) tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ | 8 | Likhitam̐=idam̐ Dvij-ānvayē
[sā]ndhivigrahikaśśri-Jōga(gē)sva(śva)-
- 45 rēṇ=ēti ⁴

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—8). Hail ! In the illustrious (city of) **Dhārā**, in the **Paramāra** family, which was as sublime as the high peaks of the great mountain of **Mēru**, (was born) the illustrious **Bhōjadēva**

¹ [Note the symbol here.—Ed.]² Read °shṭim varsha.³ [There seems to be a superfluous cha here.—Ed.]⁴ [Daṇḍa is unnecessary.—Ed.]⁵ Read rājābhiḥ.

who had caused the three worlds to be whitened by his fame (won by) causing fear and by destroying his enemies such as the lords of **Komkaṇa**, **Chēdi**, **Gūjara**, **Lāṭa** and **Karpāṭa** and who had destroyed the hosts of his fierce enemies by his great army, (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, whose fame had become extensive by his defeating the enemies in many great battles, (and) who had purified the entire earth up to its boundaries of mountains and seas, (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva** who was, (as it were), the mark on the forehead of the goddess of learning, (and) who had caused the heads of poets and his enemies to be turned by his poems and arrows (respectively), (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Siyakadēva** who had caused the cardinal points to be whitened by his wide fame (won) by his defeating the enemies in many battles and engagements. Through his (i.e., Bhōja's) pleasure, the illustrious **Yaśō-varmman** had obtained one half of the town of **Selluka** and was enjoying 1,500 villages.

(Ll. 8—17). In that province, in the (village) **Muktāpalī**, in the **Āudrahādi-vishaya** (with its) 84 rent-free (villages), the *sāmanta*, the illustrious **Rāṇaka Amma**, who was the mark on the forehead of the **Gaṅga** family, having heard *dharma* and *adharmma* from the illustrious **Śvētāmbara Ammadēva-Āchārya** (and) being made to understand by him, by words as well as by signs,¹ that this particular *Jina-dharma* is superior to other *dharmmas*, in this world as well as in the next, in producing good results; (and) having thought so and having made up his mind, this land was given by him at **Mahishabuddhikā**, at the holy and illustrious *tīrtha* of **K[ā]lak[ā]lēsvara**, on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the *amāvāsya* day of the month of **Chaitra**, having ascertained that fortune is (as fleeting) as a shade (and) the world is as transient as the (moving) waves of the sea (and) the life (as worthless) as foam, for the increase of the merit, fame and fortune of his own self as well as of his parents, having taken water in this most holy *tīrtha* with (his) sacred thread in his hand in a well-filled *kamaṇḍalu* and having washed the feet (of the Jina ?) with water thrown from the hands of his legal wife (*dharma-patnī*) the illustrious **Queen Chachchāī**, (who) was born in the **Chālukya** family.

(Ll. 17—31). This land which is to the north of **Muktāpalī**, on the northern side of the village of **Māhudaḷā**, (measures) forty *nivarttanas*. Its boundaries (are) :—on the east, the river, on the south, the boundary of the village **Hathāvāḍa**, and the *Kakaḍa* (?), on the west, the water-courses, (and) on the north, the mountain. This land is thus defined with its four boundaries. Again, the twenty-five *nivarttanas* of land given by the illustrious king **Kakkapai** on both slopes of the hill known as 'the breasts of the virgin'; also thirty-five *nivarttanas* (of land) by the **Vakaigala** and others of the town, by the side of the town of **Saṅgama** at **Chadaḷivāṭa**; (as well as) two *nivarttanas* of flower gardens; 2 oil-mills; 14 shops of merchants; as well as 14 *dramma* coins, and in market² places (and) village streets, per leaf (?) fifty. Having caused endless repairs and restorations to be made, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon endure, in the temple of Jina in the **Śvētapada** country, are dedicated to the illustrious **Muni Suvratadēva** for the purpose of worship, *abhishēka*, *naivēdya*, *chaitra-pavittraka*, for food and clothing of Rishis. (The following officers) and inhabitants of this *vishaya* :—**Dēsīlaka**, **Grāmaṭaka**, **Gōkulika**, **Chaurika**, **Śaulkika**, **Damḍapāsika**, **Prātirājyika**, **Mahattama**, householders and others, the inhabitants of towns, are informed : "Let it be known to you, that this (land) given by me, is to be recognized as a gift, by my descendants as well as other future kings and enjoyers and protected, and whoever, with his mind being covered with the dense darkness of ignorance, violates this or causes this to be violated, will be connected with (i.e., afflicted with) the five great *pātakas* as well as *upapātakas*."

¹ [See footnote on text line 11 above.—Ed.]

² [See footnote on text line 23 above.—Ed.]

(Ll. 32—44). It has been said by the venerable Vyāsa [here follow eight of the usual imprecatory verses]. Written by the illustrious *Sāndhivigrahika Jōgēśvara* of the twice-born race.

No. 11.—AMODA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA I:
CHEDI SAMVAT 831.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A. (RETIRED DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, CENTRAL PROVINCES).

These copper-plates were found in a field in *Amodā* village, about a foot below the surface. *Amodā* is about 10 miles from *Jānjgir*, the headquarters of a *tahsīl* of the same name in the *Bilāspur* District of the Central Provinces. These are two plates, each measuring $11" \times 7\frac{7}{8}"$, the total weight of both being 107 tolas. Each has a hole, the first at the bottom and the second at the top, for being strung with a seal which is lost. They are inscribed on one side only, the first containing 20 and the second 21 lines. The plates were found about May 1924 and were deposited in the Nagpur Museum, whence I obtained them for deciphering. The accompanying facsimile copy was prepared from impressions taken by Mr. Abdus Suboor, Coin Expert of the same museum.

The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, except where the metal has been corroded. The size of the letters averages $\frac{1}{4}"$ except in the last 5 lines in which it is reduced to $\frac{3}{16}"$. The characters are *Dēvanāgarī* of the *Kalachuri* type with the usual peculiarities found in the records of the kings of *Tripurī* and *Ratanpur*. No difference has been made between *ba* and *va*, both being expressed by the sign for *va*. The dental sibilant has been usually employed for the palatal and *vice versa*, for which the text may be read, where the correct sibilant has been put in brackets, just opposite the incorrect one. In many words the dental *n* has been used for the *anusvāra*, e.g., in line 5 *vansa* stands for *vaṁśa* and in l. 8 *sinhāḥ* for *śinhāḥ*. The letters *ta*, *ra* and *na* have been so formed that they are easily mistaken one for the other, and so is the case with *pa* and *ya*, and also with *va*, *cha* and *dha*. The letters *a*, *i*, *kha*, *ṇa*, *dha*, *bha*, *ra* and *śa* bear antique forms. The record is composed in *Sanskrit* verse and prose, there being altogether 22 verses of which 14 at the commencement are devoted to the eulogy of the donor and his ancestors and the remaining at the end to imprecation, benediction, and mention of officials like the minister for peace and war, under whom the department of gifts was usually placed, and the writer and engraver of the charter. Between these two sets of verses is placed the business portion in prose. The salutation to the deity in the beginning and the year at the end are also given in prose.

The proper object of the charter is to record the grant of a village named *Vasahā* or *Basahā* of the *Yayapara-maṇḍala* to a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Kēśava*, son of *Chāṭṭa* and grandson of *Thirāicha* (who had come from a place named *Hastiyāmaṭha*), on Sunday, the 7th tithi of the dark half of *Phālguna* in the *Chēdi* year 831, on the occasion of the dedication of a *Chatushkikā* or hall resting on 4 pillars to the god *Vaṅkēśvara* at *Tumāṇaka*, by *Prithvidēva I*, son of *Ratnadēva*, and queen *Nōnnalā*, daughter of *Vajjuvarman*, prince of *Kōmō-maṇḍala*. The genealogy is traced to *Kārtavīrya*, who imprisoned *Rāvaṇa*, violently shaken to and fro by the waters of the great *Rēvā*. In his family were born the *Haihaya* kings, in whose line *Kōkkala* became the lord of *Chēdi* and other countries. He raided the treasures of the *Karṇāṭa*, *Vaṅga*, *Gurjara*, *Koṅkaṇa*, and *Sākambharī* kings and also of those born of the *Turushka* and *Raghu* families. He had 18 sons of whom the eldest became the king of *Tripurī*, while the others were made feudatory chiefs near about. To one of the younger

brothers was born **Kaliṅgarāja**, whose son was **Kamalarāja**. The latter defeated an **Utkala** king and endeavoured to equal **Gāṅgēyadēva** in prosperity. To him was born **Ratnarāja** or **Ratnadēva**, the father of the donor of this gift.

Prithvidēva is described as the master of twenty thousand, the lord of the whole of **Kōsala**, a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and sprung from the Kalachuri family. These facts are important as showing that in spite of being a lord of a very big country like **Kōsala** extending west to east from **Berār** to **Orissa** and north to south from the **Amaraṅṭaka** to the **Godāvāri**, he continued to owe allegiance to the parental house at **Tripurī** near **Jubbulpore**. It is somewhat difficult to say what the 'master of 20-thousand' means, but it appears to be a measure of importance belonging to the class in which the Southern kings usually indulged. Some writers construed the figures against place-names referring to their revenue capacity, the value of the produce or the quantity of seed required for the cultivation of the tract, but **Dr. Fleet** in his note on Ancient territorial divisions of India contributed to the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* of 1912 has clearly shown that the numerical figures refer to the number of cities, towns and villages assigned to each territorial division. In certain cases like **Raṭṭapāḍi** 7,50,000, **Kavadivīpa** 1,25,000, **Gaṅgavāḍi** 96,000, **Nolambavāḍi** 32,000, the figures look enormous, but these he explains as conventional or traditional or at any rate greatly exaggerated. In the light of these, our figure of 20,000 for the lord of the whole of **Kōsala** country is apparently very modest. In a record found in the **Madras Presidency**, referring to a gift made by the Kalachuri king of **Tripurī**, to **Sadbhāva-Sambhu**, the head of **Gōlakīmaṭha**, the following occurs:—तस्मै निस्पृहचेतसे कलचुरिस्त्रापासचूडामणिः । ग्रामाणां युवराजदेवदत्तपतिः सितं तिलचं ददौ ॥ i.e., to him the Kalachuri king **Yuvarājadēva** gifted 3 lakhs of villages. The same record assigns 9 lakhs of villages to the **Dāhala** country, lying between the **Jumna** and the **Narmadā**, which **Yuvarājadēva** held. For our donor, therefore, to hold 20 thousand villages as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of **Tripurī**, looks to be a normal affair. In those days the units must have been very small, as they are still found in backward places like the **Bastar State**.

The importance of our charter lies in the fact that it is the oldest dated record of the **Haihayas of Mahākōsala**. Up till now **Prithvidēva's** son's record of the year 1114 was the oldest.¹ Of all the dated records of the Kalachuri kings, the one under notice stands second, the first being that of **Karṇadēva** of the year 1042 A.D.² **Karṇa** was the son of **Gāṅgēyadēva**,³ who finds a mention in our record as a king to be imitated for augmenting one's prosperity. He had died in 1041 A.D., or 38 years before the charter under notice was issued. The date of our record regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A.D.** In this charter the **Saṁvat** is given as *Chēḍīśasya* (of the lord of **Chēḍi**), and not as **Chēḍi** or **Kalachuri Saṁvat**, as found in other records. This seems to support the hypothesis formulated by me about 15 years ago that **Chhattisgarh** owed its origin to *Chēḍīśagaḍha*, meaning the forts or districts of the lord of **Chēḍi**, and not to the numerical word *chhattis* meaning 36. There is no proof of the *gaḍhas* or forts having been limited to 36. On the other hand the account books of the kings of **Ratanpur** which were seen by the Settlement Officer of the **Bilāspur District** about 60 years ago showed the names of 48 *gaḍhas* instead of 36. In no inscription has the name **Chhattisgarh** been used for **Kōsala** or **Mahākōsala**. The **Bilāspur District** or at any rate a portion of it formed part of the **Chēḍi** country under the sway of the **Tripurī** kings and the rulers of **Mahākōsala** were the scions of the same family and remained subordinate to that paramount power. It was, therefore, natural to call all the new forts which formed units of power as belonging to the **Chēḍīśa** or Lord of **Chēḍi**.

¹ See **Jājalladēva's** **Ratnapur** inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

³ One record of this king is also found with a doubtful date corresponding to 1038 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the record include the Rēvā river, which is an alternative name of the Narmadā, the sacred river on whose banks Tripurī, the present Tēwar, 8 miles from Jubbulpore, lay, and of whose sanctity the *Sārōddharīṇī* speaks as follows:—"The Ganges is very sacred at Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī at Kurukshētra, but the Narmadā is sacred everywhere, in any village or forest."¹ I have already spoken about the extent of the Kōsala country in which Tumāṇaka or Tummāṇa, the present Tumān, is situate. It is 45 miles north of Ratanpur, which in its turn is 16 miles north of Bilāspur, the headquarters of the district of the same name. The district is formed of many old *maṇḍalas* of which Kōmō-*maṇḍala*, whence the donor's mother hailed, is still identifiable with the Peṇḍra zamīndārī, in which there is still a village named Kōmō. The Yayapara-*maṇḍala*, in which the village Vasahā or Basahā lay, must have been the tract lying about the present village Jaijaipur, 10 miles from Amodā. Basahā apparently exist with its name unchanged in the Bilāspur *tahsil*, a part of which must have been included in the Jaijaipur-*maṇḍala* of ancient days. Among the countries mentioned as raided by Kōkkala, Karnnāṭa, the present Karnāṭak, lies far away in the south. Close to it is Koṅkaṇa, still retaining the same name. Further up one meets Gurjara, the present Gujarāt, to the east of which in Rājputāna lies the country of Śākambharī, the tutelary goddess of the Chauhāns. Vaṅga is (Eastern) Bengal, but it is not clear what country the Turushkas and Raghus then occupied. Apparently, the latter's dominions had no specific name. Kamalarāja is stated to have vanquished an Utkala or Orissa king, but the personal names of the conquered have been left out in every case.

The temple of Vaṅkēśvara, as is clear from the record, was situated in Tumāṇa, where a superb temple, now in ruins, still exists. For further details I may refer the reader to my article on a visit to Tumāṇa published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1924. The temple of this god has also been mentioned in a stone inscription of Jājalladēva of the year 1114 A.D.² But I cannot find a god of this name in the recognised Hindu pantheon. Apparently he was an aboriginal local deity, believed to exercise the greatest influence and was, therefore, adopted by the Kalachuris as their tutelary god in order to prevent him from doing any harm to the newcomers, unless it is another name for Śiva, of whom the Kalachuris were the great worshippers. In fact they styled themselves as *Parāma-Māhēśvaras*, as has been done in this charter also. They belonged to a sect which is known as Pāsupata-pantha, now believed to practise a degraded form of Śiva worship. Vaṅkēśvara means the 'lord of vagabonds', a title equally applicable to an aboriginal god or to Śiva, as the latter is always accompanied by an army of vagabonds. Prior to the advent of the Kalachuris in the Bilāspur District, the country was inhabited mostly by aborigines, as it is so even now in the portion where Tumāṇa is situated. It is, therefore, very likely that Vaṅkēśvara was adopted from their pantheon, otherwise we should have temples dedicated to that deity in the Dāhala country, at least in the capital at Tripurī, but we find no trace of him there.

It is curious that, barring the names of kings, other names even of high officials like ministers of peace and war sound non-Aryan. The minister was named Dhōdhāka or Dhōdhā in plain language. Although the donee was named as Kōśava and was given the high title of Rishi, yet his father was named Chāṭṭa and his grandfather Thirāicha, both being out and out non-Aryan names. Even the prince of Kōmō-*maṇḍala* was named Vaju, which cannot be considered to be flattering. His daughter who was married to Ratnadēva bore the name of Nōnnalā, more correctly Nōnnalā as found in other records of the same family. This seems to be an inflation

¹ गङ्गा कनखले पुण्या कुकले सरस्वती ।

नामि वा यदिवारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 35 ff.

of Nōni which in the Chhattīgarhī dialect of Hindi means 'a maiden,' as it does in Oriya and Bengali. The ladies of rank apparently had the termination "allā" added to their names, as we find other queens of the same family bearing names like Āvallā, Lāchhallā, Rājallā, Rambhallā, Jāsallā, Sōmallā and Triallā.

In noticing these few points which the charter brings to prominent notice, I have been actuated by the idea that the time has come when a broader view of the manner of studying these records might well be taken, than has been hitherto the case. Up to this time attention was chiefly concentrated on kings, dates and places, but these unusual finds reveal a lot of unusual ethnographical and other data, which is well worth collection.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 10, 11, 12, 17-23, *Anushtubh* ; v. 2, *Upēndravajrā* ; v. 3, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 7, 15, 16, *Upajāti* ; v. 13, *Śikharinī*.]

First Plate.

- 1 ओम् ॥ ओम्^१ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शि । ।^२वं
परमकारणं । भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै स-
- 2 इ(इ)ह्मणे नमः ॥[१]*] यदेतदग्रेसरमस्व(स्व)रस्य ज्यो । ।^२तिः स पूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो मनु-
- 3 रादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूङ्गुवि क[१]र्त्तव्यैः ॥[२] *] देवः श्रीकर्त्त-
व्यैः क्षितिपतिरभवद्गूष्मणं भूतधाच्या हे-
- 4 लोत्सिप्ताद्रिवि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुता[श्लेष]सन्तोषितेशम् । दोर्हण्डाक(का)ण्डसेतु-
प्रतिगमितम्-
- 5 हावारिरेवाप्रवाहं व्याधूतचक्षुपूजागुरुजनितरुधं रावणं यो वव(वव)न्व^३ ॥[३]*]
तद्वन्स(वंश)प्रभवा भूषा व(व)-
- 6 भूवर्भुवि हैहयाः । तेषां वन्स(वंशे) च चेद्यादिक्षितोः(शः) कोक्कलो-
भवत् ॥ [४] *] कार्ण्ट(कर्ण्ट)वङ्गपतिगूर्जरको-
- 7 ङ्गेशसा(शा)कंभरोपतितु[रुष्कर]घूङ्गवानाम् । आ[द]ाय को[श]हरिदन्त(न्ति)-
चयं हठेन स्तंभो जय-
- 8 स्य विहितो भुवि येन राज्ञा ॥[५] *] अष्टादशारिकरिकुम्भविभङ्गसिन्हाः
(सिन्हाः) पुत्रा वभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्य-
- 9 पराश्व तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसीत्या^४र्खै(खै) च मण्डलपतो-
न्स चकार व(व)भून् ॥[६]*] तेषा-

^१ Represented by two different signs. [The first symbol possibly stands for सिद्धिस्तु; see above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.—Ed.]

^२ [The dandas are unnecessary.—Ed.] Here the space enclosed by the two vertical lines and just below it in the second line was reserved for making a hole for stringing the first plate with the second plate, but the hole was finally made at the bottom instead of at the top

^३ Compare with the 3rd śloka of the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karnaślova (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 305).

^४ Elsewhere this reads as शूष य (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 34, śloka 5).

I.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

- 10 मनुजस्य कलिङ्गराजः प्रतापवह्निक्षपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये द्विष्टरिपु-
प्रवीरप्रियान-
- 11 नाभोरुहपार्वणेन्दुः ॥७ ॥* तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो जातः
पु(सु)तः क[म*]लराज इति
- 12 प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदित(ते) रजन्यां जातानि पङ्कजवनानि
विकासभाजि(भाञ्जि) ॥८ ॥* क्षीणो-
- 13 दपु(सु)त्कलन्टपं परिमथ्य धीरो गाद्रे(ङ्गे)यदेवविभवे स(श)मदाच्छ्रियं यः ।
उच्चैस्त्विथरप्रण[धरन्]प-
- 14 रत्नदानसंतोषितासुरसुरः स हि मन्दराभः ॥९ ॥* महीभर्तृविभूषाय^१.
पपो(यो)धिरिव [कौस्तु]-
- 15 भं । जितसू(शू)रप्रतापं हि रत्नराजमसूत सः ॥१० ॥* दृष्ट[वि]द्विष्ट-
सामन्तध्वान्त[ध्वं]सनभास्करं ।
- 16 यस्य प्रतापतस्यैव सै(शै)त्याया(धि)श्रिता द्विषः ॥११ ॥* नीललाख्या प्रिया
तस्य सू(शू)रस्यैव हि
- 17 सू(शू)रता । कोमोमण्डलनाथस्य सुता या वज्रवर्माणः ॥१२ ॥* तत[:*]
पृथ्वोदेवः सकलधरणी-
- 18 भूषणमणिः समुत्पन्नः श्रीम[हु]धजनमनोभोजतरणिः । प्रतापान्नो यस्य
ज्व-
- 19 लति सततोत्तप्तहृदयैर्विलीनं सामात्यैर्जडकृतस(श)रीरैरिव परैः ॥ [१३ ॥*]
यस्मिन्मही-
- 20 [म*]वति नीतिविचारस(सा)रे वातोप्यवर्त्मनि पदं न करोति कोन्यः ।
धर्मा[१*]ध्वनि[छि]तमतौ च न

Second Plate.

- 21 दैवत्येचन^३ दैवतोपि लोकेषु(षु) नूनमुपघातलवोदयोस्ति ॥१४ ॥* अनेन
समस्तप्रति-
- 22 पत्तिसमूहससु(सु)पेतश(स)र्वालङ्कारविभूषितेन सं(शं)खयुग्मध्वनिपूरितजगज्जप-
(य)श्चर^४.
- 23 रवत्रासितारातिचक्रेण समधिगताशेषपञ्च(पञ्च)महाशब्दे(ब्दे)न श्रीमहद्वेक्ष(श्च)र-
वरलब्ध(ब्ध)प्रसा-

^१ नू should be short, but apparently it has been made long for the sake of metre, with a view to make it a *pāda* of *Indravajrā*, like the third *pāda* of the same *śloka*, the second and fourth being those of *Upēndravajrā*.

^२ Elsewhere it reads विभूषाय^० which appears to be better (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 35, *śloka* 9).

^३ Delete the first five letters as superfluous.

^४ [These two letters seem to be unnecessary. The reading is not certain. Mr. Hirai conjecturally suggests अगच्छश्चर^०—Ed.]

- 24 दैकविन्स(विंश)तिश(स)हयै(स्त्रै)कनाथमप(हा)प्रचण्डसकलकोसलाधिप्रतिना पर-
ममाह्वस्व(श्व)रेण कल-
- 25 चुरिवन्मो(वंशो)ह्वे[ने*]त्यादि समस्तुराजावलोविराजमानमहामण्डलेश्वरेण हस्ति-
यामठिनि-
- 26 गताय । आङ्गिरसगोत्राया(य) उचि(च)प्यगौतमवसिष्ठेति त्रिः(त्रि)प्रम(व)-
राप(य) व(व)ह्वचसा(शा)स्त्रिने [य]सो(शो)दे-
- 27 वप्रणवे(व)उपाध्यायथिराहचनष्ट्रे चा[हसु]ता[य] रिसि(चरषि) केस(श)राम्म(वाय)-
श्च(फा)लानकणसप्तम्यां रविदि-
- 28 ने तुमाणके देवश्रीवह्वस्व(श्व)रचतु[ष्किाप्र]तिष्ठायां ओमह्वस्व(श्वर)[पट्टा]धि-
क्षग्नदौ(हौ) पादौ प्रक्षा-
- 29 ल्य कुसा(शा)क्षतहिरण्यसमन्वितवारितुण्डकमाप्तययपरमंडल(मण्डले) वसहा-
ग्रामश्चतुःसीमा-
- 30 विमु(श)हो मातायि(पि)त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)भिद्वह्ये [ह]स्त्री-
दक[सा](शा)सनतया . प्र[द]त्तस्तदयं
- 31 चंद्रदिवाकरक्षितिपाथोधिपवनास्व(स्व)राणि यावत् म(अ)विह्विन्नभुक्त्याकाग-
[भाग]करमं[ग]लङ्क-
- 32 रसवतीडं¹ दम(समा)ह्वत्य(त्या)भ्यन्तरसिद्धां(ध्यां) भ्रजेनैतत्पुत्रपौत्रादिभिश्च
भोक्तव्यः ॥ विपूर्वको विक्र-
- 33 मराजधेयः सौ(शौ)र्याहुतो विक्रमराजनामा । तथार्जुनो वीरवरो
जितारिरेभिः प्रद-
- 34 आः(ताः) खलु श(स)त्यवाचः ॥[१५ ॥*] ण(त)थ [था] सधे(संधि)विग्रह-
राजमंक्षौ श्रेष्ठौ यसो(शो)रत्नपुरप्रधा[न]ः । धोधा-
- 35 क आद्यविजकेस(श)[वाय ददौ] ध[रां संश्रि]तसत्यधर्मः ॥[१६² ॥*]
व(व)ह्विर्बुधुधा स(भु)क्ता राज-
- 36 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य[तस्य*] तदा फलम् ॥[१७ ॥*]
भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति य-
- 37 च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ [तौ पुण्यकर्मा]णौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥
[१८ ॥*] सं(शं)खं भद्रासन(नं) क्वचं वरखा(राश्या) वरवारणाः ।
- 38 भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेत[त्पु]रन्दर ॥[१९ ॥*] [हरते हार]यते यो
मन्दवु(बु)द्धिस्तसोद्धतः । स प(व)हो वारुणैः पासै(शै)स्तिर्यग्यो-

¹ [Reading uncertain.—Ed.]

² *Metre* : *Upajāti*. Apparently the intention was to write in *Indrasajrū* metre. But through the fault of the engraver or otherwise it has become irregular.

- 39 निं च गच्छति ॥[२० ॥*] न विषं विषमित्याहुर्व्रं(र्ब्र)ह्मस्वं विषमुह्य(च)ते ।
विषमेकाकिनं ह[न्ति] व्व(ब्र)ह्मस्व(स्वं) पुत्रपौत्रि(व्र, कं ॥[२१ ॥*] गर्गोस्व-
(स्व)रः सुक-
- 40 विरल्हण ईशभक्तस्तान्ने(स्त्रं) चक(को)रनयनां(नो) लिखितं सुधाक्षिः । योद्वास्
(श)लः सकलसि(शि)ल्यनिधिः सुवु(बु)द्धिरुत्कीर्ण(र्ण)वा-
- 41 न्स भु(शु)भप(पं)क्ति सव(द)क्षरं च ॥[२२* ॥]१॥ य ॥ या यां[य] ।
चेदीस(श)स्य सं ८३१

No. 12.—TAKKOLAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN (ADITYA I).

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

Takkōlam, which is now a petty village in the North Arcot District¹ and a flag station on the Arkonam-Chingleput line of the South Indian Railway, was an important place in ancient times. It occurs under the name Tiruvūral in the *Dēvāram*, and is stated to have been situated in Tonḍai-nāḍu.² It is celebrated for its Śiva temple, referred to in the hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saint Tirujñānasambandar,³ who flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Even at the present day, its Śiva temple is an old structure of the Chōla times, referable to the 9th century A.D., to judge from the inscriptions⁴ engraved on the walls of the central shrine. Besides being a place of pilgrimage, it is historically important as one of the ancient battle-fields of South India. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., it witnessed a sanguinary encounter⁵ that took place between the Chōlas on the one side, and the Rāshtrakūṭas allied with the Gaṅgas on the other, the bone of contention being Tonḍai-maṇḍalam,—the plum of the Pallava dominions,—which had been snatched away by the Chōlas from the Pallavas⁶ in the third quarter of the 9th century A.D. The Chōlas were under the banner of the great Parāntaka I, the general being the valiant Chōla prince Rājāditya, while the contending Rāshtrakūṭa was the famous Kṛishṇa III,⁷ allied with the Gaṅga Būtuga II.⁸ In the encounter, Būtuga managed to get into the *howdah* of the

¹ Regarding the situation of Takkōlam, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 167.

² Tiruvūral is included in the first *Tirumuraī* and is stated to be a place in Tonḍai-nāḍu.

³ Of the eleven verses composed by this saint verses 6 and 7 are lost and the rest are preserved in the *Dēvāram*.

⁴ The inscriptions of Takkōlam are registered as Nos. 1 to 19 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897 and Nos. 243 to 277 of the same collection for 1921. The kings represented in them are Rājakesarivarma (No. 5 of 1897 and No. 255 and 260 of 1921), Parāntaka I (Nos. 8 to 12 of 1897 and Nos. 245, 246, 248, 249, 251 to 254 and 261 of 1921), Kaṇṇarādēva (No. 2 of 1897), Parakēsarivarma (No. 6 of 1897 and No. 250 of 1921), Pārthivēndravarma (Nos. 4, 7, 13 and 14 of 1897), Rājārāja I (No. 3 of 1897 and Nos. 247, 257, 258 and 259 of 1921), Rājendra-Chōla I (No. 15 of 1897 and 256 of 1921), Vimalāditya (No. 1 of 1897), Rājakesarivarma Vijayarājendra (No. 262 of 1921), Rājakesarivarma Virarājendra (No. 19 of 1897), Kulōttuṅga I (No. 18 of 1897 and Nos. 243, 263 and 268 of 1921), Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga (Nos. 16 and 17 of 1897), Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājārāja (Nos. 265 and 266 of 1921), Vijayaṅḍagōpāla (Nos. 264 and 267 of 1921), Rājānārāyaṇa-Śāmbuvarāya (No. 271 of 1921), Dēvarāya (No. 270 of 1921) and Sadāśiva (Nos. 269 and 272 of 1921). One bears no king (No. 273 of 1921).

⁵ This battle is mentioned in the Ātakūr stone inscription (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 55).

⁶ This fact was first surmised by Mr. Venkayya in editing the Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam inscription of Rājakesarivarma, dated in the 27th year of reign (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 279), and subsequently proved to be correct by a statement in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49).

⁷ Kṛishṇa III is invariably referred to in Tamil Inscriptions by the appellation "*Kachchiyum Tanjāiyum-kōṇḍa Kaṇṇarādēva*," (Kaṇṇarādēva, the capturer of Conjeeveram and Tanjore). The Doḍḍaśivaram inscription (No. 112 of 1899) refers to his having been encamped at Mēlpāḍi in the North Arcot district.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 55 and 57.

elephant on which Rājāditya rode, engaged him in a hand-to-hand fight and put him to death, thus securing victory to his overlord.¹ Soon after, Kṛishṇa III is said to have marched through Tondai-maṇḍalam.²

To fix the date when the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Chōḷa country took place,³ we may briefly state here the events of the period :—

- (1) A number of stone inscriptions of Parāntaka I have been found dated in years 40 and later and of these the latest known so far is one belonging to the 46th year of reign.⁴ His accession being in A.D. 907, the last date takes us to A.D. 953. In the face of the existence of this record which has been recently examined and found to be clearly of the 46th year and of another dated in the 45th year, we cannot place Parāntaka's death before A.D. 952-3.
- (2) The Kanyākumari inscription states that Parāntaka I himself fought with Kṛishṇarāja and defeated him earning thereby the title Vīra-Chōḷa, though it does not state when and where the encounter took place.⁵ If the success attributed to Parāntaka I is to be taken seriously, we must regard this event as having happened before A.D. 944 when, as will be shown in (3) below, Kṛishṇarāja was occupying Tondai-maṇḍalam.
- (3) The Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III occupied Tondai-maṇḍalam in at least A.D. 944, for there is a clear record of his at Siddhalingamaṇḍam in the South Arcot District dated in the 5th year of his reign mentioning his conquest of Kachchi and Tañjai.⁶ Records of Kṛishṇa III show that he reigned for 28 years⁷ and one of them states in unmistakable terms that he died in A.D. 967.⁸ Therefore, it is certain that his reign lasted from A.D. 940 to 967 and that his fifth year fell in A.D. 944.⁹
- (4) A few years after his occupation of Tondai-maṇḍalam, Kṛishṇa III had to fight against the Chōḷas at Takkōlam. We have definite information in contemporary records as to when this happened and the whole course of events that followed. The Śōḷapūram record is dated in A.D. 949, which is stated to be two years after Kṛishṇa III had fought with Rājāditya and entered Tondai-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Who it was that killed Rājāditya in the battle and what kind of entry is referred to here are clearly learnt from the Ātakūr stone inscription. It states¹¹ that at the time when Kṛishṇa III was fighting against the Chōḷa, Būtuga II (the Gaṅga ally of the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 41 and *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, p. 443.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 52. Some of the statements therein made fall self-condemned.

⁴ Madras Epigraphical collection Nos. 384 of 1903, 232 of 1894, 82 of 1896, 520 of 1905, 310 of 1906, 225 of 1915, 345 and 353 of 1918 belong to the 40th year; Nos. 88 of 1892, 419 of 1903, 184 and 313 of 1906 and 149 of 1916 belong to the 41st year; No. 465 of 1918 belong to the 45th year and No. 15 of 1895 to the 46th year.

⁵ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v 48.

⁶ No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁷ Quite a large number of inscriptions of the 28th year of this king have been found: see Nos. 125 of 1906 and 364 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 236 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1913 from Kolagallu is dated in Śaka 839, Kshaya, Phālguna, śu. dv. 6, Sunday, and states that Kṛishṇa III died in this year and Kottiga succeeded him. The date equivalent is Sunday, February 17th, A.D. 967.

⁹ Since the Deolī grant of Kṛishṇa III is dated in 940 A.D. and does not mention his conquest of the Chōḷas, that event should have happened after this date and most probably in A.D. 944.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195. The actual words used are "Svasii Śrī yāṇḍu irāṇḍu Śaka varsham epāṇḍu eḷiput-ṇṇu chakravartī Kannaradēva-vallabhan Rājādittarai epāṇḍu Tondai-maṇḍalam pagundav-āṇḍu."

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 57, l. 20 and *J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 445.

Rāshtrakūṭa king) made the *howdah* of the elephant on which Rājāditya was mounted the battle-field, fought with Rājāditya, stabbed him with a dagger and killed him. In token of appreciation, Kṛishṇa III gave Būtuga the Banavase 12,000, Belvola 300, Purigere 300, Kisukāḍ 70 and Bāgenāḍ 370. The same record further informs¹ us that Kṛishṇa III having attacked Mummaḍi-Chōḷa Rājāditya and having fought and killed him at Takkōlam was going in triumph. Thus, it is clear that this entry into Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam which took place a few years after the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation of that part of the Chōḷa dominions was the final triumphant march or state procession in the conquered territory when all obstacles had been overcome. It will be noted that Rājāditya died long before his father's death. Accordingly, we see that the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates do not state that he became king while they do say so with regard to his brothers.²

- (5) Twelve years after Kṛishṇa III had his state entry into Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, i.e., on the 9th day of March 959 A.D., he was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpāḍi in the Chittoor district when he established his followers in the southern provinces, took possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs and began to construct temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtaṇḍa, Kṛishṇēsvara, etc.³

The events of the period, in the order of occurrence, may be given thus :—

1. Before A.D. 944 . . . Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and gained victory.
2. A.D. 944 . . . Kṛishṇa III occupied Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.
3. A.D. 947 . . . Battle of Takkōlam: Rājāditya killed by Būtuga and the triumphant march of Kṛishṇa III into Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.
4. A.D. 953 . . . Last year of Parāntaka's reign known so far.
5. A.D. 959 . . . Kṛishṇa III's encampment at Mēlpāḍi and the establishment of Rāshtrakūṭa subordinates in the several provinces of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.
6. A.D. 967 . . . Death of Kṛishṇa III.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine in the Jalanāthēsvara temple at Takkōlam.⁴ It is written in the **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha** characters of the ninth century and is in the **Tamiḷ** language. The record is in a good state of preservation. The Grantha letters used are *svasthi śrī* (l. 1), *sūryya graha* (l. 5) and *māhēsvarakṣhai* (l. 11). The *vū* in *Tiruvūṇal* (l. 6) is shaped as in Grantha. A careful comparison of the characters employed in this record with those of Parāntaka I found in the same place, shows that this inscription must belong to a slightly earlier period. It is worthy of note that while the Parāntaka inscriptions in this place do not use the *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, it is invariably marked by a small vertical line over the letters⁵ throughout this inscription, wherever necessary. The characteristic Tamiḷ letters that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55, l. 2.

² *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 54.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 281. It is stated in this inscription that Kṛishṇa III erected a high column of victory at Rāmēsvaram after making the Chōra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya his tributaries (V. 35 of the Karhadī plates).

⁴ No. 5 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

⁵ It is also marked in the Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam inscription of the same king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, plate facing page 284).

show an earlier type are *śa*, *ma* and *ta*. The marking of the secondary *i*-symbol from right to left like a circle over the letter is another archaic feature that is worthy of note. The etymology and orthography of the record do not call for any remarks.

The inscription is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Rājākēsarivarman without any distinguishing epithets and registers the grant of a silver water-vessel with a spout, made to the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva by Piridipadiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āṇi. The donor Piridipadiyār is no doubt identical with the Gaṅga Prithvīpati II, son of Mārasimha, who is referred to by the name of Māramaraiyar here.¹ It was on this Gaṅga chief that the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907 to 953) conferred later on the Bāṇa kingdom which he had obtained by defeating the then reigning Bāṇa chief, along with the feudatory title Śembiyan Māvali-Vāparāyan.² Since before Parāntaka I the only Chōḷa king that bore the title Rājākēsarivarman was Āditya I, this inscription must belong to him. Palæographical considerations and the fact that Prithvīpati II figures as donor in this record point to the same conclusion.

The importance of this inscription consists in the fact that it can, with certainty, be ascribed to the Chōḷa Āditya I; that it enables us to fix the date of his accession to the throne which has not hitherto been done; besides, it also reveals the fact that the Gaṅgas under Prithvīpati II assumed a subordinate position under, or were at least friendly towards, the Chōḷas even during the reign of Āditya I, as they certainly were in the time of Parāntaka I.

It is reported in the Udayēndiram grant that the Gaṅga king Prithvīpati I, grandfather of the donor of our record, fought on the side of the Pallava Aparājita against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam and secured victory for his ally, though he himself lost his life in the strife.³ The Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa, who was defeated in this battle, is no doubt Vatruguṇavarman, the eldest son of Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala.⁴ Of his reign an inscription had been found at Aivarmalai⁵ in the Madura district dated in the 8th year and Śaka 792, from which it is learnt that he ascended the throne in A.D. 862. It is clear that the battle of Śrīpurambiyam must, therefore, have been fought some time after that date, perhaps in about A.D. 870. The victor in this battle, i.e., the Pallava king Aparājita, continued his rule for some time⁶ when he had to encounter a more formidable foe in the Chōḷa Āditya I. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Āditya I defeated the Pallava Aparājita, gained victory and took possession of his dominions.⁷ This must have happened in about A.D. 870.

The statement made in this inscription that in the 24th year of the king's reign there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āṇi is of the utmost importance, for it enables us to fix the year of his accession to the throne as will be shown presently. Keeping A.D. 907, the year of accession of Parāntaka I, as the last year of the reign of Āditya I, we have to look for the date meant in the

¹ Prithvīpati I, having died in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam, it is impossible that he might be meant in this record though Māramaraiyar may be equated with Śivamāra or Mārasimha.

² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, page 384. See also Sholingur inscription of Parāntaka I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, page 224), where the following words अरुभत पट्टनयं प्रसादं बाणाधिराजपदलभनसाधनं are used with reference to the title obtained by Prithvīpati II from Parāntaka I.

³ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 87.

⁴ *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1907, Pt. II, page 66 f.

⁵ No 705 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ The inscriptions of Aparājita range in date from the 3rd to the 18th year of reign (see No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 and No. 331 of the same collection for 1908).

⁷ *S. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

inscription. From Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, it is seen that before A.D. 907 the following are the dates when solar eclipses occurred in the month of Āpi :—

1. Saturday, 5th June 829 A.D.
2. Thursday, 5th June 848 A.D.
3. Saturday, 16th June 866 A.D.
4. Friday, 6th June 867 A.D.
5. Saturday, 27th May 876 A.D.
6. Wednesday, 16th June 885 A.D.
7. Friday, 7th June 894 A.D.
8. Wednesday, 28th May 895 A.D.

It may be noted at the start that as Parāntaka I had had a long reign extending to 46 years, Āditya I, his father, could not have reigned as long. And if the fact that the Pallava king Aparājita and his Gaṅga ally Prithvīpati I fought at Śrīpurambiyam in the Tanjore district not far from the new capital of the Chōlas, without the Chōlas taking any part in it, against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna,—which event must have taken place after A.D. 862, the year of accession of Varaguna and somewhere about 870,—could suggest anything, it is that the Chōlas had not formed themselves into a power to count for much. For these reasons, we cannot place the date of accession of Āditya I, prior to A.D. 862. As such, we can safely leave out of consideration the first six probable date-equivalents of the details given in our record, since they give an accession date earlier than A.D. 862. Thus, the only two probable equivalents of the day of the solar eclipse in Āpi given in this inscription are 7th June 894 A.D. and 28th May 895 A.D. which would place the accession of Āditya I in A.D. 870 or 871 and give him a rule of 36 or 37 years. The only other equivalent that is worthy of consideration is 16th June A.D. 885. This would place Āditya's accession in A.D. 861 and give him a long reign of 46 years. In the absence of any evidence to show that Āditya I was a mere boy at the time of his coronation, one would rather hesitate to adopt this as a probable date for the reason that the reigns of Āditya and his son Parāntaka I would cover a period of 92 years.¹ Sometime after his accession to the throne Āditya I should have thought it opportune to try issues with the Pallava victor of Śrīpurambiyam, i.e., Aparājita. While the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates state that Āditya fought with the Pallava Aparājita and defeated him,² the Kanyākumāri inscription goes further and explicitly declares that he killed him and got possession of the territory.³ It is very likely that Aparājita, after having reigned for 18 years, lost his life and his kingdom in the encounter with the Chōla Āditya I.

Here it becomes necessary to consider certain inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman which have been thought, perhaps on palæographical grounds, to be of an earlier date than A.D. 907 and consequently as belonging to Āditya I, noticed on page 96, para. 20 of Part II of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915 and for which 5 possible equivalents are noted on page 72 of the same report. Of these equivalents, the only one that agrees with one of the equivalents of the present record is the first which places the accession in A.D. 861 and which also we consider as highly improbable. I think these inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman should belong to some sovereign in the Chōla line who came after Parāntaka I and not to one that preceded him. My reasons for thinking

¹ South Indian history affords an odd example where the reigns of two consecutive sovereigns together lasted for more than a century. This is the case of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman; but in this case we are assured that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was crowned king while he had not reached the teens.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

³ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 55, where it is stated that Āditya, called also Kōdanḍarāma, pounced upon and killed in battle the Pallava king who was seated on a rutting elephant.

that they are later than the time of Parāntaka are (1) that in two of these records,¹ which palæographically indicate the same period, there occurs a village called Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam which should have been so termed after Uttamaśīli, one of the sons of Parāntaka I as we know it from his inscriptions; and (2) that these two inscriptions mention a chief named Vēḷāṇ Viranārāyaṇa *alias* Śembiyaṇ Vēdi-Vēḷāṇ, who must have been so called after Viranārāyaṇa, one of the surnames of Parāntaka I. The only two Rājakēsarivarmanas to whom they could be assigned in my opinion, are Sundara-Chōḷa and Rājarāja I, both of whom coming after Parāntaka I bore the title Rājakēsarivarman. The equivalents of the details of dates given in these records for either of these two kings are noted below :—

No. and year.	Details of date.	Equivalent for Sundara-Chōḷa.	Equivalent for Rājarāja I.
74 of 1914	56h yr. Makara, Friday, Punarvasu.	4th Jan. 964 A.D.	2nd Jan. 991 A.D.
101 of 1914	7th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ārdrā.	27th Dec. 964 „	19th Jan. 992 „
104 of 1914	76h „ Makara, Thursday, Mūlā.	14th Jan. 964 „	11th Jan. 994 „
105 of 1914	76h „ Śiṃha, Saturday, Rōhiṇī.	15th Aug. 963 „	12th Aug. 993 „
127 of 1914	6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Svāti.	23rd Dec. 962 „	17th Jan. 993 „
130 of 1914	6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ārdrā.	27th Dec. 964 „	19th Jan. 992 „
133 of 1914	5th „ Mithuna, Wednesday, Svāti.	4th Jan. 961 „	27th May 991 „

The part played by the Gaṅgas in the political affairs of the Tamiḷ country calls for some remarks. In the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ were hard pressed by the Rāshtrakūṭas who under Dhruva II raided the Gaṅga territory, actually took possession of a part of it and twice kept in prison Śivamāra II, the then reigning Gaṅga sovereign. Not long after Śivamāra II was set at liberty and reinstated on his throne by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III he passed away, and the country became subject to the rule of Rājamalla Satyavākya I, who tried to regain possession of the territory lost under the late king, and when he was effecting this, he found a fierce opponent in Bankēśa, a general of the Rāshtrakūṭas.² Fortunately for the Gaṅga this general was recalled owing to certain internal dissensions in the Rāshtrakūṭa realm, thus affording the Gaṅgas a breathing time. Rājamalla's successor Nitimārga had to face the rising of the Bāṇas who took up the place of the Rāshtrakūṭas in causing disturbance to the Gaṅgas, and this he did effectively by gaining a victory over the Pallava army at Rājarāmaḍu and capturing from the Bāṇas Mahārājara-nāḍu called also the Mahārājavāḍi (in the Cuddapah district).³ We find Rājamalla occupying the North Arcot district which should have been previously held by the Bāṇas and where their inscriptions are actually found.⁴ While this was the case with the Gaṅgas, the country of Drāviḍa was not in a state of

¹ Nos. 104 and 105 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1914.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 26.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Kl. 90 Nj. 269, and Mb. 228.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, page 140.

TAKKOLAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN (ADITYA I).



quiet. The successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla could not command his strength or tact. A general like Udayachandra was also absent from the scene. The Pallava dominions were exposed to the rushing tide of the Pāṇḍya aggression which was ever threatening to sweep off at least the southern parts of it since the time of Arikēsaṁ Māṇavarman.¹ Seeing that the Pallavas were becoming weaker, the Bāṇas also appear to have aimed at independence. The trouble caused to the Pallavas which is evidently manifested by the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja marching as far north as Araiśūr on the banks of the river Pennai,² and the pressure that was brought to bear on the Gaṅgas by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Bāṇas, as we have seen already, appear to have brought about a union of the Pallavas and the Gaṅgas at this period. The Chōlas were then holding, be it noted, a subordinate official position under the Pallavas and this is in evidence in the Vēlūrpālaiyāṁ plates which state that the Chōḷamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa was one of Nandivarman III's principal officers.³ The position of the several powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking is clearly brought out when the Siṅṅamaṇūr plates state that Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala fought at Kuḍamūkkū, i.e., Kumbhakōṇam against the allied armies of the Gaṅga, Chōḷa, Pallava, Kaṇṇiga and others.⁴ Not long after, we notice the Gaṅga Prithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II, forming an alliance with the Pallava Aparājita and fighting against the latter's foe, i.e., the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa.⁵ We can well imagine that friendly relations must have existed between the Gaṅgas and the Chōlas, the latter of whom held then a subordinate position under the Pallavas, while the former were their allies.⁶ This relationship should have continued even after the downfall of the Pallava power which was brought about by Āditya I : it is not unlikely that the Gaṅgas aided the Chōlas in the endeavour. The aim of the Gaṅgas must have been to secure help against the Bāṇas which they needed badly and which was fully obtained in the reign of Āditya's successor Parāntaka I. These circumstances clearly show the interest taken by the Gaṅgas in the affairs of the Tamiḷ country and account for Prithvīpati II figuring as donor in our record and the subsequent acquisition by him of the rule of the Bāṇa kingdom together with the title Śembiyaṁ Mahāvaḷi Vāṇarāyaṇ from the hands of Parāntaka I.

TEXT.

1. Svasthi(sti) śrī [||*] Kōv-Irāsakē-
2. śaripaṇṇma[r*]kkū iyāṇḍu
3. irubattu-nālāvadu A-
4. pi-ttalai-ppiṇaiyāl
5. tīṇḍiṇa Sūryya-grahanaṭ-

¹ The Pāṇḍya king Arikēsaṁ Māṇavarman is said to have gained a victory over Pallavamalla. Varaguṇa-Mahārāja is reported to have advanced as far north as Araiśūr on the Pennar and to have encamped there. Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala called also Pallavabhaṇḍajana is said to have fought the battle of Kuḍamūkkū against the Pallava and others.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 86 and 91.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 26 and the Tamiḷ portion which follows it. It is said of him that he was the heroic head-jewel of the Chōḷa race, that his glory was well known, that he had the liberality of Karṇa and that his conduct was upright.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, p. 68, para. 23.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, page 87.

⁶ All the circumstances so far known seem to suggest that Vijayālaya, the first member of the revived Chōḷa line, could not have had any independence. There is no question of his valour or chivalry. At the same time there is nothing to suspect the statement of the Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates that he captured the town of Taṇjāpurī. What looks probable is that he might have done it being under the employ of the Pallava. Perhaps, he was left to protect the Pallava interest in the southern portion of their dominions, i.e., the Tanjore district, which was exposed to attacks for years by the aggressive Pāṇḍyas.

6. ti-nāṇṇu Tiruvūṇal-Mādēva-
7. rḱku Māramaraiyar magaṇṇār
8. Piridipadiyār kuḍutta ve-
9. ||i-kkeṇḍi niṇai muṇṇū-
10. ṛṛu-orubatt-eḷu kaḷaṇṇu
11. idu paṇ-Māhēśva[ra*]-rakshai [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On the day of the solar eclipse which occurred on the first moon in the month of Āṇi in the 24th year of (the reign of) king Rājakēsarivarman, Piridipadiyār (i.e., Prithvipati), son of Māramaraiyar (i.e., Mārasimha), presented a silver can with a spout weighing three hundred and seventeen kaḷaṇṇu, to (the temple of the god) Mahādēva at Tiruvūṇal. This (gift shall be under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

No. 13.—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE BEZWADA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
YUDDHAMALLA.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu's note¹ on the inscription, named above, and his readings or interpretation of it cannot be accepted except in one case. He says that the word "*bayanna*" in the 3rd line of the 4th verse (l. 27 of the inscription) must be read as *mayanna* (*m̐ba* does not scan well) and not as *maiṇunna* as proposed by me. Apart from the difficulties of construction, Mr. Krishnamacharlu's reading offends the law of prosōdy in a very important respect. It was shown in the original article that the verses of the inscription are in the Madhya-akkara metre. The scheme of this metre requires an *indra-gaṇa* at the place where *bayanna* stands. *Bayanna* is a *ja-gaṇa* and a *ja-gaṇa* cannot be an *indra-gaṇa*. The possible contention that *ja-gaṇa* may have been regarded as an *indra-gaṇa* at the period when the inscription was composed upsets the whole scheme of the metre adopted in the inscription. The emendation *maiṇunna* meets this difficulty and renders the passage quite natural and clear. Admitting that emendations should not be proposed where the original reading can possibly be adopted, it may be contended that this is a case in which the original wording of the inscription cannot be adopted and an emendation is necessary.

As for the contention that the verse should be so interpreted as to mean that it was king Yuddhamalla, and not the god Kumārasvāmi that went on a pilgrimage from Chēbrōlu to Bezwada, it must be admitted that this interpretation is literally possible, though the interpretation offered already is the more probable one. Chēbrōlu does not appear to have ever been a Chalukyan capital.

The second point in the note concerns the prose passage in lines 29-36. The restoration of the lost letters suggested herein is problematical and rests upon emendations in other parts of the passage.

The third point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the word '*vēṇṇu*' in lines 39 and 40. The exact reading is certainly *vēṇṇu* but the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Krishnamacharlu cannot be accepted. '*ṇṇu*' is unknown to Telugu. In Kanarese, it is a verb meaning 'to be complete', and it can hardly be used in Telugu as an adverb in the way suggested.

The fourth and last point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the concluding portion of the inscription consisting of the last two letters of line 44 and lines 45 and 46. The devi-

¹ [See above, Vol. XV, p. 364 f.—Ed.]

phering of this passage is quite correct. Mr. Krishnamachari takes the last two syllables *kunda* as a noun meaning 'a pillar', and interprets the passage *nripula kunda* as meaning 'pillar for kings (that recognize and maintain his charity).' The Kanarese word *kunda* is identical with the Telugu word *kundamu* and means the same thing, viz., 'a pile of bricks or tiles'. This is not exactly a pillar. *Nripula kunda* means *kunda* of *nripulu* (kings) but not *kunda* for *nripulu*. 'Pillar of kings' does not give any sense. Yuddhamalla, apparently, erected this pillar for the purpose of having the inscription engraved thereon and not to the honour of unnamed future kings whom he wants to maintain his charity. How does this pillar serve the latter purpose? Is there any other instance of such a pillar being erected?

The passage, so far as it goes, scans exactly to the *Madhya-akkara* metre and the last syllable *da* which, for purposes of *yati*, matches with *ta*, the initial syllable of the passage, certainly suggests that the passage is part of a verse line, and a glance at the estampage cannot fail to show that the engraving is abruptly left off at this point.

No. 14.—THE KANDUKURU PLATES OF VENKATAPATIDEVA I : SAKA 1535.

BY G. V. SRINIVASA RAO, B.A., MADRAS.

These five copper-plates were secured on loan from M. R. Ry. Uddi Narasimhacharya of Kandukūru, Madanapalle Taluk, Chittoor district, in 1921-22.¹ They have raised rims and curved tops with a ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, bored in the middle. They measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in height together with the projections and $7\frac{1}{2}$ " without them and are $6\frac{3}{4}$ " wide. To the ring, which is circular in shape with a diameter of $2\frac{3}{4}$ ", is attached, by a hole at the back of it, a sliding circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. On this is represented in high relief a boar, advancing to the proper left, and a dagger pointing downwards, both cut upon a horizontal double line supported by a vertical line in the centre. Above the boar are the figures of the sun and the crescent. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 307 tolas. The ring had been cut when the plates were received in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras.

The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and last plates and on both sides of the rest. The leaves are numbered in Telugu numerals incised to the left of the ring-hole on the first written side of each plate. The alphabet of the grant is Nandi-Nāgarī except the sign manual 'Śrī-Veṅkaṭāśa' at the end which is in Telugu, and the language is metrical Sanskrit. The portion in lines 148 to 152 is, however, in the Telugu language and is evidently an addition made after the original grant was completed.

The inscription shows the various orthographical peculiarities usually seen in the Vijayanagara grants, such as (1) the invariable use of *anusvāra* in place of the nasal and *vice versa*, (2) the treatment of the second letter as adjunct to the *ṛēpha* in conjunct consonants, (3) the omission of the *visarga* generally before the letters *śa* and *sa*, and also in a few other cases, (4) the omission of the first member in double consonants, (5) the superfluous use of an *anusvāra* before nasals, (6) the use of a stroke in addition to a hook after the vowel *i* to denote length as in consonants, (7) the occasional use of the letter *a* followed by *i* to denote *ai* sound in consonants, (8) the substitution of their mere vowels for the letters *ya* and *va* and *vice versa*.²

The grant was issued by Veṅkaṭapatidēva of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty and is dated in Śaka 1535, Pramāthin, Vaiśākha, śu. 12, which regularly corresponds to A.D. 1613, April 21,

¹ No. 9 of Appendix A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921-22.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 236, Vol. IV, p. 299, Vol. XI, p. 327 and Vol. XVI, p. 241.

Wednesday, and is, therefore, nearly three months earlier than the British Museum plates of the same king.¹ After the usual invocatory verses, the inscription begins with the genealogy of the king which agrees with that given in all the other grants of the dynasty up to Tirumala I. Like the Daḷavāy-Agrahāram plates² and the Viḷāpākkam grant,³ this record also mentions the two sons of Tirumala by Veṅgaḷāmbā, viz., Śrīraṅgarāya and Veṅkaṭapatidēva.

In the course of the narration of his ancestry and its panegyric, the document mentions **Bukka** as having firmly established **Sāluva-Nṛsiṃha** on the throne, and his son **Rāmarāya** as having put to flight Kāsappaḍaya and captured the hill-fortress Ādavani 'protected by Sapāda's army of 70,000 Sindh horse' as well as Kandanavōlu. Kāsappaḍaya has been surmised to be identical with Kāchapa-Nāyaka of Ādavani⁴ who figures as a subordinate of Sāluva Narasiṅgarāya in Śaka 1420.⁵ Possibly Kāchapa, for selfish ends, made common cause with the Mussalmans who invaded the Vijayanagara dominions in Śaka 1425,⁶ and Rāmarāya continued his allegiance to the political successors of the Sāluvas under king Krishṇarāya.⁷ Sapāda has been identified with Yūsuf Adil Shāhi of Bijāpūr who is said to have borne the name *Savaee*.⁸ The next important member of the line was **Tirumala**, the brother of **Alīya Rāmarāya**, who was the first to adopt the title '*Samrāt*.' His successor was **Śrīraṅga** and after him came **Veṅkaṭa**, the donor of the grant and the last powerful king of the family. He was born about Śaka 1471 (A.D. 1549-50) if we can rely on the testimony of Barradas who says that he was 67 years⁹ at the time of his death which, according to Floris, took place in A.D. 1614.¹⁰ He figures as a subordinate of king Sadāsiva in A.D. 1567-68.¹¹ We learn from the *Vasuchāritramu* and the *Chikkadēvarāya-vamśāvali* that during his father's time he was the Viceroy of the Chandragiri-rājya comprising the Tuṇḍira, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, and had his capital at Chandragiri while his brother Śrīraṅga governed the Telugu districts from Penukoṇḍa. When the latter came to the throne, Veṅkaṭapati continued to be the Viceroy¹² and held the charge of the Telugu country also. This is gathered from No. 541 of 1909 which states¹³ that in Śaka 1502 (A.D. 1580) the Golkonda Sultān Hazrat Ibrāhīm Pādishāh acquired Uddagiri (i.e., Udayagiri) by driving out Veṅkaṭarāju and captured the regions around Vinikoṇḍa, etc., and Koṇḍaviḍu.¹⁴ In the same year Śrīraṅga was taken captive by the Sultān who, with the help of the Haṇḍe chiefs, gained effective possession of the territory lying to the north of Penukoṇḍa. This event is mentioned in No. 70 of 1915 dated Śaka 1506 (A.D. 1584) which states that Ahōbalaṃ had been in the occupation of the Muhammadan chief Vībhurāmu and his Haṇḍe allies for about 7 years. Probably it is these reverses that account for a grant of land in A.D. 1579 to a temple at Mahābalipuram by Gōbūri Tirumalai-Nāyakkar for the merit

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 269 ff.

⁴ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1920-21, Part II, paragraph 12.

⁵ No. 719 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection* for 1917.

⁶ Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 348.

⁷ The *Krishṇarāya-vijayam* mentions Āravīṭi-Bukkarāju as one of the chiefs who attended the coronation of the king. (*Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 129).

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 243, footnote 6.

⁹ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 224.

¹⁰ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 251.

¹¹ Nos. 240 of 1897 and 163 of 1905 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection*.

¹² In No. 383 of 1919 dated Śaka 1496 in Śrīraṅga's reign he confirms certain appointments made by Tātā-chārya.

¹³ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1910, Part II, paragraph 64.

¹⁴ These, according to the copper-plate grant No. 23 of 1910-11, had been conquered by Śrīraṅga in Śaka 1498. *Ibid.* for 1911, Part II, paragraph 57.

of Veṅkaṭapati.¹ The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyam* states that Veṅkaṭa chased the Golkonda army back and defeating it on the banks of the Penner settled, with his vanquished and suppliant enemy, the river Krishna as the boundary line between their territories. His faithful feudatories who helped him on these and other occasions were the Maṭla chief Ananta who calls himself 'the right hand of the Karṇāṭa emperor,'² and the Tanjore chief Achyutappa as well as his son Raghunātha who 'brought all the Karṇāṭa territory once more under Veṅkaṭadēvarāya.'³ But he had his own internal enemies to contend against; for we hear of a revolt of the Nandyal chief Kṛishṇama having been quelled by Veṅkaṭa early in his reign⁴ and of Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka of Gingee having been imprisoned by the emperor and subsequently set free.⁵ Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura also seems to have aimed at independence. The *Chikkadēvarāya-varṇasāvali* informs us that shortly after his accession, Veṅkaṭa sent his nephew Tirumala against Madura, but the latter received bribes from the chief and retired with his army to Śrīraṅgaṭṭana. In spite of this, Veṅkaṭapati should have asserted his authority over Virappa as evidenced by later grants.⁶ We get some interesting glimpses into the history of this period from certain Jesuit letters⁷ noticed by the Reverend Father Heras of Bombay. About A.D. 1607 Veṅkaṭa had removed his seat of government to Vēlūr⁸ though Chandragiri was still 'the royal city.' Towards the close of his reign Veṅkaṭa had to yield to the rising chief Rājā-Uḍaiyar of Mysore on whom he had to confer the viceroyalty of Śrīraṅgaṭṭana, as his attentions were diverted again by the troublesome Golkonda chiefs who threatened his dominions in the north. It was on this occasion that Raghunātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore came to his rescue and saved the kingdom from the Muhammadan invasion. It is probable that Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura was also trying to shake off the Vijayanagara sovereignty, and therefore espoused the cause of Jaggarāya in the war of succession after Veṅkaṭa's death.⁹

The object of the document is to record the grant of some garden lands and fields at **Chandragiri** and **Gollapalle** for the worship of the god and the goddess at Tirupati during certain festivals specified in it. The grant was made by Veṅkatapatidēva at the request of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja*, the son of Veṅkaṭarāja and the grandson of Pāpa-Timmarāja of the Solar race and the Kāśyapa-gotra. Very little is known of these Gōbūri chiefs so far except the names of some individual members of the family. They first figure in the reign of Kṛishṇarāja at the time of his expedition against Kalinga,¹⁰ but came into prominence during the rule of Sadāśiva and his successors and had frequent matrimonial alliances with the latter.¹¹ We meet with a certain

¹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1916, Part II, paragraph 56.

² *Ibid.* for 1916, Part II, paragraph 75.

³ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 285.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵ सदाख्यो (सदख्यो) वार्तवराधिनाथः

रक्षैकतानो रघुनाथमुपः।

क्षारायितं क्षणपनायकं तं

अनीचयदेकटदेवरायात् ।

(*Baghunāthābhyaṇḍayam* of Rāmabhadraṁbā, Canto VII, verse 73).

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff. Copper-plates Nos. 9 of 1905-06 and 9 of 1911-12 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 130-140 and 312-317.

⁸ This is probably in consequence of the revolt of Liṅgama-Nāyaka whom, according to *Bahulāśvacharīyam* Chenna defeated on behalf of Veṅkaṭa.

⁹ Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 230.

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 131.

¹¹ According to the *Rāmarājīyam*, Koṇḍamma, one of the five queens of Veṅkaṭa I, was a daughter of Ōbārāja, while two more daughters of his, Narasiṅgamma and Baṅgāramma, were respectively married to Rāma and Veṅkaṭa II, the grandsons of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja. Other members of the family who had marriage connection with the Ārayiḍu chiefs were Gōbūri Veṅgaḷa, the father of a certain Pāpamma married to Śrīraṅga III, the adopted son of Gōpāla who was himself the son-in-law of (Gōbūri) Gīriyappa, and Yatirāju whose daughter Koṇḍamma was married to Rāma IV.

Maḥamaṇḍalēśvara Gōbūri Ōbayadēva-Mahārāja as a subordinate of Sadāśiva in Śaka 1469 in an inscription at Ahōbala,¹ though we cannot say for certain whether he is the same chief who is referred to as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Aubhalarājayya in No. 543 of the Epigraphical collection for 1915, dated in Śaka 1482, from the Bellary district. About this period some more chiefs of the family are brought to our notice, who were connected with the Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts. For instance, we find a certain Koṇḍrāju in Śaka 1473 at Koilkuntla,² a Narasarāju in Śaka 1478 at Toṇḍūru,³ a Giryapparāju in Śaka 1529 at Dudyāla,⁴ a Gōbūri Tirumalai-Nāyaka in Śaka 1501,⁵ and a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Ōbarājayyadēva-Mahārāja.⁶ Barradas⁷ mentions a certain Ōbo Rāya as the brother-in-law of Veṅkaṭa and a Chinnaobraja (Chinna-Ōbala-Rāya) as a brother of the traitor Jaggarāja who also belonged to the Gōbūri family,⁸ and whose daughter Bāyamā was married to Veṅkaṭa. This Ōbarājayyadēva should evidently have been different from Ōbayadēva, the subordinate of Sadāśiva, and possibly his grandson. He has been surmised⁹ to be a son of Tirumalai-Nāyaka of the Kunnattūr inscription with whom again, if we may hazard a guess, Pāpa-Timmarāja, mentioned above, and Timma, who married Ōbāmbā, the sister of Tirumala I,¹⁰ and was the father of Narasa, might be identical. In that case Veṅkaṭarāja, the father of Śēṣhādrirāja of the present grant, Ōburāja or Ōbalarāja and Narasa should have been brothers.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Tirupati is called Śēṣhāchala and Phanīśvaragiri. Taṅgaṭūru is a village in the Proddutūr taluk of the Cuddapah district. Chandragiri is too well known to require identification. Veṅkaṭājammapēṭa seems to have been a part of Chandragiri itself. The name Toṇḍavāḍi-taṭāka seems to be connected with the modern Toṇḍavāḍa near Chandragiri and Gollapalli is a few miles further east. I am unable to identify Gōpidēvīpāḷya. Like the Maṅgalampāḍ charter of the same king¹¹ this grant was also composed by Chidambara-Kavi and incised by Kāmayāchārya.

TEXT.

[Metres : Verses 44-69 and 73-76, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 70-72, *Āryā* ; v. 77, *Śalinā*.]

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 111 * * * ¹²वाणशक्तिक-
 112 ऋवेदुगणिते शकवत्सरे । प्रमाधीश¹³भिधे वर्षे मासि वै-
 113 शाखनामनि ।[१४४*] पक्षे वरुक्षे पुण्यर्क्षे पुण्यायां द्वादसी(शो)तिथौ । श्री-
 114 धेकटेशपादामसन्निधौ श्रेयसान्निधौ¹⁴ ।[१४५*] श्रीरामाकुच

¹ No. 63 of the Mad. Ep. Collection for 1915.

² Rangacharya's *Madras Inscriptions*, Kl. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, Cd. 635.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Kl. 401.

⁵ No. 255 of the Mad. Ep. Collection for 1909. See *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p. 105, para. 56.

⁶ No. 332 of Mad. Ep. Collection for 1909.

⁷ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 223 and 228.

⁸ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 263.

⁹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1910, Part II, para. 56.

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, Genealogy on page XIV.

¹¹ *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part I, p. 26.

¹² In lines 1 to 111 the first forty verses of the Viḷāpākkam grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 272-276) are reproduced with two other verses (Nos. 29 and 30) which occur in the Penagalūru grant as vv. 31 and 32 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 250).

¹³ Read प्रमादीश° [The name of the year is Pramādin.—Ed.]

¹⁴ Read श्रेयसां निधौ.

- 115 कस्तूरीचिन्ह(क)श्रीवत्सलक्षणे । पूषानुष्णांशुनेत्राय शेषाच-
 116 लकुटुर्विने ।[18६*] स्वामिपुष्कर(वि)णीतीरधामनित्यविहारिणे ।
 117 इन्दिराया जगन्मातुर्मदिराड(यि)तवक्षसे ।[18७*] शयनालीनदु-
 118 ग्धान्विशैवाललतिकोपमां । वहते वारिजाक्षाय वक्षसा
 119 वनमालिकां ।[18८*] शंखं चक्रं च वहते ¹शयाम्यामुज्ज्वलं दृष्ट्वा ।
 120 दृशविति ज्ञापयते चंद्राकौ वामदक्षिणे ।[18९*] महनीय(य)तरं र-
 121 त्रमकुटं मूर्ध्नि(मूर्ध्नि) विभ्रते । चक्षुर्भूतेदुमातीडजो(ज्यो)तिश्चक्रमि-
 122 वाश्रितं ।[1५०*] श्रीमद्वैकटनाथाय श्रीनिवासाय विष्णवे । श्री-
 123 (श्री)वैकटाचलेंद्रस्य शिखराभरणाड(यि)ते ।[1५१*] प्राचीभागपरिष्का-
 124 रे शोणस्वल्पशिलोच्चयात् । नटलक्ष्मी[न*]रसणनायकोद्यान-
 125 दक्षिणे ।[1५२*] विशालरथवीथ्याय वायव्ये दिशमाश्रिते । शयस्कर-
 126 जोयगारितोटादुत्तरदिग्भवे ।[1५३*] श्रीमन्नोबूरिशेषाद्विरा[जा]-
 127 रामे मनोरमे । दीपयंतं दिशो दीप्त्या महार्घमणिमंट[पं] ।[1५४*]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 128 ²पतिमासं भूषयतः फणेश्वरगिरीशितुः । विविधा-
 129 पूषनेवेद्यविभक्तो(वी)त्सादनाय च ।[1५५*] तत्रैव स्वामिनो ब्रं-
 130 ऋ³वसंतोत्सवयोरपि । नानागंधीपचाराय नैवेद्याय
 131 विशिष्य च ।[1५६*] ⁴मुक्तोत्तिरीयनाञ्चारितेष्पदिव्योत्सवेषु च । शर-
 132 प्यर्थं च सततपुष्पदामार्पणाय च ।[1५७*] रमास्वदं चंद्रगिरि-
 133 राजधानीप्रसाधनं । गोपिदेवीपात्र्यराजवीधी⁵निधिपथा-
 134 दपि ।[1५८*] श्रीवैकटाजंमपेटादपि प्राचीदिगाश्रयं । श्रीमन्नूउ(वु)ल-
 135 बंडाश्च दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितं ।[1५९*] तीडवाद्रि(डि)तटाकांतसीमांता-
 136 दपि पश्चिमं । वु(उ)त्तरं श्रीगोपराजकाक्वाकेदारवैभवात् ।[1६०*] तंग-
 137 टूरि कीडुभट(ट्ट)मान्यकेदारकं विना । सूर्यपका[कवा]सुभगतोद्वे-
 138 चकदंबकं ।[1६१*] गोकुलपश्यामुक्कवडकास्वाकै(के)दारकाण्यपि । सर्वमा-
 139 न्यं चतुस्सी(स्त्री)मासहितं च समं[त*]तः ।[1६२*] निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण-
 सिद्धसाध्य-
 140 जलान्वितं [*] च[क्षि*]ण्यागामिसयुक्तं⁶ देवभोज्यं समूहं ।[1६३*]
 परोतः प्र-

¹ Perhaps a mistake for करार्या

² Read प्रति°.

³ Read ब्रह्म.

⁴ मुक्तोत्तिरीय is the name of a tank at Tirupati. Almost every temple in South India has a tank or a well with a sacredness attached to it. The literal meaning of the first part of the word is 3 crores and the belief is that the tank has the collective virtue of so many sacred waters of the country. Compare the *Kōṭi-tīrtha* at Rāmēśvaram and the *Sarva-tīrtha* at Conjeeveram.

⁵ Read वीथी°.

⁶ Read संयुक्तं.

- 141 यतै[.*] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैः[.*] श्रौतपाथिकैर-
 142 धिकैर्गिरा ।[148*] कास्य(श्य)पान्वयदीपस्य कास्य(श्य)पोकल्पशाखिनः । श्रो-
 143 सूर्यवंशरत्नस्य श्रीमतामग्रयादने¹ ।[149*] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर-
 144 स्य सारस्य शालिनः । प्रतीतिमत्पापतिमराजपौत्रस्य रा-
 145 जतः ।[146*] श्रीवेंकटमहीपालपुत्रस्यामित्रकर्शिनः । श्रीमन्नोबू-
 146 रो(रि)शेषाद्विराजस्य रवितेजसः ।[147*] विशेषज्ञानभरितां विद्महि-
 147 मनुपालयन् । श्रीवीरवेंकटपतिमहारायमहीपतिः ।[148*] सहि-
 148 रण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा² ॥ [149*] श्रीवेंकटेश्वरस्वामिभ्यो नमः क[६]-
 149 ड शेषिनदि धर्मकर्तृ श्रे(से)नामोदलारि कृष्णयगारिकि³ प्रतिसंवत्सरानकुर्वन्
 ग २४

- 150 वरहालु । तोटवाक(कि)ट चलिविद्रकुन्नु

Fifth Plate.

- 151 तोट शेषेवालकु ग्रासालुन्नु ई काल्वरोखल्लोन्नु क-
 152 ड्ड शायनवधरिचिना ॥ श्री ॥
 153 श्रीवेंकटपतिरायचित्तिपतिवर्यस्य कौर्त्तिधुर्यस्य⁴ ॥
 154 शासनमिदं सुधोजन⁵कुवलयचंद्रस्य भूमहे(हें)द्रस्य(र) ॥ [१०*] श्री-
 155 वेंकटपतिरायगिरा 'सिवसूर्यकवांद्रभागिनियत-
 156 या [१*] कलितोन्नतिचंदवरकविरवदत्तान्द्रशासनश्लोका-
 157 न् ।[११*] श्रीवेंकटपतिरायक्ष्मापतिदेशेन कामयाचार्यः ।
 158 गणपयतनयः[१*] शासनमलिखदिदं वीरणानुजस्तामं ।[१२*] दा-

Ll. 159-167 give five imprecatory stanzas *Dānapālanayōr*, etc. etc.

- 168 श्रीवेंकटेश⁷

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Vv. 44-69.) In the Śaka year computed by the arrows (5), Śakti (3), arrows (5) and moon (1)—(i.e., 1535)—in the (cyclic) year called *Pramādin*, in the month known as *Vaiśākha*, in the bright fortnight, in an auspicious asterism on the sacred *tithi* of *Dvādaśī*, at the holy lotus-feet of (god) Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa, the abode of all happiness,—to the (same) glorious Viṣṇu known as Veṅkaṭanātha and Śrīnivāsa, and living at Śēṣhāchala, ever sporting in his residence on the banks of the Svāmi-Pushkarinī (tank), whose chest is made the abode of Indirā, the mother of

¹ Read °याशिनः.

² The second half of this verse is wanting though the sense is complete.

³ This word is written below the line.

⁴ Read कौर्त्तिधुर्यस्य.

⁵ The letter seems to be a correction from न.

⁶ Read शिवसूर्य°.

⁷ In Telugu characters.

all the worlds and is adorned with the Śrīvatsa (mark) bearing marks of musk from her breast, who bears on his chest the *Vanamālikā* (garland)¹ resembling the mossy creeper (growing) in the milky ocean clinging to his couch; who holds in his hands the conch and the disc glowing with lustre, whose left and right eyes are the Moon and the Sun, who wears on his head the magnificent jewelled crown appearing (by its brilliance) as if it were the very halo of light of those dual luminaries settled (thereon), and who adorns like a crest-jewel the glorious Veṅkaṭa, the king of mountains, for various cake offerings and excellent unguents to this lord of Phanīśvaragiri (Śēṣhāchala) who adorns every month the jewelled *maṇṭapa* of great value illuminating with its splendour (all) the quarters, built in the pleasure-garden (founded by) the prosperous Gōbūri Śēṣhādrirāja, which is situated to the east of the Red Hillock, to the south of the fair garden* (called after) Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, to the north-west of the broad car-street and to the north of (the garden) Śayaskara-Jīyagāritōṭa; for worship with sandal and various offerings (to the god) in the same place during the *Brahmōtsava* (grand annual festival) and *Vasantiōtsava* (spring festival), and for the ²unintermittent offering of flower-garlands particularly during the floating festivals of the goddess (Nāchchāru) in the Mukkōṭi-tīrtha (tank); with due regard to the wise request (made for this purpose) by the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Śēṣhādrirāja possessed of great excellence and of splendour like that of the Sun, who was the grandson of the famous Pāpa-Timmarāja and the son of Veṅkaṭa-Mahīpāla, the destroyer of his foes, who was the gem of the Solar race and the light, as it were, of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and was of the school of Kāśyapī-kalpa, and who was the foremost of the fortunate; the glorious king Vira-Veṅkaṭapati-Mahārāja, being surrounded by pious and amiable priests and several wise and learned men following the path prescribed by the Vēdas, gave away with pleasure, to the accompaniment of libations of gold and water, excluding the small *mānya* field of Koṇḍu-Bhaṭṭa of Taṅgaṭūru, the whole beautiful plot of garden-lands and fields called (after the canal) Sūrappa-kālvā which is the very abode of Ramā (Lakshmi) and the ornament of the capital city of Chandragiri and is situated to the east of the high-road to Gōpidēvī-pālya and of the happy Veṅkaṭājammapēṭa, to the south of (the rock) Nūvulabaṇḍa, to the west of the extreme border-line of the (tank) Tonḍavāḍi-taṭāka and to the north of the field called (after the canal) Gōparāja-kālvā; and also the group of fields (known as) Uḷvaḍa-kālvā in Gollapalli, together with the trees (growing on them) and (the other eight privileges such as) natural resources and deposited treasures, stones, realised and realisable (income), water, *akshinī* and *āgūmi*, as a *sarvamānya* with the four boundaries (marked out) on all sides to be enjoyed by the god (in perpetuity).

(Ll. 148-152.) (The god) Śrī-Veṅkaṭēśvarasvāmi ordained (the payment of) 24 *varāhas* every year to the Dharmakartā Sēnā-Modālāri Kṛishṇayagāru. For the watershed at the entrance of the garden and for the maintenance of the gardeners, (He) was (also) pleased to command (payment to be made) from the cash (income) from the above *kālvā*.

V. 70. [In praise of king Veṅkaṭapati.] (This is identical with verse 124 of the Kūniyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II.)

¹ *Vanamālikā* is thus defined :—

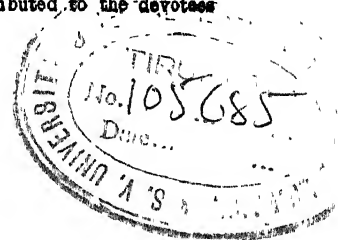
आनादुर्लभा माला सर्वतुल्यमोक्षला ।

मन्त्रे सुलकदन्ताद्या वनमालेति कीर्तिता ॥

Daśaratha is described as wearing a wreath or *vanamālā* on his crown while going out hunting. (*Raghuvamśa* IX, 51.)

² In the vernacular idiom any beautiful place is known as the favourite haunt of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Prosperity, who is supposed to dance there for sheer joy.

³ The meaning of the word *हरष्य* occurring in the verse is not clear. Perhaps it is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil word *Śirappu* which means "offerings made on special occasions and distributed to the devotees then assembled." It is called *charupu* in Kanarese and Telugu.



(Vv. 71-72.) By the order of the king, **Chidambara-Kavi**, the sister's son of the poet Śiva-Sūrya, composed this edict and **Kāmayāchārya** engraved it on the plates.

(Vv. 73-77.) The usual imprecation and admonition.

(L. 168.) **Śrī-Veṅkaṭāśa**.

No. 15.—MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA YEAR 14.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

This inscription is an entirely new discovery, photographs and estampages of which have, with his characteristic promptitude, been supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, the Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archæology at Mathurā. The stone image pedestal on which the epigraph is engraved was found in an elevated part of the Dalpat-ki-Khirki Mohalla in the city of Mathurā when an inhabitant of that town was digging foundations for his house. The excavation was not done with care with the result that the pedestal was broken into several pieces. Of the statue itself only the feet remain with the lower portion of a small standing figure at each side. There is thus nothing to show the exact nature of the central image, though from the tenor of the epigraph and other indications it must have been a standing image of Gautama Buddha.

The epigraph consists of three lines (measuring respectively 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ") and is in a perfect state of preservation, except for the two *aksharas*, which have been partially cut away at the end of the first line. The characters used belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the Kushāṇa period. It must, however, be noted that the *m* everywhere shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the *akshara* 'h' assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script in which the horizontal base-stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the *akshara* being turned sharply to the left. The *anusvāra* is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot. The long medial *ā* is in some cases not distinctly defined. The inscription is composed in the usual **mixed dialect**, though the deviations from the Sanskritic mode of spelling, the rules of *sandhi* and declension, etc., are much fewer than are generally found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The irregular forms met with in the inscription are:—*asmīm divasē* in place of *asmin divasē* in l. 1; *bhagavatō pitāmahasya* in place of *bhagavataḥ pitāmahasya*, *saṃmya-sambuddhasya* in place of *samyak-sambuddhasya* in l. 2; and *dukkha* instead of *duḥkha* in l. 3.

The object of the epigraph is to record the fact that, on the **10th day of the month of Pausa** in the **year 14 of the Mahārāja, Dāvaputra Kanishka**, a certain **Samghilā**, the wife of the Prāvarika Hasthi (?), installed, for the cessation of all misery, an image for the worship of her favourite deity, the Lord, the **Pitāmaha**, who is truly and perfectly enlightened. It will be noticed from the text given below that the name of Gautama Buddha is not mentioned in the inscription. The title *saṃmya-sambuddha* (Pāli, *sammā-sambuddhō*) is ordinarily applied in Buddhist texts to any supreme Buddha. The term is, however, often used as a proper noun, signifying Gautama Buddha himself, as for example in the sentence, *namō tassa arahatō sammā-sambuddhassa*, which is generally written in the beginning of Buddhist texts.¹ The substitution of the word *pitāmahasya* for *arahatō* in the inscription is inexplicable. Both in Buddhist and Brahmanical texts this word is commonly applied to the Hindu god Brahmā, and I am unable to say why it is used here as an appellation of the Buddha.

¹ Vide Kuchelāyana's *Pali Grammar* by Francis Mason (*Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 123), p. 162.

MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA YEAR 14.



(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).

HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE ABOUT A THIRD

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāṇa period which quotes the month of its date by its Hindu solar name instead of by the season name, which is invariably the case in other Brāhmī inscriptions of this period. This remark, of course, does not apply to the Kharōshthī inscriptions, as several of them contain the solar names of months.¹ The inscription is also important for another reason. Hitherto we possessed no inscription dated between the years 11 and 22² of the Kushāṇa era which was definitely assignable to the reign of Kanishka. The present inscription is clearly dated in the year 14 of that king.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kanishkasya saṁvatsarē 10 4 Pausa-māsa-divasē
10 asmīṁ divasē Prāvarika-Ha[sthisya]
- 2 bha(ā)ryyā Saṁghilā bhagavatō pitāmahasya Saṁmyasambuddhasya svamatasya
dēvasya pūjārttham pratima(ā)ṁ pratishṭhā-
- 3 payati sarva-dukkha-prahāṇārttham—[!]*

TRANSLATION.

On the 10th day of the month of Pausa in the year 14 of the Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka, on this day, Saṁghilā, the wife of Prāvarika Hasthi (?), installs (*this*) image for the veneration of her favourite deity, the Bhagavat, the *pitāmaha*, Gautama Buddha (*lit.* who is truly and completely enlightened), for the cessation of all misery.

No. 16.—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF SOMESVARA II.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription edited below is inscribed on a set of three copper-plates discovered in the Baudh State of Orissa by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States. The plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D., then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, who had them sent to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, the then Government Epigraphist for India. A short note on the inscription was published in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle*, for the year 1916-17.³ A set of impressions of the record was supplied to me by Dr. D. B. Spooner for publication. Later on, at my request, Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.S.I., then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa, kindly lent the original plates to me for examination.

The plates are joined together by a thick ring of copper to which is attached the seal, bearing a lion couchant in relief but no inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The characters used in the inscription are Oriyā of the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D., and are much later than the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvara and the Mahada plates of Yōgēśvara-

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 46.

² See my article on "Three Mathura Inscriptions, etc." in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 290ff.

Page 4, para. 5.

dēvavarman.¹ The beginnings of the cursive Oriyā script are to be found in the form of *a* in l. 25. The first eight lines contain three verses giving the genealogy of the donor. The first person mentioned is **Challamarāja** of the **Chōla** lineage (l. 2), whose son was **Jasarāja** (=Yaśōrāja) I, whose son was **Sōmēśvara I**. This prince was succeeded by his nephew (*bhrātṛija*) **Jasarāja II**. The donor of the grant is the latter's son **Sōmēśvara II**. An additional name is furnished in the prose account of the genealogy in ll. 8-14, according to which Sōmēśvara II meditated on the feet of the *Paramamāhēśvara* **Jasarāja II**,² who meditated on the feet of the *Paramamāhēśvara* **Chandrādityadēva**.³ The last named person may be the younger brother of Sōmēśvara I and the father of Jasarāja II. Sōmēśvara II is styled the lord of the entire **Kōsala** (*sakala-Kōsal-ādhiśvara*), the devout worshipper both of Śiva and of Viṣṇu (*Paramamāhēśvara-Paramavaishṇava*), a *Mahāvīryūhapati*, *Rāja* and *Rāṇaka*. These titles indicate his subordinate position and, most probably, he was a subordinate chief under the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kalinga. He is also called the bee on the lotus feet of **Vaidyanātha**. This Vaidyanātha is evidently the same as that mentioned in the Mahāda plates of Yōgēśvara-dēva varman, and identified by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar with a temple of that name in the State of Sonpur.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Phullamuṭhi** together with **Dōhalī** situated, probably, in the *vishaya* of **Chārōdā**. The grant is addressed to the people of another village named **Vaṇiyāvandha**, the connection of which with the two villages granted is not understood. The donees were **Utsavakara** and **Divākara**, the two Brāhmaṇas belonging to the *Gārgya-gōtra*, who followed the Rīg-vēda and had studied the rites of the Yajur-vēda. The grant was made with the object of pleasing the Lord **Nārāyaṇa** (ll. 23-24), on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of **Jyaishṭha** in the year 17, evidently of the reign of Sōmēśvara II. The inscription was written by **Paṇḍita Nārāyaṇa** and incised by **Lōkanātha**, a *Viṇṇāni* (?).

I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant (*viz.*, **Chārōdā-vishaya**, **Vaṇiyāvandha**, **Phullamuṭhi** and **Dōhalī**), except **Svarṇnapura** (l. 14) which is the modern Sonpur in Orissa. I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ [||*] Āsit kshatriya-sattamō Ravi-samutpannē=tra **Chōl-ānvayē śrī**.
- 2 mān **Challamarāja** ity=ari-vadhū-vaidhavya-dikṣhā-guruḥ | tat-putrō
- 3 **Jasarājadēva** iti vikyātaḥ satā[m*] vallabhō jītvā vairi-va(ba)lam va(ba)-
- 4 bhūva na(nṛi)patir=dēmō(vaś)chiram **Kōsalē** || [1*]⁵ Tasmād=abhūd=ari-kulam⁶.
kshaya-dhūma-
- 5 hētuh **Sōmēśvarō** nṛipat[i*]r=apratima-pratāpaḥ | tad-bhrātṛijas=tadan[u*] |'
- 6 nīti-vidā[m*] varishṭhaḥ śrīmān=abha(bhū)n=narapatir-**Jasarājadi(ē)vaḥ** || [2*]⁸
- 7 Tat-tanayō guṇasālī prasiddha-mad(h)imā jīti-āri-vara-vargga[h*]

¹ [The script is not so late. See Mr. H. Krishna Sastri's remark in the note referred to in the preceding para.—Ed.]

² This chief is probably mentioned in the Kaṅkālī and Kawardhā inscriptions No. 235 of the *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, pp. 165-66.

³ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri is inclined to identify him with Challamarāja; see *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Sur. of India, E. C.*, 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5. A chief of this name is mentioned in the Bārsūr inscription, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, pp. 144-45, No. 198, who also claims to be a Chōla.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The metre is *Śūrdūlavakṛīḍita*.

⁷ Delete the *danḍa*

⁶ The *anuvāra* is superfluous.

⁸ The metre is *Vasantatilakṭā*.

i.

१ आनीउक्तेविद्यमानमारविमन्त्रुयान्नरत्नालावपथी
 २ मा नरत्नमराजकथरिवत्तविपवा दी आनुरुपाउत्तप्राता
 ३ उमराजदिवकठिविद्याउक्ततावलाजाडिवावि रिवलंवा
 ४ कृतवयतिदेवमारिसंकासल॥ उम्मादकूदरिक्कलं अथप्रम
 ५ किउःसाम धरिहयउरधुठिमधुत्रधु॥ उम्मादकूदरिक्कलं अथप्रम
 ६ नीतिविदीवविष्णुः श्रीमान्नरत्नमराजकथरिवत्तविपवा
 उतुवायाधुलमालीधमि दमदिमाडिउरिवरवधु

iii.

८ उक्तित्वमन्त्रिणमन्त्रयुक्ता मन्त्रालयउक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 ९ मन्त्रयुक्तामन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 १० रत्नमन्त्रयुक्तामन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 ११ नदिमन्त्रमन्त्रयुक्तामन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 १२ नमो वादेवायोलालकमलेकालेकावेकाधुमन्त्र विद्यनायकधु
 १३ कौउमन्त्रमन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 १४ मन्त्रालयमन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 १५ मन्त्रालयमन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 १६ विद्यनायकधुमन्त्रमन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर
 दादिनीमन्त्रउः रत्नमन्त्रमन्त्रालयमन्त्रयुक्ता धरमन्त्रादिधुर

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 dharmm-aika-vasatir=amalaḥ sa jayati Sōmēsvarō nripatiḥ || [3*]¹ Paramamāhēśvara-
 9 samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-śrīmach-**Chandrādityadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-Paramamāhēśva-
 10 rā-samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-śrīmaj-**Śaśarājadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-Paramamāhēśvara-
 parā-²
 11 mavaishṇava-samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-dōrddanda-chaṇḍima-khaṇḍit-ārāti-kshatriya-
 kula-mahi-
 12 ma-Mahādēva-Chōla-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāskara-Vaitya(dyā)nātha-pa(pā)da-pa-
 13 nkaṁ(nka)ja-bhramara-sakala-**Kōsal-ādhiśvara**-mahāvvyūhapati-Rāṇaka-śrīmad-rāja-
 14 **Sōmēsvaradēva**-pādāḥ kuśalinaḥ | **Svarṇnapura**-samāvāsāt | **Chārōdā**-vi-
 15 shayīya-**Varīyāvandha**-[grā]mē³ vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ādi-samasta-janapadān mānayanti |
 16 vō(bō)dhayanti samādīsanti cha | viditaṁ=astu bhavatā[m]⁴ grāmō-yaṁ **Phuḷlamuṭṭi**
 17 **Dōhali**-sahitaḥ chatuḥ-sim-āvachchhiṇaḥ sajata-sthalaḥ samatsyā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 18 kachchhapah prastara-nikha(ā)ta-kṛita-simō⁵chata(tṭa)-bhaṭṭa-pravēśaḥ sakala-vādha-
 virōdh-ādi-ra-
 19 hitaḥ samasta-rāja-dēya-nikara-vijay-ādi yāvad-utpattimān⁶ | bhūmicchhidr-āpi(bhi)dhā-
 20 na-nyāyēna āchandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālaṁ | Gārgya-sagotrābhyām Try-ārsha(ē)ya-
 21 pravarābhyām | Rig-vēdibhyām Yajur-vēda-vihit-ābhyāsābhyām | smṛiti-pu-
 22 rāṇ-ādi-śrāvāṇa-nihata-kalmashābhyām nitya-sad-anushṭhāna-pavitṛābhyām
 23 mahā-vrā(brā)hmaṇya-śōbhitābhyām sādhu-**Utsava**kara-**Divākarābhyām** Bhaga-⁷
 24 vatō Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakasya prīṭayē mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-
 25 yaśō-bhivṛiddhy-arthaṁ tāmra-śāsanikṛitya pradattō⁸smābhiḥ | ataḥ pra-
 26 bhṛiti ētayōr=adhinibhūya vā[r*]shika-pratyāya-nikar-ādikaṁ
 27 dadānāḥ sukhaṁ prativasata karshata cha | asmad-anantara-

Third Plate.

- 28 bhāvibhiś=cha rājabhir=bhūmi-dā[na-pā]lana-puṇya-śravaṇāt haraṇā-
 29 n=naraka-pāta-bhayād=asmad-dattam=idam sva-dattam=iv=ānumōdya pari-⁹
 30 paripālaniyam | Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm-ānusa(śa)msinaḥ ślōkāḥ | Bhūmim yah
 prati-
 31 grīhṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati [|*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇau niyataṁ
 sva-⁸
 32 rgga-gāminau ||⁹ [4*] Gām=ēkām svarṇnam=ēkām cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=
 aṅguṁ(gu)laṁ | haraṇ=na-
 33 rakam=āpnōti yāvad¹⁰=ābhūtisaṁplatra(va)m || [5*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā
 rājabhiḥ Sa-
 34 gar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Samvat
 35 17 Jyaishṭha śudi 6 [*] likhitaṁ Paṇḍita-Nārāyaṇēna [|*] utkīrṇaṁ Vijñāni-Lō(Lō)
 kanā-
 36 thēn=ētē(ti) [|*]

¹ The metre is *Arūḍ*² Cancel the *daṛḍa*.³ The letter *grā* was actually written *gyā*.⁴ The *anusvāra* mark is peculiar.⁵ *Avagraha* is used here⁶ [Hardly any distinction is made between *t* and *ta*, *n* and *na* and also *m* and *ma* in some cases.—Ed.]⁷ This word is superfluous.⁸ The *avagraha*-like sign after *sva* is superfluous.⁹ This and the two following verses are in the *Anushṭubh* metre.¹⁰ The letter *dā* is written over the line.

No. 17.—RITHAPUR PLATES OF BHAVATTAVARMMAN.

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These copper-plates were discovered at Rithapur (Riddhapur of the Mahānubhāvas) in the Morsi tāluka of the Amarāvati (Amraoti) district of the Central Provinces, along with a set of copper-plates of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā,¹ and were lent to the Bhārata-Itihāsa-saṁśōdhaka-Maṇḍala of Poona by Mahanta Dattarāja. The Secretaries of this Maṇḍala handed them over to me for decipherment, and with their kind permission I edit the interesting record incised on them, in this Journal.

The grant² is engraved on three copper-plates, which measure $7\frac{3}{8}$ " long, $3\frac{5}{8}$ " to $3\frac{10}{8}$ " broad and $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick and weigh $87\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. The first plate has no writing on its outer side; the second and the third plates are engraved on both the sides. The letters are well-cut and well preserved, except a few on the back side of the third plate. Their average size is $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". There is no seal attached to the plates though holes, 1" in diameter, apparently meant for the ring, are to be seen on the proper right margin of each plate.

The alphabet is of the box-headed type which was current in the Central Provinces about the 5th century A.D. The peculiarities are:—(1) the contraction of the breadth of letters, and (2) the conversion of the curves, seen in older forms, into rectangular strokes. Though the box-headed type of the alphabet used here is decidedly Southern,³ yet the influence of the Northern script is clear enough. The most marked Southern characteristics in the present record are:—(1) The retention of the ancient forms of *pa*, *sha*, and *sa* open at the top, of the old *ma* and the semi-tripartite *ya*; Cf. °*nṛipa-vamśa* l. 2, °*vishayōchitāḥ* l. 11 and °*sadaśa* l. 16. (2) The right hand stroke of *la* is longer than the left; Cf. °*lōbhāḥ* l. 14. (3) The right-angled ornamental strokes to the left of the verticals of *a*, °*ā*, *ka*, *na*, *ra*, of the subscript *ra*, and of the medial *u* and °*ū*, which are evidently developed out of the curves. (4) The °*ḍa* with two right angles, evidently an adaptation of the °*ḍa* with the round back; Cf. °*piṇḍaraka* l. 19. (5) The medial °*ri* with a curled curve to the right; Cf. °*nṛipa* l. 2. (6) The form of °*ṇa*; Cf. °*hirany-ādayaḥ* l. 11. The influence of the Northern script is observable in the following cases:—(1) *Ga* and °*śa* with bends at the left downward strokes; Cf. °*giri-grāmā* l. 3 and °*sadaśa* l. 16. There are two forms of the letters *ga* and °*śa* in this inscription, of which one is with a hook and the other has no hook. (2) *Na* with a loop and *ta* without a loop; Cf. °*Nandivarddhanāt* l. 1 and °*anugrihitēna* l. 24. (3) The occasional peculiar *mātrās* above the line, though the horizontal and the middle *mātrās* are most common as in the Southern script; Cf. °*asmākam* l. 6 and °*śamvai(ś)dyā* l. 5. The raised marks for the long °*ā* are seen in the Southern alphabet also.⁴ (4) The turn of the medial *i* to the left; Cf. °*nivarttanikaḥ* l. 16. There are also some examples of the medial *i* turning to the left.⁴

The epigraphical peculiarities of the present record are:—(1) The loop on the left side of *ya* is complete in some cases while not so in others, thus shewing the transition from the tripartite form to the bipartite one: Cf. *yō* in °*Yamunayōs* l. 5, *ya* in °*Mātrāḍhyāryyāya* l. 7, and *yā* in °*tārikayā* l. 12. (2) The *tha* with a peculiar transitional ringlet at the base as in the

¹ For a brief notice of the record see the *Quarterly Journal of the Bhār. Itih. Saṁ. Maṇḍala*, Vol. IV, pp. 115-116.

² *Ide ibid.*, Vol. III, Nos. II-IV, pp. 89-90; *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, p. 48, *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 94-96 and *J. B. A. S.*, pp. 53-62.

³ See Buhler's *Ind. Pal.*, *Tafel VII*, col. XIV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. X.

Western script : Cf. *Ēkādaś=ēiha* l. 20. (3) The form of *ba* is two-fold in this record : in *Brāhmaṇa* l. 3 where it is a correction from *pa*, and in *Bōppadēvēna* l. 26 where it is open on the left side : but in *Bakasāmalakam* l. 19 it is closed on this side. The initial *a* occurs in ll. 1, 13 and 16 ; *ā* in ll. 10, 12, 22, 23 and 24 ; *ē* in ll. 10, 12, 17 and 20. The final *t* and *m* are reduced in size and slightly different in shape when compared to their usual symbols : Cf. *t* in ll. 1, 15, 16 and 24 and *ma* in ll. 6, 7, 9, 10, 21 and 23. The letter *ma* is written in this record in three different forms :—(i) with the box-head attached to the left arm of the letter (ll. 1 to 5), (ii) with this head attached to the right arm of it (*grāmaḥ* in l. 12), *°māryyādā* (in l. 14, etc.), and (iii) with the head attached to both the arms (*Kumāra°* in l. 8, *°navamāya* and *Mātrā°* in l. 10). Similarly there are also two different forms of the subscript *m*, viz., one with one box-head (*°varmmā* and *Brāhmaṇa°* in l. 3, *°smābhiḥ* in l. 4), and the other without the box-head at all (*ātma* and *Brāhmaṇa°* in l. 10, *asmābhiḥ* in l. 16). The letter *śu* is written in two different forms : one with the *u*-sign turned to the right as in l. 11 and the other with the sign turned to the left as in l. 13. The letter *su* is written differently from this letter in the box-headed type shown in Bühler's *Palæographical Table* VII, Col. XI, where the *u*-sign is turned to the right of the letter and not to the left as in this record. On this account there is a very slight difference between the shapes of *a* and *sa* in our inscription. The medial *i* is shown by one curve but the *ī* is expressed by this curve supplemented by a smaller curve within it.

With regard to orthography we may note the doubling of consonants (with the exception of sibilants) following *r*, such as *Mātrāḍhyāryyāya* and *Dēvāryyasya* l. 7. In this process of doubling, if the letter is the 2nd or the 4th of its class, the first member is replaced by the 1st or the 3rd of its class, e.g., *Nandivarddhanāt* l. 1. The letter *va* is doubled when it comes after the *anuvāra* either in the same word or in the following ; see *samvaidyē* in l. 5 and *lopan vva* in l. 15. The class nasals are generally used in this inscription : Cf. *°kuṭumbinaḥ* l. 4, *Gaṅgā°* (l. 5), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are often ignored :—*°vibhavaḥ Nalanripa-vamśa-prasūtaḥ tripatākā-* l. 2 ; *-asmābhiḥ Bhagavataḥ* l. 4 ; *ch=ēty=ēvam ātmanavamāya* ll. 9 and 10, etc. The *Upadhmānīya* occurs once (l. 23) and is used wrongly, being followed by *cha*.¹ It is likely that the engraver discovered his mistake and tried to change *hcha* to *mā*. The engraver seems to have misread the draft in the following cases :—For *samahattara* he has put in *sama-harttara°* l. 3 ; for *°m=avichālyam* he has engraved *hchavachālyam* l. 23.¹

The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting the verse in the Āryā metre which gives the date and mentions the writer of the grant.

The inscription refers itself to *Mahārāja Bhaṭṭāraka-Arthapati Bhavattavarmman* of the Nala family. Arthapati, I understand, is only an epithet. It literally means 'the lord of riches', that is, 'a king'. But it is probably not used in its general sense in the present record. The Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, copied sometime ago at Pōḍāgaḍi in the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district), an epigraph of the 12th year of the son of king Bhavadatta, also of the Nala family. This document has been briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22*, where a facsimile of it is also given.² The possibility that Bhavatta may be a prakṛitised form of Bhavadatta is not altogether precluded.³ But it is presumptuous at this stage to identify

¹ Vide f. n. 7 on p. 103 below.

² See p. 95 and plate II. [It was first noticed by the late Mr. Robert Sewell who in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, p. 317, mentioned it as an inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgarī characters without giving its contents.—Ed.]

³ [It is interesting to observe here that another name, which in all probability was Durgga-datta, has been written (l. 9) as 'Durggattha', and that in 'Dēvadatta' *da* was added as a correction below the line.—Ed.]

Bhavadatta with Bhavattavarman. As very little was known so far about the Nalas,¹ these two records are of special value for they help us in determining the country over which they ruled.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri-grāma to Mātrādhyāryya and his eight sons, namely, Dēvāryya, Dēvadattāryya, Kumāradattāryya, Vi(Vi)radattāryya, Vasudattāryya, Gō(Gau)ridattāryya, Dhruvadattāryya and Durggatth(datt)āryya of the Parāśara-gōtra. The grant was issued from Nandivarddhana but actually made at Prayāga or the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. However, it does not follow that Prayāga formed part of the dominions of Bhavattavarman, for grants of distant villages, we know, were often made at exceptionally holy places or *tīrthas* like it or Benares. The charter was written at the oral instructions (*of the king*) by Chulla, his confidential officer, and engraved by Bōppadēva, the grandson of Paddōpādhyāya.

The document is dated on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the 11th (regnal) year of king Bhavattavarman. Palæographically the record may be assigned to the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned, Nandivarddhana, from where Bhavattavarman issued the grant, deserves notice. Perhaps, it is different from the Nandivarddhana which has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Nagardhana in the Nāgpur district, and is identical with Nandur in the Yeotmāl tāluka of the Central Provinces, which has a good camping ground. Kadambagiri-grāma is apparently Kalamba in the same district, without the appendage *giri-grāma*. Other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्ध[म्] ॥ स्वस्ति [*] नन्दिवर्धनात् [॥*] महेश्वरमहासेनातिष्ठ-
- 2 राज्यविभवः नलनृपवंशप्रसूतः त्रिपताकाध्वजः श्रीमहाराज-
- 3 भवत्तवर्मा कदम्बगिरिग्रामे [ब्र]ह्मणपुरोगान् समहर्त्त(त्)र-
- 4 कुटुम्बी(स्त्रि)नः समान्नापयति यूयमस्माभिः भगवतः प्रजापतिः(तेः)
- 5 प्रसादसिद्धिचेने मङ्गायमुनयोस्वै(वे)द्ये प्रयागस्थितैस्तदकीपूर्वकं

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 मम चाचपो(पि)⁵ भट्ट[र]िकायाश्च दम्प(दाम्प)त्यस्यास्माकमनुग्रहायम्
(त्यं) पराशरस-
- 7 गोत्राय मात्राक्याय्याय पुत्राणां चास्काष्टानाम्(नां) यथा देवार्थस्य
- 8 देवदत्तार्थस्य कुमारदत्तार्थस्य वि(वी)रदत्तार्थस्य वसुद-
- 9 त्तार्थस्य गो(गौ)रिदत्तार्थस्य ध्रुवदत्तार्थस्य दुर्गाद्या(दत्ता)र्थस्य चेत्येवम्
- 10 आत्मनवमायमा चाक्याय्याय दत्ता(त्तो) यत एतेषाम् ब्राह्मणा[ना*]म्(नां)
वि-

¹ See the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* of the Bombay Presidency, p. 6, and the *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 49.

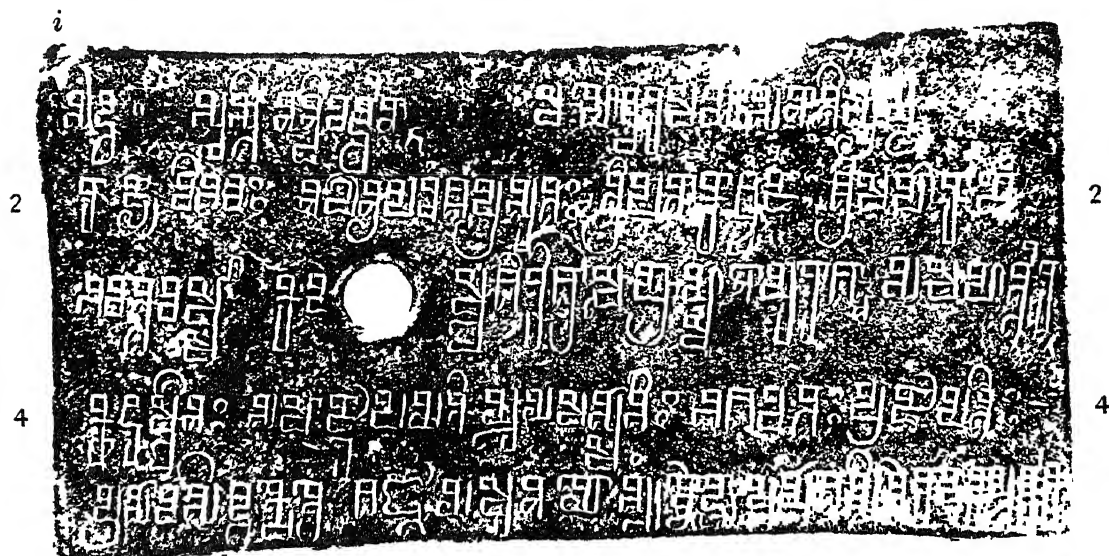
² From the original plates.

³ The letter व seems to be a correction from प.

⁴ [The plate reads समहर्त्त(त्)र[र]न, न् being incised below रर.—Ed.]

⁵ Superfluous. [Or perhaps अपिच is meant.—Ed.]

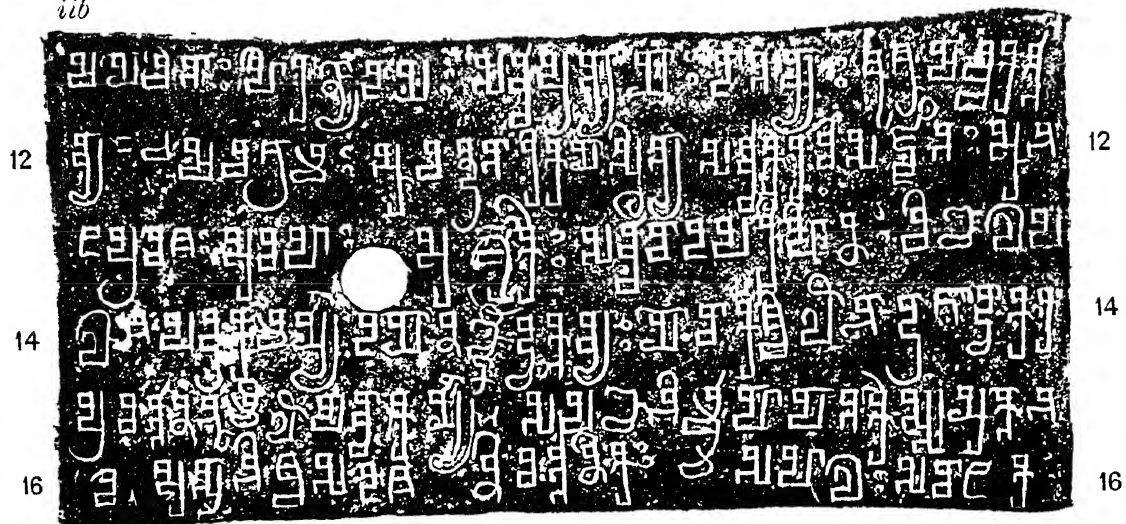
⁶ द is added below the line by way of interlineation. The two horizontal lines in the margin may be noticed



ia



iib



iii

18 18
20 20
22 22



iii

24 24
26 26



Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 ष[यो]चिताः हिरण्य[र]दयः शर्व्वग्रन्थायाः दातव्याः शुश्रूषाच्च(च) कर्त्त-
 12 व्या = एष च ग्रामः आचन्द्रतारिकया स्थित्या सर्व्वकरषिसर्जितः
 आ(अ)भ-
 13 इप्रवेशः श्रवहः अशुक्लैः(ल्कः) सर्व्ववादपरी(रि)हीनः चिञ्चालप-
 14 लाशपद्रकमर्थ्यादया न कि^१श्चिद्वक्तव्यः [॥*] यो वा कश्चिलो(लो)भाद्राभादा
 कर-
 15 प्रवर्त्तनं भूमिलोप(पं) व्या(वा) कुर्यात् स पञ्चभिर्भापातकैस्त्रयुक्तो भ-
 16 वेत् [॥*] अस्माभिश्च सदृशनिवर्त्तनिकः सहलः सवाटकः

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 17 ग्रामोयम् दत्तः यत एतदर्थम्(र्थं) न क(के)नचित् किञ्चित् वक्तव्यः
 [॥*] सि(सी)मा चास्य
 18 ग्रामस्य उत्तरेण पर्व्वतः विषयसि(सी)मान्तिको कर्मन्तकेन सह मा-
 19 लुकविरकः मधुकलतिका^२ पिण्डिरकवृत्तेण बकसामलकम्(कं) चिमन्दर-
 20 श्व विरकः राज्यसि(सी)मेति [॥*] ^३याचै^४कादशेय वर्षे कार्तिकमासस्य
 बहुल-
 21 सप्तम्याम् [॥*] स्वमुखाज्ञा(ज्ञ)या^५भिलिखितः(ता) रहसि नियुक्तेण(न) चुक्तेन
 ॥ श्रीमहारा-
 22 जार्थपतिभट्टारकेण आत्मनः मातापित्रोः पुण्यकीर्त्तिवर्द्धनभर्मस्थान(नं)

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 23 [पुत्राणां अष्टाणां]^६[मा]चन्द्रार्कस्थितिका[लि]क^७(म)[वि]चाल्यं भवत्विति
 आत्म-
 24 न[॥*] आर्य्यकपादप्रसादानुगृहीतेन ताम्ब्र(म्ब)शासनमेतत् कारितमि-
 25 ति [॥*] स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मणप्रजाभ्यः = सिद्धिरस्तुः(स्तु) ॥
 26 पद्मोप(पा)ध्या^८यपुत्रस्य पुत्रेण बोधदेवेण(न) क्षतमिद[म्*॥]

^१ कि is engraved below the line.^२ The का of कलतिका is entered below the line.^३ या is written above the line.^४ Here follows a verse in the *Āryā* metre.^५ [A letter like सा seems to be written below the symbol for *śhi*, apparently, as a correction.—Ed.]^६ The reading पुत्राणां^६ is not quite certain ; but the traces of the damaged letters favour the reading अष्टाणामा^७ at any rate. [Then अष्टाणाम् would require correction. Cf. reading in L. 7 above.—Ed.]^७ [The correct reading seems to be का[लि]कम[वि]चाल्यं भवत्विति.—Ed.]^८ The engraver seems to have inserted a द above ध्या so as to make it ध्याय.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-21.) Perfection has been attained! Hail! From **Nandivarddhana**. The illustrious **Mahārāja Bhavattavarmman**, whose banner bears the *Tripatākā* (hand with three fingers stretched out or whose banner consists of three pennons), who is born of the lineage of the **Nala** kings, upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahēśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya), orders the house-holders and great men headed by the Brāhmanas, residing in the village of **Kadambagiri**, as follows:—(*Know*) ye (*that*) by us while staying at **Prayāga**, the place blest by the favour of the Divine Prajāpati (Brahmā) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, (*this village*) is bestowed for blessing the matrimonial relationship of ours, *i.e.*, myself and (*my*) queen, with libations of water, on **Mātrāḍhyāryya** of the *Parāsara-gōtra* and his eight sons, namely, **Dēvāryya**, **Dēvadattāryya**, **Kumāradattāryya**, **Vi(Vi)radattāryya**, **Vasudattāryya**, **Gō(Gau)ridattāryya**, **Dhruvadattāryya** and **Durggath(datt)āryya**, he himself being the ninth (*recipient*).

To these Brāhmanas, therefore, all the taxes including gold duly accruing from the place (*mentioned below*) should be given and (*all customary*) services should be rendered. And *this* (*grant of the*) village is to endure with the moon and the sun (*i.e.*, for ever), free from all taxes. It is not to be entered by soldiers or horses.¹ It is to be free from tolls and customs duties and from disputes.

Nothing shall be said (*against this grant*) with (*reference to some*) tamarind or *palāśa* tree or any boundaries in the village. Whoever out of covetousness or passion, levies taxes or takes away the land (*granted*), shall incur the five great sins. This village, measuring in extent ten *nirartanas*, is given together with (*the right of*) ploughing and the garden, for which nothing should be spoken (*against it*) by anybody. The boundaries of this village are : to the north is the mountain, the extreme limit of the *viśhaya* (district), **Māluka-viraka**² with the cultivated ground, **Madhuka-latikā**,³ **Bakasāmālaka** with the pomegranate tree, **Trimandara-viraka**, and the boundary of the district (*rājya*)⁴; which (*royal grant*) has been written at our oral command by **Chulla**, the Confidential Officer,⁵ on the **seventh day** of the **dark fortnight of Kārttika in the eleventh (regnal) year**.

(Lines 21-26.) This copper-plate charter, which is the abode of the virtue of increasing the sacred fame of his father and mother, has been caused to be made by the illustrious **Mahārāja Arthapati Bhattachāraka**, who has been favoured by the kindness of respectable people, so that it may last undisturbed (*in the possession*) of the (*said*) eight sons (*enduring*) with the sun and the moon. (*May there be*) prosperity to cows, Brāhmanas and subjects! May there be success! Engraved by **Bōppadēva**, the son's son of **Paddōpādhyāya**.

¹ बहः may either stand for a horse in particular or a conveyance in general.

² विरकः apparently stands here as well as below (l. 2) for a village or its suburb.

³ मधुकलिका, कसामलकम् and विमन्दर विरकः are apparently the names of bordering villages or suburbs.

⁴ राज्या does not mean a kingdom here. It is used for a division of a kingdom.

⁵ See f. n. 5 on p. 103 ante.—Ed.]

⁶ This is apparently, as suggested by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., an epithet of king Bhavattavarmman. In constraining these words as I have done, there will be, I must admit, the fault of *dūrāntaya*.

No. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVA KING RAJASIMHA-NARASIMHAVARMAN II.

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.

A.—THE MAHĀBALIPURAM INSCRIPTION.¹

This record is engraved on the plinths of two platforms in the western side of the second courtyard of the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram (Māmallapuram), and was discovered by the Archæological Department in 1912. The platforms have been surmised to be either the *balipīṭhas* of the two main shrines of that temple or the supports of their missing flagstaffs. One of the three Chōla inscriptions² of the Shore Temple, discovered in 1887, calls the god of the temple 'the Lord of Tirukkaḍalmallai.' Another calls the temple itself Jalaśayana, while the third mentions the shrines of Kshatriya-simha-Pallavēśvara-dēva, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara-dēva and Pallikoṇḍaruliya-dēva. Rao Saheb Krishna Sastri³ believes that the two platforms, above mentioned, and the monolithic *dhvajastambha* in the sea are the probable remnants of the three shrines referred to in the last of the Chōla epigraphs. The discovery of the inscription on the platforms is important for the fact that it throws light on the identity of the king who built these shrines, a question about which nothing definite has been known. It is true that the names Rājasimha and Kshatriyasimha, after which two of the deities were named, indicated a Pallava origin to the temple; but no direct or contemporary evidence had been available to prove it. The present inscription supplies it.

The inscription⁴ is written in the Pallava-Grantha character and consists of a single line running round the plinths. It is much damaged. The existing portion comprises six Sanskrit verses in the *Āryā*, *Vasantatilakā* and the *Anuṣṭubh* metres, besides the attributes [Bhaya]rahitaḥ and Bahunayaḥ after the first verse and the title śrī-Udayachandraḥ after the second verse, which are in prose. They contain the names, surnames and titles of a Pallava king who, as will be shown presently, has to be identified with Narasimhavarman II. The first verse, which is wanting in the last three syllables, gives the king the epithets of Apratima, Avanibhūshana, Akalaṅka, Dharanichandra, Arimardana, Atulabala and Kulatilaka. The second verse gives him, among others, the titles of Atyantakāma, Aparājita, Chandrārddhaśē-

¹ See my *Topographical List of Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 327-329. The local inscriptions herein noted (Cg. 50-81 f.) do not include those taken from the Mack. Mss., which are 31 in number. Of the thirty-six included in the list twenty (Cg. 58-74 & 77-79) have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-16 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 1-11. Two inscriptions (Cg. 75 and 76) discovered by the late Mr. Venkayya in 1907 are edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 8, under Nos. 18 and 19. All these belong to the Pallava kings from Mahēndravarmān I onward. Of the remaining nine epigraphs five belong to the Chōla kings Rājārāja I, Rājēndradēva, Vīra-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I; the details of two (Cg. 53 and 54) are not available; and one (Cg. 56) is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Achyutarāya. The inscription which is edited above, forms No. 566 in that year's official list of epigraphs and Cg. 80 in my *Topographical List*.

² These are Nos. 1, 2 & 3 of 1887 and Cg. 50-52 in the *Topographical List*. They have been edited by the late Dr. Hultzsch in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, under Nos. 42, 40 and 41 respectively.

³ *Madras Epigraph. Rep.*, 1913, p. 88, para. 8. The Rao Saheb surmises that god Talaśayana whom Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār refers to was Viṣṇu and the Śaivite god, Kshatriyasimha-Pallavēśvara "who is directly facing the sea and being even washed by it, appears to have received the name Jalaśayana"—the one being on land, and the other on water. It seems to me that Jalaśayana is a later paurāṇic variant of Talaśayana and that both the terms can refer to Viṣṇu Pallikoṇḍaruliya-dēva alone, as Śiva is not in the *śayana* posture. Moreover, *Talaśayana* is only a shorter form of *Kaḍalmallai-ttalaśayana* and, as such, need not be taken as a term of contrast to *jalaśayana*.

⁴ It may be pointed out that the analysis given in this paragraph is not based on the plate given in the *Madras Epigraph. Rep.*, 1913 (p. 88), but a revised one kindly prepared by the Government Epigraphist for the present edition. A comparison of the two plates will show that the order of the verses is changed.

sēkhara-sikhāmani and Chanḍāsani. The third verse is identical with the last verse of the inscription round the outside of the Rājasimhēśvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram.¹ Verses 4 and 5 give, among others, the *birudas* Śrī-kārmuka, Kālakāla, Abhirāma, Ranabhīma, Guṇālaya, Śrī-Vallabha, Atimāna, Ūrjjita, Unnatarāga and Yuddhārjuna. The last verse, which is damaged in the beginning and which cannot be satisfactorily read, makes, however, clear mention of the expression Narēndrasimha in its latter part.

The identification of the king who bore the above titles is, as Mr. Krishna Sastri has pointed out, easy enough. First, it is obvious that he was the same as the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī. Secondly, the identity of verse 3 in the present epigraph with the last verse of the Rājasimhēśvara epigraph at Kāñchī gives a clue to the eulogy of the same sovereign. The Kāñchīpuram epigraph tells us that Rājasimha was the son of Ugradaṇḍa² or Paramēśvara, who was the destroyer of the city of Raṇarasika. Dr. Fleet has pointed³ out that Raṇarasika is an epithet of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-680), that Ugradaṇḍa is identical with the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I who, the Kūram⁴ Plates tell us, crossed arms with Vikramāditya, and that Rājasimha (*alias* Narasimhaviṣṇu) must be identified with Narasimhavarman II. Now, an inscription⁵ of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II discovered at Vāyalūr in 1908 says that he had also the title of Kshattrasimha (Kshatriyasimha of other inscriptions). To quote the passage itself :—

श्रीपद्मवान्वयकुलाचलराजसिंहो

यः क्षत्रसिंह इति विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्तिः ।

It is thus clear that the two Śiva shrines of the Shore Temple, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara and Kshattriyasimha-Pallavēśvara, were named after Narasimhavarman II and are, therefore, his works.

In his analysis of the scripts of the Mahābalipuram and Śāluvaṅkuppam inscriptions Dr. Hultzsch distinguishes four styles. Of these one is entirely northern and may be ignored for the present discussion. The remaining three, he attributes respectively to the epochs of Narasimhavarman I, Atyantakāma (whom he identifies with Paramēśvaravarman I) and Atirapachanda (whom he assigns to the age of Nandivarman Pallavamalla). The palaeography of our inscription closely resembles that of the Atyantakāma group. As will be seen from my note 12 at page 108 below, I believe that the attribution of the second set of inscriptions to Paramēśvaravarman I by Dr. Hultzsch is without sufficient basis and that it can be equally legitimately ascribed to his son Narasimhavarman II. I am also disposed to believe that Atirapachanda is Narasimhavarman II himself (see below, page 109, note 3). But this difference of opinion regarding the identity of the kings need not cause a doubt in regard to the relative times of the three sets of scripts, though even from this standpoint there can be no agreement in regard to the exact chronological gaps dividing them. A comparison of their scripts from the fine facsimile plates given above (see Vol. X, plates Nos. 1 to 6) shows clearly that the first of these is archaically simple, the second very florid and ornamented with elaborate flourishes, and the third much simpler though not so simple in formation as the first set.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 13, v. 12

² *Ibid.*, verse 5. रणरसिकपुरीमर्दनादुग्रदण्डात्मजः कुमारो गुह इव परमादीश्वरादात्मजः ।

³ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 329 f. In his *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 11, Hultzsch identified Rājasimha with Narasimhavarman I, but in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, he accepts the conclusion of Dr. Fleet.

⁴ See lines 40-41 : विक्रमादित्यं कर्पटमावपरिच्छदमेकाकिपलायितम् कृत[वान्*]. *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 149, Text 149 f.

⁵ Cg. 1235 in my *Topo. List*. I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for permission to consult and note from the office copy of this inscription.

A close study of the palæography of the present epigraph shows that the Shore Temple inscription is later than the Atyantakāma and Kāñchipuram inscriptions and earlier than those of the Atirānāchanda group. Incidentally it shows that to judge of the identity of kings from the palæography of their inscriptions alone, is dangerous in-as-much as at least three styles, namely, those of the Atyantakāma and Rājasimha group, the Shore Temple inscription and the Atirānāchanda group, have to be attributed to the same king, *i.e.*, Narasimhavarman II. This question as well as the chronology of the epigraphs will be discussed in my paper B on the Panamalai inscription of the same king printed below.

TEXT.¹

Platform A.

West Side—

श्रीः [1*] अप्रतिममवनिभूषणमकलंकम्बरणिचन्द्रमवनीन्द्राः[1*] अरिमर्दनमतुल-

South Side—

²[ब]लं कुलतिलकं ये नमन्ति ते . . . ³[॥१*] . . ⁴रहितो बहुनय-⁵

East Side—

॥ अत्यन्तकाममपराजितमेकराजचन्द्रार्द्धशेखरशिखामणिमङ्गुतं⁶ यम् [1*] चण्डाश-

North Side—

निं क्षितिभृतामहतामसह्यं सम्प्राप्य काममिव नन्दति जीवलोकः [॥२*] श्रीः(श्री)

उदयचन्द्रः M⁷

Platform B.

West Side—

श्रीराजसिंहो रणजयः[1*] श्रीभरश्चित्रकामुर्कः[1*] एकवीरश्चिरम्पातु

शिवचूडामणिर्महीम् [॥३*] श्रीकामुर्कः

South Side—

कालकालः काला⁸ [1*][अ]भिरामो विजयते रणभीमो

गुणालयः M [४*] श्रीवल्लभमति-

¹ From the plate prepared by the Editor of this Journal. I must also thank him for his having permitted me to consult his transcript.

² The space available at the beginning of this line is more than necessary for the letter ब.

³ As the *pritta* of this verse is Āryā, four *mītras* are wanting in order to complete the verse. Adopting the above reading, the word चम्पा, will suit the purpose, ये and ते being appositional. सुखिनः would suit equally well.

⁴ Two syllables are wanting here. They may be भय or हल as in the 22nd and 9th niches respectively of the Rājasimhēśvara temple inscription. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 15 and 16.

⁵ The *visarga* of this word is seen in the beginning of the east side.

⁶ The reading सक्षितौय is also possible.

⁷ This symbol has been used as a punctuation mark.

⁸ र्ज seems to be the more probable reading, in the opinion of the Government Epigraphist.

⁹ Six syllables are wanting to make up the *Anuṣṭup* metre. It might be restored by some such expression as °लक्षपदाचकः.



East Side—

मानं रणवीरं कुल¹ [*] ऊर्जितसुव्रतराममृणमत युद्धा-
[ऊर्जित]² [॥ ५*]

North Side—

. . पमर्त्य दृष्टो³ शततणम . म . म . . वनयनभक्त . . नरेन्द्रसिंहनमन्ति
नृपाः M [६*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Prosperity ! Those kings (*are fortunate who*) bow to (*the king*) who is unequalled,⁴ the ornament of the earth, the spotless,⁵ the moon of the earth,⁶ the conqueror of enemies,⁷ the matchless in strength,⁸ the ornament of (*his*) family.⁹

The fearful ss (or the guileless).¹⁰ The great statesman.¹¹

(V. 2.) The world of men, having obtained this (*king*) is happy, as if it has obtained (*its*) desire—the king whose desires are endless,¹² the invincible,¹³ the sole ruler,¹⁴ the wearer of Śiva as his crest-jewel,¹⁵ the wonderful,¹⁶ the fierce thunderbolt¹⁷ who is intolerable to great (*hostile*) kings.

¹ This space should have been filled by six or seven letters representing eight *mātras*. Such as प्रकाशकरं or अजितं जयितं.

² As प्रणमत is Imperative, 2nd person, plural, we have to suppose that this is an address, and an expression like स्वराधीशः after युद्धाङ्गुन may be understood. The letter ञ् is found in smaller size after द्वा and thus enables us to decipher the word युद्धाङ्गुन, which is also found in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 15.

³ This reading is tentative. As the space available is for 32 letters, the verse may be in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; but the last portion does not agree with this, and suggests the *Aryā* metre. The Government Epigraphist would read the earlier portion thus: यमर्त्यदृष्टे शततणमन्म. महाभक्त[*] वनयनभक्तं निवन्. The whole verse is so defaced that the reading given above is, as it is, meaningless. [In the Vāyalūr inscription also Mahāmalla occurs as a surname of Narasimhavarman II.—Ed.]

⁴ See niche 27 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.

⁵ The same is found in niches 8 and 19 above in modified forms.

⁶ Cf. अमनिदिवाकर in niche 19 of the above.

⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 4. Compare also अरिनाशः in niche 44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, niche 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, niche 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, niche 9 where the expression कलरहित is found and niche 22 where the epithet भयरहित is given.

¹¹ The epithets श्रीवृद्धयः and नयानुसारी occur in the 3rd and 42nd niches of the above epigraph. Compare also विदितवृद्धयः in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

¹² This *biruda* is found in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5; *ibid.*, No. 25, niche 1; and the Vāyalūr and Tiruppōrūr inscriptions. *Atyantakāma* was also a *biruda* of Narasimhavarman I as is proved by No. 5 of the Dharmarājārātha inscriptions at Mahābalipuram. The late Dr. Hultzsch believed that it was also the title of Paramēśvaravarman I, to whom he attributed No. 17 of the Dharmarāja-rātha epigraphs and those in the Gaṇēśa temple (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 4, No. 18 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 8, No. 20), the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa (*ibid.*, No. 21) and Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa (*ibid.*, No. 22). The reason why he concluded thus is the mention of Paramēśvara. It seems to me to be, however, a mere pun and not a real name. The palaeography of the epigraph in which it occurs, moreover, is the same as that of Rājasimha in the Kailāsanātha temple. On these grounds I seriously doubt the correctness of identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvaravarman I and am disposed to think that all the *birudas* attributed by Hultzsch to this king must be attributed to Narasimhavarman II.

¹³ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, niche 37.

¹⁵ Compare शिवचूडामणि in verse 3 and महेश्वरशिखामणिदीप्तसौलि in the Vāyalūr epigraph.

¹⁶ Compare niches 10 and 28 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 10 which gives the expression अमिवाशनिः.

The glorious rising moon.¹

(V. 3.) [For the translation of this see *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 14.]

(V. 4.) The blessed archer,² the death to Death³ the beautiful,⁴ the terrible in war,⁵ the abode of virtues,⁶—is victorious.

(V. 5.) (*O kings!*) how (*to him*) who is the beloved of Śrī⁷ (Lakshmi), who is highly proud,⁸ the hero in battle,⁹...the mighty,¹⁰ the exalted and lovely,¹¹ like Arjuna¹² in war.

(V. 6.) The lion¹³ among kings....all kings obeyed....

B.—THE PANAMALAI INSCRIPTION.

The subjoined inscription and the temple on which it has been engraved are mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 209, and the *Gazetteer* of the district of South Arcot, p. 385. It was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, by Prof. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry in 1915. The village of Panamalai is situated sixteen miles north of Villupuram. An inscription¹⁴ from this place consisting of one Sanskrit verse which is identical with the last verse of the Kailāsanātha inscription¹⁵ of Rājasimha and the third verse of the Shore Temple inscription¹⁶ of the same king at Mahābalipuram, has been published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 24. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri had the present inscription copied and registered as No. 616 of 1915 in his *Report* for 1916. A facsimile of the inscription is published, together with a summary of its contents, (p. 114, para. 5 and plate III opp. p. 114) in the same *Report*. Prof. Dubreuil also has published a photo of the epigraph in his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol. I, Plate I), together with a tentative translation of it by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

It is stated in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916 that the beginning and the end of the inscription are covered by the paved floor of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple. The visible portion of the record consists of a single line in the **Pallava-Grantha** script cut over a

¹ *Ibid.*, niche 11.

² Compare चित्रकार्मुक in verse 3 and niche 13 in *S. I. I.*, No. 25 and भीमकार्मुक in *Ibid.*, No. 26, niche 16.

³ This title is proved by the Mahēndravarmāśvara temple inscription of queen Raṅgapatākā (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 29) to be the title of Narasimhaviṣṇu and so the latter should be Rājasimha-Narasimhavarman II. It follows logically that the Mahēndravarmaṇ of that epigraph is the third king of that name. As Kālakāla was also the title of Aṭṭanachanḍa (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 12) we have to conclude that the latter was identical with Narasimhavarman II.

⁴ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1.

⁵ Compare ब्राह्मभौत in niche 16, *Ibid.*,

⁶ *Ibid.*, niche 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 15.

⁸ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 3, No. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 25, niche 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, niche 2 and *Ibid.*, No. 26, niche 4.

¹¹ This *biruda* is seen in both the inscriptions referred to in the previous note. See the 6th and 9th niche respectively.

¹² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, niche 14 of No. 25.

¹³ This is only the variation of Rājasimha and gives a clue to the name of the king, Narasimhavarman II. It occurs also in the Vāyalūr inscription.

¹⁴ This is No. 31 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I. Prof. Dubreuil points out that the inscription is not, as it is generally described, in a temple cut in the rock, but "simply on an anfractuosity of the rock within which an image of Kālī (Mahishāsuramardini) has been placed." See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 11.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.

¹⁶ See above, p. 107.

cell of granite running round the temple as in the case of the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājāsīmha at Kāñchīpuram. It is a *praśasti* of king Rājāsīmha II and, like the one in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram, has no reference to his building of the shrine. The close resemblance, however, which the Panamalai temple bears to the Kailāsanātha temple in its style shows that the builder of the one must also have been the builder of the other.¹ The similarity of the contents of the two inscriptions, moreover, proves the identity of their subjects of praise. The Panamalai inscription consists of six verses in the *Sragdharā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres. It begins with the names of **Aśvatthāman** (Drauni) and his eponymous son **Pallava**, the founder of the dynasty (verses 1 and 2). It then gives a eulogy of the Pallavas and mentions the birth of Rājāsīmha to king **Ēkamalla Paramēśvara**,² which it compares with the birth of Guha (Subrahmanya) to Paramēśvara (Śiva). The next two verses describe the virtues of Rājāsīmha, his valour and his devotion to Śiva. The last verse is in the form of an assertion and mentions the revival, in his *régime*, of the tree of *dharma*, in spite of the cruel and scorching sun of the Kali age. The Conjeeveram epigraph gives the same details, often the same expressions. In its description of Rājāsīmha, for example, the latter uses the phrases गुह इव परमादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा (verse 5) and उद्धृत्तशत्रुनृपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः (verse 11), which are practically the same as those occurring in the present inscription in verses 3 and 4. The Kailāsanātha record, however, is more elaborate and adds the titles of *Atyantakāma*, *Śrībhara* and *Raṇajaya* to Rājāsīmha. It may be noted here that two other inscriptions in the same temple³ which give more than 200 titles to Rājāsīmha must be attributed to the same king.

This identification of the builders of the Kailāsanātha and Panamalai temples may be objected to on the ground of palæography, for a comparison of the Panamalai script with that of the Kāñchīpuram temple shows that the former is much simpler and therefore later in date. In fact it bears a very close resemblance to the *Atiranachanda* group of Mahābalipuram and the Śāluvaṅkuppam epigraphs, and not the *Atyantakāma* group (which is similar to the Kailāsanātha epigraph). Compare the letters, for example, क, ग, ज, ण, न, भ and the signs for the secondary vowels अ, इ, and औ and the correctness of the contention will be immediately obvious. It can be incidentally inferred from this that the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple inscription of Rājāsīmha which I have proved to be later than the *Atyantakāma* and Kailāsanātha group, and earlier than the *Atiranachanda* group, was slightly earlier than the present inscription. Dr. Hultsch,⁴ who believed that palæography alone could give a clue to the identity of the kings, was of opinion that the earlier Kailāsanātha script belonged to the age of Rājāsīmha or Narasiṃhavarman II and the *Atiranachanda* group to the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāśākūḍi plates. Regarding the last, he has said: "It resembles, though it is not identical with, the alphabet of the Kāśākūḍi plates of Nandivarman. The name or surname *Atiranachanda* is unknown from other sources. As the alphabet of stone inscriptions sometimes differs slightly from that of the contemporaneous records on copper, there would be no objection to assigning these records to the time of Nandivarman, the contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II."

¹ In his *Pallava Antiquaries* (Vol. I, pp. 19-20) Prof. Duboulet, with characteristic insight, enumerates the various points of agreement, e.g., the possession of collateral niches always opening towards the east or west, the dedication to the prismatic (eight or sixteen-faced and not the cylindrical) type of the *linga*, the adornment of the sanctuary wall with the images of Sōmāskanda, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the rearing lion type of pillar-supports and the single-arched *trirūchis*.

² The Vēṇṇipālaiyam plates (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 61) say that Narasiṃhavarman was the son's son (उदयसूत) of Paramēśvara, but it is alone in this version and is not so authoritative as the contemporary records at Kāñchīpuram, Mahābalipuram and Panamalai.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 25 and 26.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 3.

But I have endeavoured to show in my edition of the Shore Temple inscription of Mahābalipuram that the Kailāsanātha, the Atyantakāma¹ and the Atiranachanda groups should all be attributed to the same king, viz., Narasimhavarman II. The identification of Atyantakāma with him is proved by the Kāñchīpuram,² Vāyalūr,³ Tiruppōrūr⁴ and Shore Temple⁵ inscriptions and that of Atiranachanda with him by the Kāñchīpuram⁶ and Tiruppōrūr⁷ epigraphs (which were apparently not known to Dr. Hultzsch, while the epigraphs at Śālvankuppam show that Atyantakāma and Atiranachanda were the titles of the same king (see *S. I. I.*, No. 21, verses 1 and 5). The attribution of the Atiranachanda group to the age of Nandivarman II cannot thus stand. The palaeographical comparison of it with Kāśākuḍi plates, moreover, shows that the inference of contemporaneity which Dr. Hultzsch makes, cannot be maintained. In regard to letters ण, च, ण, ङ, ञ and secondary vowel ञ, we find that the Kāśākuḍi plates are distinctly later and more modern than the corresponding letters in the Atiranachanda style. The same remarks apply to the present inscription which, as has been already mentioned, is exactly like that of Atiranachanda. This conclusion will naturally give rise to the question how an archaic style like that of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakāma group could have co-existed with the more advanced styles of Śālvankuppam and Panamalai (as well as the style of the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple which comes midway between the two). This has been, in my opinion, satisfactorily answered by Prof. Dubreuil. He believes that the more archaic and florid alphabet was "perhaps devised by the predecessor of Rājasiṃha, fifty years earlier. As it was much embellished and little employed, it was handed down without any change, and the sculptors of the time of Rājasiṃha who wished to employ this alphabet were satisfied with copying the old models instead of embellishing the writing of their days."⁸ Amongst the peculiarities of the present epigraph may be noted the combination of the conjunct *ra* and medial *ṣ* with a double curve (e.g., ण in verse 4 and ञ in verse 6), and the characterisation of the final *ṣ* with a slanting stroke (as well as smaller size), like ṣ.

A few words may be mentioned here about Narasimhavarman II. He seems to have been a man of peace, devoted more to religious pursuits than war and conquest. His father Paramēśvaravarman I had gained the victory of Peruvaṇallūr⁹ over the Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-680 A.D.) and saved the integrity of the Empire, though he had not apparently been equal to the task of dispossessing the Chālukyas of the district of Kurnool¹⁰ and possibly of Nellore¹¹ which they had seized. A clue to the date and site of the battle

¹ It may be mentioned that Prof. Dubreuil agrees with Dr. Hultzsch in identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvara I; but while I agree with him in regard to the style of the script of Paramēśvara's time, I am not able to see eye to eye with him in regard to his identity with Atyantakāma.

² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1 and No. 19, verses 7 and 8.

³ Bottom block, which reads: लोकनरेन्द्र सिंहः शम्भोः पादारविन्द...चरणे निखनयन्तकाम...

⁴ Piece No. 7.

⁵ See ante, p. 106.

⁶ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 3.

⁷ Piece No. 4.

⁸ See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁹ See the Udayēndīram plates of Nandivarman, lines 16-17, which say: ततः देववज्रनक्षत्र्युद्धे विजितवज्रसमलः परमेश्वरवर्मा. The Kūram plates of Paramēśvara I describe how he made Vikramāditya take to flight, covered only by a rag (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 149, lines 40-41). The latter is evidently a reference to the engagement at Peruvaṇallūr. The Kāñchīpuram inscriptions also refer to the destruction of Rājasiṃha's city (i.e., the city of Vikramāditya). See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 5.

¹⁰ See Kl. I and 4-6 in my *Topographical List*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nl. 483. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98-102.

of Peruvālanallūr is given in the Gadvāl Plates¹ of Vikramāditya I. These plates record a grant by him in A.D. 674, while he was encamped at Urāgapura on the southern bank of the Kāvērī in the Chōḷa kingdom. Urāgapura has been identified by Venkayya² with Uraiyūr and the correctness of this has been confirmed by Prof. Dubreuil³ who has identified Peruvālanallūr with a village of the same name, about ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly. The latter scholar further points out how the Pallava Paramēśvara was probably helped by the contemporary Pāṇḍya Kōchchaḍayaṇ and the Ceylonese king Mānavamma.⁴ He further surmises that Kōchchaḍayaṇ married the daughter of the Pallava prince Rājasimha (later on Narasimhavarman II) and hence had a son named Rājasimha, so named naturally after his maternal grandfather. However this might have been, Rājasimha must have succeeded Paramēśvaravarman I sometime after A.D. 675. He evidently did not distinguish his reign by any war. All his inscriptions, while describing his martial valour in vague and general terms, agree in calling him an ardent devotee of Śiva, a saviour of Dharma and Truth. He seems to have furthered the arts and blessings of peace, if we are to attach any importance to his epithets इतिहासप्रियः, काव्यप्रबोधः, वीणानारदः, आतोद्यतुस्वर्गः, वाद्यविद्याधरः, etc. It was he that built the central shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram, the Panamalai temple, and, as Prof. Dubreuil observes, the Airāvatēśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram. To these must be added some other structures from which the pillars containing Rājasimha's *birudas* were transferred to the later Kandasvāmi and Vyāghrapurīśvara shrines at Tiruppōrūr⁵ and Vāyalūr respectively.⁶

It only remains to be mentioned that the date of the present epigraph is not incapable of being ascertained. It has been already mentioned that Paramēśvaravarman I won a victory at Peruvālanallūr over Vikramāditya I in A.D. 674. Supposing that Paramēśvara lived for a few years after it, we may suppose that he ceased to rule, about A.D. 680. The struggle between him and Vikramāditya I was inherited and continued by their successors,—the Pallava Narasimhavarman II, Mahēndravarmān III, Paramēśvaravarman II and Nandivarman Pallavamalla on the one hand, and the Chāḷukya kings Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680-96), his son Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) and his son and successor Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-746) on the other. Of these the last Pallava king was defeated by the last mentioned Chāḷukya king about A.D. 740. Now, as Narasimhavarman II lived two generations before Nandivarman, we may reasonably suppose that he lived in the years which immediately preceded and followed A.D. 700. And this is in keeping with the date we have assigned for the termination of the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. These facts enable us to fix the Panamalai epigraph at about

¹ Vide *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1910, p. 10, para. 10. The record is dated in Vaiśākha, full moon, S. 596 (the 20th year of his reign), i.e., Tuesday, April 25, A.D. 674, according to Dr. Fleet, or the next day. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, pp. 101-2.

³ See his *Pallavas*, 1917, p. 43.

⁴ The 5th king in the Vēḷvukūḍi grant, the father of Tē-mār n Rājasimha I (Arikēśari Parāṅkuṣa), and the victor at Marudūr and Mangalapuram over Mahāratha. Prof. Dubreuil believes that Mahāratha was the Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I. Mānavamma was king of Ceylon from about 660 to 695, according to Dubreuil, but 691 to 726 according to the *Mahāvaṃśa*.

⁵ See Cg. 194 in the *Topographical List*. The chief epithets found are Aviratadānaḥ, Iśānaśaṣaṇaḥ, Jñānaśaṣaṇaḥ, Guṇavāṇiṭṭaḥ, Dharaṇītilakaḥ, Atirāṇachandhaḥ, Arikarīkēśari, Prithvīmāraḥ, Atyantakāmaḥ and Abhayaṇkarakaḥ.

⁶ See Cg. 1234. Besides giving a full genealogy of the Pallavas, the record gives the titles of Narēndrasimha, Avantakāma, Rāṇajaya, Śrīnidhi and Kshattriyaśimha to Rājasimha. This inscription has been edited by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, *above* Vol. XVIII, pp. 145 ff.

A.D. 700. Prof. Dubreuil ascribes it to between 700 and 710. The Shore Temple inscription at Mahābalipuram should be slightly earlier, while the scripts of the Kailāsanūtha-Atyantakāma group might be based on a script about 50 years earlier (i.e., A.D. 650), but engraved a few years before 700.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ²नोदपादि प्रथितभुजबलो द्रोणि³रंशः⁴ पुरारिः [१*] अश्वत्था-
- 2 न्नोय तस्मान्निचितगुरुतपोनिर्म-
- 3 लादाविरासीदान्नायादंगविद्याविसर इव महीवल्लभः पल्ल⁵*] वाख्यः [१*]
- 4 यस्मादेषः[*]⁶ . . . पथि विहितपदात्पावने⁷ माननीयो मन्दाकिन्या[*] प्रवा-
- 5 हः शशिन इव महानन्वयः पल्लवानाम् [२*] सम्राजामश्वमेधावभू-
- 6 थविरजसां भूभुजां पल्लवानामस्य-
- 7 टापल्लवानां विमलतरभरद्वाजवंशोद्भवानाम् [१*] केतो-
- 8 रत्नो⁸ ण्वाहुद्रविणहृतमहीचक्रविख्यातकीर्त्तैर्यो देवा-
- 9 देकमल्लाहुह इव पर[मादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा⁹] [३*]
- 10¹⁰ . . भुजङ्ग¹¹विणावभासी सत्त्वो-¹²
- 11 र्जितः समरदृष्ट¹³महाप्रभावः [१*] यो राजसिंह इति विश्व-

¹ From the plate published in *Ep. Rep.* for 1916, opp. p. 114.

² This is the 4th quarter of a stanza in the *Sragdharā* metre. The first three syllables (which should be three *gurus*) are wanting.

³ Read द्रोणि.

⁴ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as द्रोणी.

⁵ There is an unwritten space of one foot here, capable of holding these three letters, which are found in the Kāñchipuram inscription. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, line 11 (verse 3).

⁶ The space (about a foot) is unwritten. The three syllables which are necessary for the metre may be प्रसूतः or प्रजज्ञे, which will be the predicate of अश्वयः.

⁷ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar corrects पावने into पावनी (see *Pallava Antiquities*, p. 13); but this is absolutely unnecessary as पावने is plainly the adjective of पथि.

⁸ Read स्त्री.

⁹ The stone on which the inscription is engraved is broken here and the passage inserted has been taken from *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

¹⁰ As the metre of this verse is *Vasantatilakā*, the first six syllables (a *ta-gana* and a *bha-gana* — — — — —) are wanting. An expression like सद्रक्षणीर्जित will do.

¹¹ Read द्र.

¹² Read सत्त्वो.

¹³ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as दृष्ट. He also confounds प्र with सु and suggests the wrong reading सुभाव in place of प्रभा. See *Pallava Antiquities*, I, p. 13.

- 12 तपुख्यकीर्ति¹दृ²त्तमनुवृपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः [m ४*] ^३हर्ता हि
 13 षड^४र्गसमुच्छ्रयाणां [क]र्त्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणाम् [१*]
 14 चित्ते सदा ^५समृ-
 15 तभक्तिपूते धत्ते पदं^६ यस्य मृगा^७कमो^८लि[.*] [m ५*] संवृटान्नाय-
 16 ^९मयानेकशाखासमग्रः [यो]-
 17 ^{१०}तेः फलकुसुमलताकान्तिमालम्ब-
 18 माना[ः]^{११} [१*] सदृत्ता^{१२}भोनिषेकैर्द्रुम इव सततन्तस्य . . . ^{१३}श्रयासमुद्गम . .
 जय^{१४}ति कलियुगयोगमतसेपि^{१५} धर्मः [m ६*].

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. (To him) was born **Draupī**, the part-incarnation¹⁶ of Purāri, who was famous for the strength of his shoulders.

V. 2. From that **Āśvatthāman** who was spotless with the great penance performed by him, there arose, like the extension of the *Āṅgavidyā*¹⁷ (science of Vyākaraṇa, etc. contributing to knowledge) from the Vēda, the beloved king of the earth called **Pallava**; and from him who trod the path of purity, came, like the floods of the Mandākinī from the moon,¹⁸ this great family of the Pallavas.

¹ Read ति.

² Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar mistakes it for दृ (dṛi).

³ This verse is in the *Indravajrā* metre.

⁴ Read र्ग.

⁵ Read सं. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has the wrong reading समृत्त. (*Pallava Antiquities*, p. 14, note 1.)

⁶ This word is also wrongly read as सदा by Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

⁷ Read र्ग.

⁸ Read लो.

⁹ As the verse is in *Śṛagdhārā* metre, seven syllables are missing here : two *gurus* and five *laghus* like — —

— — — — —

¹⁰ Five syllables — — — — — are wanting.

¹¹ Read नः.

¹² Read °तामो°.

¹³ Four letters, viz. — — — —, are probably missing to make up this *pāda*.

¹⁴ The late Mr. H. K. Sastri thought that नः was the more probable reading.

¹⁵ Read °तोपि. If the reading जगति is taken instead of जयति, then it is unnecessary to correct ते.

¹⁶ Notice the singular account which the Pallava inscription at Amarāvati (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 32) gives of Āśvatthāman's origin. It says that Drōṇa propitiated Śiva for obtaining a son who would found a race.

¹⁷ Aptē defines it not only as the ननुवाप्याकारादिशास्त्ररूपा विद्या ज्ञानसाधनं but, according to the *Bṛhat-samhitā*, as 'the science of foretelling good or evil from the movements of the limbs.'

¹⁸ The Ganges flows from the matted locks of Śiva amidst which the moon also shines. The *Kailāsanātha* inscription compares 'Pallava' to the first-born Manu in regard to his being the founder of a race of kings. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 3. The composers of the Pallava eulogies seem to have been very fond of calling them the *vallabha* or the beloved (of the world). Cf. Kūram plates, Sanskrit portion, line 11.

Vv. 3 & 4. From the lord **Ekamalla**¹ whose fame spread over the globe, conquered by his inexhaustible might and wealth and who was the ornament (*vi. flag*) of the Pallavas who were emperors, who shone by the baths which concluded the performance of the *Aśvamēdha*, who were the enjoyers of earth, who were not touched (*even*) by a bit (*lava*) of danger² and who had their origin in the highly pure family of **Bharadvāja**—from him was born, like *Guhā*³ (*i.e.*, *Kumāra*) from the great *Īśvara*, he who shone by his . . . might and wealth, whose greatness was seen in the field of battle, who was valiant and powerful, who was well known as **Rājasimha** of holy reputation and who was a royal⁴ lion to the elephants of daring, hostile kings.

V. 5. The conqueror of crowds of hostile kings, the doer of a series of auspicious acts, in whose mind, purified by the feeling of incessant devotion,⁵ *Mrigāṅkamauḷi* (*Śiva*) rests his foot.

V. 6. The tree of *Dharma*⁶ which has got many *sākhās* (*i.e.*, Vedic divisions in the one case, and branches in the other) in the form of the *Vēdas* . . . ; which is sprinkled incessantly by the waters of his virtuous acts ; and which bears the splendour of the fruits and flowers—flourishes, though scorched by the cruel sun of the *Kali* age.⁷

NO. 19.—TWO LOST PLATES OF THE NIDHANPUR COPPER-PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

BY MAHAROPADHYAYA PANDIT PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYA, VIDYAVINODA, M.A.

The three copper-plates which were discovered in 1912 at Nidhanpur in Pañchakhanda, Sylhet, containing an inscription of **Bhaskaravarman** were published by me in this Journal (*vide* Vol. XII, No. 13, pp. 65 *et seq.*). There I stated that one plate was missing. It now turns up that the number of copper-plates missing was more than one, as I have got two plates, one of which is undoubtedly the 3rd plate, and the other the penultimate plate ; and the rumour goes that a third missing plate is in the possession of a Musalmān and efforts are being made to get it from him. I have not, however, thought it advisable to defer any longer the publication of the two plates that have since been discovered, and if any missing plate be forthcoming at all, it will contain only a list of donees supplementary to what is found in the two plates under discussion.

The discovery of these two lost plates has rendered some of my statements in the previous article, made, of course, on mere conjecture, liable to revision. In fact the grant had

¹ It is plain that *Ekamalla* is the title of *Paramēśvaravarman I.* The *Kāñchīpuram* inscription (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24) calls him *Ugradāṇḍa*, the adversary of *Raṇasika* (the *W. Chālukya Vikramāditya I.*, A.D. 655-80). Another inscription in the same place (*ibid.*, No. 27) gives *Paramēśvara*, the title of *Lōkāditya*.

² Compare *मिराहृतकुक्षपद्मः पद्मः* in line 11 of *Kūram* grant.

³ *Vide S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

⁴ Cf. *उद्युतशङ्खचिरदधनचटाराजसिंहेन राज्ञा* in the *Kāñchīpuram* inscrn. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I., No. 24, verse 11).

⁵ Compare the epithets *Śaṅkarabhaktaḥ*, and *Īśvarabhaktaḥ*, in the *Kāñchīpuram* inscriptions. Also expressions like *गुर्वीनीशानमर्तिः...यो विमर्ति भक्तिप्रद्वेप मनसा; विदितवद्भयः शैवसिद्धान्तमार्गः; श्रद्धावृष्टावपि*; etc.

⁶ The epithets *धर्मजवक्त्र*, *धर्मनिल*, *धर्मविजयी* found elsewhere show that the king had a great reputation for virtue.

⁷ The simile of the *Kali* age is commonly met with in the Pallava inscriptions. In the *Rājasimhēśvara* inscription the king is said to have heard the divine voice even in this *Kali* age, and elsewhere in the same inscription he is said to have saved the people from the jaws of the horrid monster, the *Kaliage*. Similarly the Pallavas are given the title of *उदीणप्रबलकालिन्दध्वंसि*. (See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.)

been made by Bhūtivarman (named Mahābhūtavarman in the second plate of these inscriptions) who was the great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman; and it was only renewed¹ by the latter in favour of the descendants of the original donees. The locality of the grant—Mayūrasālmal=āgrahāra in the district of Chandrapurī—I am unable to identify. While in my former article nothing was known of the donees² we find now that actually there was a host of them of different Vēdas and gōtras—apparently the successors on the sons' and probably also on the daughters' side of those Brāhmaṇas who had got the original grant from King Bhūtivarman. A tabular statement of these, shewing the Vēdas and the gōtras and shares, is given at the end of this article. The total of these shares comes to $97\frac{7}{16}$, which, with the addition of seven shares more for *bali-charu-satra*³ (worship, oblation and hospitality) comes to $104\frac{7}{16}$. Certainly the land could not have been divided into $104\frac{7}{16}$ shares, involving the fractional part of an *aṁśa*. It is not impossible that the rumour about another missing plate may be true, or that there may be something wrong in my interpretation of the terms like *gōtr=aṁśa*.

These two plates, namely, the third and the penultimate plates, have great importance as they contain information about a good number of Brāhmaṇas of many a different gōtra, and it is expected that this will throw a flood of light on the history of the Brāhmaṇas in this part of India.

Bhāskaravarman is known to have ruled over Kāmarūpa during the first half of the seventh century A.D., and if we calculate four rulers in a century, his great-great-grandfather Bhūtivarman must have flourished by the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. It is remarkable that while in the neighbouring province of Gauḍa (Bengal) the alleged import by Ādi-Śūra of five Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj or the mythical creation of the *Saptaśatī* (700) Brāhmaṇas is not attributed to a period earlier than the eighth century A.D.,⁴ there should be so many Brāhmaṇas found in a single village in Kāmarūpa two centuries earlier.

It will not be difficult to understand why the grant was made to such a large number of Brāhmaṇas at a time. We learn from the accounts of Yuan Chwang that while the neighbouring kingdoms were full of Buddhist monasteries, the country of Kāmarūpa was altogether free from them. "They (*i.e.*, the people of Kāmarūpa) worshipped the *Dēvas* and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been any Buddhist monastery in the land. The *Dēva* temples were some hundreds in number and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents * * * * His Majesty (Bhāskaravarman) was a lover of learning and his subjects followed his example; men of abilities came from far lands to study here."⁵ If such was the state of things in the Kāmarūpa of Bhāskaravarman's time, we might safely surmise that the condition of Kāmarūpa was the same also in Bhūtivarman's time. Bhāskaravarman was only maintaining the tradition of his illustrious predecessors whose excellent qualities are recorded in these inscriptions. A party of Brāhmaṇas probably

¹ That this grant was a renewal after the burning of the original plates is known from the last verse on the last plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 76).

² In fact in the opening verse of the inscriptions plurality of the Brāhmaṇas was indicated by "*bhūtimatām dvijanmanām*" which was then looked upon as a case of honorific plurality.

³ *Bali* means offerings to gods as flour, fruits, rice, etc. (uncooked); *charu* signifies 'cooked offerings'; and *satra* indicates 'distribution of food to the guests and the poor'. This would show that there was a shrine or common place of worship in the locality for which a provision was made by allotment of these 7 shares,

⁴ Above, Vol. XIII, pp 287 and 228.

⁵ Watters : *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. p 186

annoyed at the Buddhist predominance in their own place (which was most likely in Mithilā) came to settle in Kāmarūpa that was free from Buddhism and the rulers whereof were reputed to be the patrons of Brāhmaṇas, the custodians of the old faith :¹ hence this grant was made to these Brāhmaṇas and the name *agrahāra* added to Mayūrasālmali supports what has been stated above.

The **locality** of the grant, though it cannot be positively ascertained, must have been very near the precincts of Karṇa-Suvarṇa, as the term *Gāṅgiṇī* occurring in the description of the boundary of the grant indicates that the locality must be in some region where the word in its modern form of *Gāṅginā* exists even now. In modern Kāmṛp the term is unknown—whereas in the locality near about Karatōyā (which was the western boundary of the ancient Kāmarūpa), '*Gāṅginā*' is still in use—so the grant must have been located there² and hence near Karṇa-Suvarṇa.³

How the plates containing the record could be found in Sylhet has yet to be answered. It is stated in the third plate (l. 12) that Manōrathasvāmin of the Kātyāyana-*gōtra* was a '*paṭṭakapati*,' i.e., the holder of the copper-plates, evidently, as he was one of the leading men of the locality. There was still another person Sādhāraṇasvāmin, apparently, the foremost of them all, as his name mentioned in the first place would show, who was also termed '*paṭṭakapati*': and though probably the plates were originally kept in the joint or alternate charge of both, yet they must have fallen eventually into the hands of the heirs of Manōrathasvāmin of the Kātyāyana-*gōtra* who were among the Brāhmaṇas who migrated to Sylhet—as is inferred from the mention of '*Kātyāyana*' amongst the 10 *gōtras* of the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas⁴ of Sylhet. The Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas designate themselves as "*Maithilas*" (i.e. belonging to Mithilā) and so do most of the Brāhmaṇas even of the modern Kāmṛp, who, as well as the Sāmpradāyikas, follow the *smṛiti* (law) of the Mithilā school. It is quite possible that in course of time these settlers in Sylhet lost the memory of the place from which they had come, and the oblivion was helped by the eventual loss of the copper-plates which they had taken with them to Sylhet and which have lately been discovered about ten feet below the surface of the earth. Or, it may be that the migrators having belonged originally to Mithilā gave themselves out as '*Maithila*' when they settled in Sylhet.

One thing worth remarking in these two plates is the abbreviations used: '*Svā*' is written for *Svāmī*,⁵ '*amśa*' for '*ek-amśa*' and '*gōtr-amśa*' for '*gōtra-sahit=ādhy-arādh-amśa*'. A remark made in my previous article regarding the defective nature of the *Āryā* metre which has been copiously used in these inscriptions, should be amended here: the remark was based on the

¹ It may be also that the settlers might have been students who had come to Kāmarūpa for study (*vide* extract from Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, above).

² In the copper-plate inscriptions of Vanamālādēva (*vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1840, pp. 786 *et seq.*) we find '*Chandrapari*' south-east of the grant, a village named Abhisuravalaka, west of Trisrōtā. This '*Trisrōtā*' is the modern '*Teesta*', a river in Rangpur, Bengal, and is a little east of the river Karatōyā. If this Chandrapari be the Chandrapuri (*pari* in Vanamāla's inscriptions may be an error of the reader for *puri*, and the reading is full of errors) of Bhāskaravarman's inscriptions, within which district the grant was situated, then what has been stated here would become substantiated.

³ In fact in my former article '*Gāṅginikā*' was deemed as one of the factors in coming to the decision that the grant belonged to Karṇa-Suvarṇa (*vide* footnote No. 3, p. 86, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII).

⁴ These ten *gōtras* are: Vatsa, Vātsya, Bharadvāja, Kṛṣṇātrēya, Parāśara, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Maudgalya, Svarṇa-Kauśika and Gautama. Of these, seven *gōtras* are found mentioned in the plates, exactly as stated above: '*Vatsa*' and '*Parāśara*' are mentioned in the plate as '*Vātsa*' and '*Pārāsarya*' (onomatopoeic forms): while the remaining *gōtra*, viz., '*Svarṇa-Kauśika*,' is evidently represented by '*Kauśika*' in the plates, as the razzification of the *gōtra* into '*svarṇa*,' '*rajata*,' '*ghṛita*,' etc., did not probably take place then.

⁵ The form *Svā* has in every case been taken as an abbreviation of *Svāmī* (in the nominative case singular) as is clear from l. 11 where Sādhāraṇasvāmī occurs as the attribute of *amśa dvaya bhōkṣā*.

prosodical test of verse No. 8 in which there was something wrong in the 2nd foot—that could not be improved by any tentative reading. The other verses seem to be all right and conform to the rules of prosody.

TEXT.¹*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 [li]ṅgana² -prakaṭit-ābhikā(gā)m[i]ka³-guṇ-ānurāga-vṛttiḥ Kal[i]yuga-parākram-ākalita-vigra-
- 2 hasya samuchchhā(chchhvā)sa iva Bhagavatō Dharmmasya nayasy-ādhishṭhānam-āspadam guṇānām nidhiḥ
- 3 prapayinām-upaghaṇaḥ santrastānām śrī-sampadām-āyatanam Vasumatī-suta-kram-ādhi-
- 4 gata-pada-samutkarṣa(rṣh=ā)darshi(rśi)ta-prabhāva-śaktir-mMahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-Bhāskaravarmma-
- 5 dēvaḥ kuśalī || Chandrapuri-vishayē varttamāna-bhāvinō vishaya-patīn=adhikara-
- 6 ṇāni cha samājñāpayati [i*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētaḍ-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Mayu(ū)-ra-
- 7 śālmal-āgrahāra-kshētram(tram) rājñā śrī-Bhūtiavarmmaṇā tāmrapaṭṭikṛitam yata[t] tat-tāmra-paṭṭ-ābhā-
- 8 vāt=karadam=iti Mahārāja(jēna) Jyēshṭhabhadra(drān) vijñāpya punar=asy=ābhinamra(va)-paṭṭakaraṇāya śāsam(sa)-
- 9 nam datvā(ttṛvā) chandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālam=akiñchit-pragrāhyatayā bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna pūrva-bhō-
- 10 ktu(ktṛi)-Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ⁴ pratipāditam yattra(tra) Brāhmaṇā(ṇa)-nāmāni Prāchētasō Vājasanēyi-paṭṭakapa-
- 11 tiḥ aṇśa(aṇśa)⁵-dvaya-bhōktā Sādhāraṇasvā[mī]⁶ || Śrivasu(sur)=bhrāṭṛi-ttra(tra)yēṇa⁷ ēkō=āśa(h) || Sōmavasus(sur)=bhartṛisāhitō-rddh-āśa[h] ||
- 12 Kātyāyana-Chchha(ś=Chhā)n. 'ōgō Manōratha-svā chaturth-āśa-hinō-dvir-aṇśa[h] paṭṭakapati[h*] || Arddh-āśa(sō) Vishṇughōsha-[svā] [i*]
- 13 Vēdaghōsha-svā ēk-āśa[h*] || Yāskō Bāhvṛichō(chyō) Dāmadēva-svā aṇśa[h*] || Ghōshadēva-svā arddh-āśa[h*] || Nandadē-
- 14 [va-svā] arddh-āśa[h*] || Bhāradvāja-Chchhāndōg-Ōrkadatta(ttō) gōttra(tra)-sahit-ādhyardh-āśa[h*] || Tusṭidatta-svā arddh-ā-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 āśa[h] || Kāśyapa-sagōtra-Vājasanēyi-Rishidāma-svā aṇśa[h*] || Śubhadāma-svā aṇśa[h*] || Kautsō Vājasanē-
- 16 yi-Śani(nai)ścharabhūti[r*]-gōttr-āśa[h*] || Bāhvṛichō(chyō) Gaurātr[ē]ya-Saṅkarṣaṇa-svā dvir-aṇśa[h*] || Nara-svā aṇśa[h*] || Nārāyaṇa-

¹ From ink impressions.

² The portion of the compound in the preceding plate is =*acchālita-nirantara-prapaya-rasa-bhar=ākṛṣhita-Kāmarūpa-Lakṣmī=saṁā*, where the last two words must be *Lakṣmī-samā*; see above, Vol. XII, p. 75.

³ For the qualities called *ābhigāmika-guṇaḥ* see the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, iv. vv. 6-8 and Fleet, *Cor. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 169 n.

⁴ It should be noted here that both *ba* and *va* are written exactly alike in these inscriptions: so the same letter has been transliterated as '*ba*' or '*va*' as the case requires.

⁵ *aṇśa* is often spelt '*aṇśa*'; as the correction is apparent it has been left uncorrected after this.

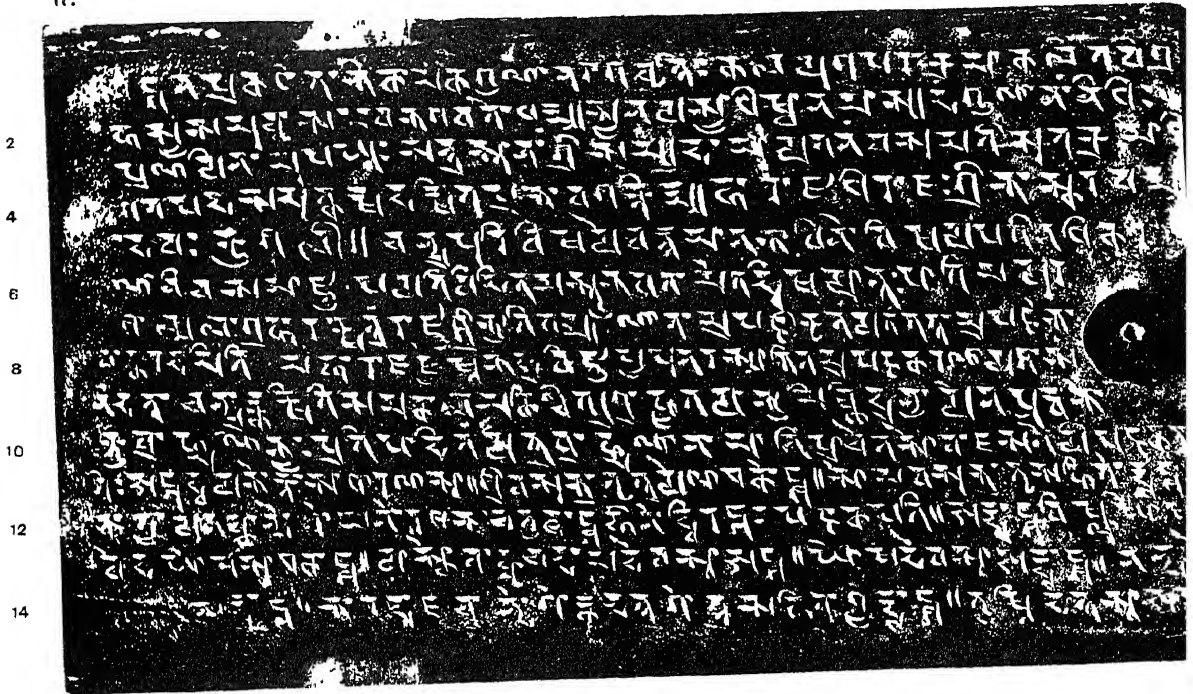
⁶ *Svā*, as already stated, is apparently an abbreviation of *Svāmī* and has been left as such (*i.e.* unamended) after this.

⁷ [Here *sahitaḥ* seems to be understood. — Ed.]

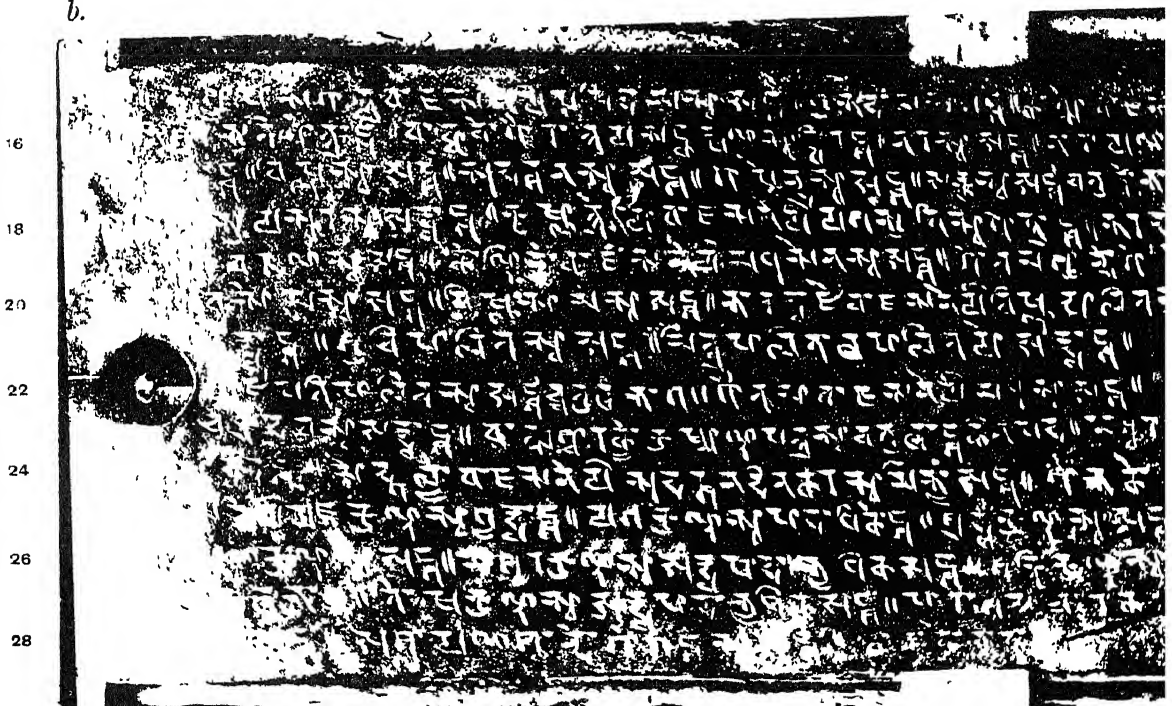
TWO LOST PLATES OF THE NIDHANPUR COPPER PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

THIRD PLATE.

a.



b.



(From photographs).

Penultimate Plate.

a.

30 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 32 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 34 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 36 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 38 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 40 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

b.

42	...	42
44	...	44
46	...	46
48	...	48
50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54

(From impressions).

- 17 svā arddh-āṇśa[h*] || Viṣṇu-svā āṇśa[h*] || Sudarśana-svā āṇśa[h*] || Gōpēndra-svā āṇśa[h*] || Arkka-svā āṇśā[ch*]=chaturthō bhāgaḥ
- 18 Bhānu-svā [a*]rddh-āṇśa[h*] || Bhūyaskari-svā arddh-āṇśa[h*] || Kṛishṇātrēyō Vāja-
sanēyi-Yāsa(śō)bhūti-svā ||¹ gōttrā(trā)-āṇśa[h*] || Bhāradvāja-
- 19 ś=Chhāndōgō Varuṇa-svā āṇśa[h*] || Kauṇḍinyō Vājasanēyi-Madhusēna-svā āṇśa[h*] ||
Gautamaś=Chhāndōgō
- 20 Dhruvaśōma-svā āṇśa[h*] || Viṣṇuśōma-svā āṇśa[h*] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-
Viṣṇupālita-svā
- 21 [a*]dhy-arddh-āṇśa[h*] || Śuchipālita-svā āṇśa[h*] || Mittrapālita-Ārthapālitayō[h*]
arddh-āṇśa[h*] ||
- 22 Prajāpatipālita-svā āṇśāch=chaturtha-bhāga[h*] || Gautamō Vājasanēyi-Madhu-svā
āṇśa[h*] ||
- 23 Chakradēva-svā ardh-āṇśa[h*] || Vātsaś=Chārakyō(aḥ) Kūshmāṇḍapattrā(tra)-svā
chaturth-āṇśa-hīna-pa(pā)da[h*] || I(Ī)śvara-
- 24 datta-svā dvir-āṇśa[h*] || Maudgalyō(a)-Vājasanēyi(yi)-Sudarśana-Dinakara-svāmibhyām:
āṇśa[h*] || Śaṁbha(na²)kō
- 25 Vājasanēyi-Yajñakuṇḍa-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-āṇśa[h*] || Yāsa[h*]kuṇḍa-svā pād-ādhikō-
āṇśa[h*] || Śrāddhakuṇḍa-svā āṇśa[h*] ||
- 26 Nārāyaṇakuṇḍa-svā āṇśa[h*] || I(Ī)śvarakuṇḍa-svā arddhapād-ābhyadhika(ō)-āṇśa[h*] ||
Śaktikuṇḍa-svā
- 27 āṇśāch=chaturtha-bhāga[h*] || Tōshakuṇḍa-svā arddhapād-ābhyadhika(ō)-āṇśa[h*] ||
Pārāśaryya-Chārakah
- 28 Sādhu-svā āṇśa[h*] || A(Ā)ś(śva)lāyaṇa(na)ś=Chhāndōgō Gaṅga-svā āṇśa[h*] || Vārāh
Bā[h*]vṛichyō Nara⁴(?)-svā āṇśa[h*] ||

Penultimate Plate ; First Side.

- 29 Śa(ā)laṅkāyanō Vājasanēyi-Sūrya-svā āṇśa[h*] | Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-Bhavadēva-svā
āṇśa[h*] |
- 30 Śarvadēva-svā āṇśa[h*] [|*] Gōmidēva-svā arddh-[ā]ṇśa[h*] | Sa(ā)vittra(tra)dēva-svā
dvir-āṇśa[h*] | Arkadēva-svā arddh-āṇśa[h*] |
- 31 Sādhāraṇa-svā āṇśāch=chatur⁵-bhāga[h*] | Gā[r*]gyō Vājasanēyi-Dāmarāta-svā āṇśa[h*]
|| [|*] Bhāradva(dvā)jō
- 32 Vājasanēyi-Vasudatta-svā dvir-āṇśa[h*] || Ālambāyanō Va(Vā)jasanēyi-Jā(Yā)gēśvara-
svā dvir-āṇśa[h*] |
- 33 Viśvēśvara-svā āṇśa[h*] | Divyēśvara-svā āṇśa[h*] | Gaṇēśvara-svā āṇśa[h*] |
Buddhēśvara-svā āṇśa[h*] |
- 34 Jaṭēśvar-Āṅgēśvarābhyām(m) āṇśa[h*] | Dhō(Dha)ntēśvara-svā āṇśāch=chatur⁵-bhāga[h*] ||
Māghēśvara-svā a[m*]śāch=chatur⁵-bha(ā)ga[h*] ||
- 35 Jāhnē(hnavi)śvara-svā arddh-a(ā)ṇśa[h*] || Nandēśvara-svā āṇśa[h*] | Āṅgīrasō
Vājasanēyi-Dāmabhūti-

¹ [Daṇḍas are unnecessary.—Ed.]

² The 'm' at the end of a word should not be changed into *m̐* (*anusvāra*) when followed by a word begin-
ning with a vowel: yet such a change is seen here and also in some other places (e.g. l. 39 *°bhyām*
arddhāṇśaḥ). [But the plate reads *bhyaḥ*.—Ed.]

³ The letter 'bha' seems to be scratched and probably 'na' was attempted to be incised in its stead.

⁴ The name is illegible, but it seems to be of two syllables whereof the first is like *na*. The name
Nara occurs at another place also (*vide*. l. 16 above).

⁵ [Chaturthō is expected.—Ed.]

- 36 svā aṅśa[h*] | Kāśyapō Bāhvrichcha(chya)[h*] Prakāśavara-sva(ā) bhrātrī-sahitō-
nśa[h*] | Yāskō Vājasanēyi-
37 Gāyatri(ī)pāla-svā aṅśa[h*] Pārāśaryō Bā'hvrichya[h*] Śāntaśarma-svā aṅśa[h*] ||
Kauśikō
38 Bāhvrichya[h*] ||^a Padmadāsa-svā gōtr-aṅśa[h*] || Gōvarddhana-Yajñapāla-Paṇu-
Sudarśanasvāmi-
39 bhyām(m)^a arddh-aṅśaḥ Pāṅkalyās=Chhāndōgō Gōpāla-svā aṅśaḥ || Kāśyapas=
Taitta(tti)riya Ugradatta-svā
40 aṅśaḥ || Bārhaspatyō Bāhvrichyō Bhaṭṭinanta(nda)-svā aṅśaḥ ||^{*} Sādhu-svā
aṅśaḥ || ||^{*} Dēvakula-svā aṅśaḥ ||
41 Janārdana-svā [a*]rddh-aṅśaḥ | Sunayana-Nārāyaṇa-Vṛiddhi-svāmibhyō-rddh-aṅśaḥ ||
Gautamō Bāhvri-

Penultimate Plate ; Second Side.

- 12 chya I[ī]śvarabhaṭṭa-svā aṅśaḥ || Bhṛigu-svā arddh-aṅśaḥ || Bhāradvājō Bāhvrichyō
Rudraghōsha-svā aṅśaḥ | Kātyāyanas=Chārakaḥ Kauśikō-
13 ma-svā aṅśaḥ || Gautamō Vājasanēyi-Prabhākarakīrti-svā aṅśaḥ || Śāṇḍilyō Vājasanēyi-
Ananda(ṇṭa)-svā aṅśa[h*] | |
44 Śaunakō Bāhvrichyō Gatibhaṭṭi-svā aṅśaḥ || Tēja-bhaṭṭi-svā aṅśaḥ || Mana(ntra)ghōsha-
Tējabhaṭṭi-Nandabhū-
45 ti-svāmibhyām (bhyā)[m=a*]rddh-aṅśaḥ || Dāmabhaṭṭi-svā aṅśaḥ || Mēdhabhaṭṭi-svā
aṅśaḥ || Sumatibhaṭṭi-svā aṅśaḥ ||
46 Suyōgabhaṭṭi-svā aṅśaḥ || Vātsya-Bāhvrichyō(aś)=Śāśvatadāma-svā aṅśa[h*] || Gauta-
maś=Chhāndōgō Tōsha-svā
47 aṅśaḥ || Vārāhō Bāhvrichyō Bhaṭṭihara-svā aṅśaḥ || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-
Nāgadatta-svā [a*]rddh-aṅśaḥ ||
48 Ālambāyanō Dūrvēśvara-svā bhrātrā saḥ=ārdh-aṅśaḥ || Bhāradvājō Rūpādhyā-svā
[a*]rddh-aṅśaḥ || Kō(Kau)śika-
49 Bāhvrichyō(chya)-Chandradāsa-Vimarddanadāsa-svāminōr=ēkō=nśaḥ || Kās[y*]apō Vāja-
sanēyi-
50 Supratishṭhita-svā aṅśaḥ || Gautama(ō) Nandana-svā aṅśaḥ || Śākatāyanō(as)=Tōsha-svā
51 arddh-aṅśaḥ || Gautama-Kāśyapaya(yō)[s*]=Śārāsa-Vakula-svāminōr=ēkō=nśaḥ || Bhā-
radvājō(ja)-Vidūsha-
52 svāminō(r-a)arddh-aṅśaś=ch=ēti || Bali-charu-satr-ōpayōgāya sapt=aṅśa[h*] || Yad-
ētat=Ko(Kau)śik=ōpachitaka-kshētram
53 tat=pra(pha)la[m*] pratigīāhaka-chrā(Brā)hmaṇānām=ēva yat=tu Gaṅgiṇy=upachitaka-
kshētram tad=yathā-likhita-
54 ka-Brāhmaṇai[s*]=samam vibhajyatām=iti || Śimānō yatra pūrvēṇa Śushka-Kauśikā ||
Pūrva-dakshi-
55 nēna s=aiva Śushka-Kauśikā Dumbarīchchhēda-samva(mvē)dyā Dakṣiṇēn=āpi Dumvari
chchha(chchhē)da[h*] || Dakṣiṇa-⁴

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

To whom was exhibited, with a fast embrace, the course of love for the *ābhigāma-ka-*
*guṇas*⁵ [by the Lakshmi of Kāmarūpa drawn by an excessive sentiment of constant

¹ The letter *va* (or *ba*) has also the *ri*-sign added to it at the bottom.

² [*Danḍas* are superfluous.—Ed.]

³ [But the reading seems to be °*bhyā*, not °*bhyām*.—Ed.]

⁴ For *paśchīmēna*, etc., see the last plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 75).

⁵ Fleet translated it as 'the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind.' See references in foot-note 3 on p. 118 above.

affection]¹ who is, as it were, the breath of the holy Dharma whose person has been seized by the powerful Kali (Iron age), the abode of Politics and good qualities, the receptacle of friends, the shelter of the terrified, the abode of good luck, whose dignified power was shown by the elevated rank obtained in order of succession from (Naraka) the son of Vasumatī (Earth)—the king of kings, the illustrious **Bhāskaravarman**, in sound health, commands the present and the future district officers, as well as the courts of justice in the district of **Chandrapuri** (*thus*) : let this be known to you (*all*)—that the land of the **Mayūrasālmal-āgrahāra** (grant to Brāhmaṇas) lying within this district granted by issuing a copper-plate charter by king **Bhūti-varman** has become liable to revenue on account of the loss of the copper-plates, so by the Mahārāja having informed the senior respectable persons² (*and*) having issued orders for making a fresh copper-plate grant, the land has been awarded to the Brāhmaṇas who had been enjoying the grant already in the manner of *bhūmi-chhidra*,³ so that no tax is levied on it as long as the sun, the moon and the earth will endure. These are the names of the Brāhmaṇas (donees).⁴ For *balī* (worship), *charu* (oblation) and *satra* (hospitality) seven shares are allotted. The produce of the land that is increased by the Kauśikā (*river*) will go to the Brāhmaṇas, the donees of the grant, but the land which is enlarged by the Gaṅgiṇī shall be equally divided by the Brāhmaṇas as recorded.⁵ These are the boundaries—to the east, lies the dried Kauśikā, to the south-east, that very Kauśikā marked by a (piece of) hewn fig tree, to the south even, a (piece of) hewn fig tree, to the south-west, etc., *vide* the last plate.

Serial No. ⁶	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
1	Vājasaneyin (i.e., Yajurvedin).	Prāchētasa . .	Sādhāraṇa-svāmin (<i>paṭṭakapati</i> , i.e., holder of the copper-plates).	2
2, 3, 4, 5	Do. . .	Do. ⁷ . .	Śrīvasu with his three brothers . .	1
6, 7	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sōmavasū with his master ⁸ . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Contains translation of the preceding portion of the compound (*vide* foot-note 2 on page 118 above).

² The reading in the text may be—*Mahārāja-Jyēsthābhadrā-vijñaptā* in which case the meaning will be 'at the request of Mahārāja-Jyēsthābhadrā.'

³ 'Chhidra' means 'land not fit for cultivation' (*vide* Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanī*, Bhūmikāṇḍa-Vaiśy-ādhyāya—Verse 18) : 'bhūmi-' or 'bhū' prefixed to 'chhidra,' is merely expletive. In the copper-plate grant of Vaidyadēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 353, l. 51) we find '*bhūchchhidra-ācha akūchhikaragrāhyam*' which indicates the meaning of 'bhūmi (or bhū-)chchhidra-nyāyēna' in copper-plate inscriptions : 'like a (worthless) plot of land unfit for cultivation'. Such land when granted would naturally be exempted from assessment of revenue. [See Mr. K. M. Gupta's interesting note on the words *bhūmichchhidra* and *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 77-79.—Ed.]

⁴ See the list at the end.

⁵ This special treatment of the accretions to the Kauśikā and the Gaṅgiṇī most probably shows that in the time of King Bhūti-varman these boundary rivers had been streams with current and in the course of a century and quarter they became (in Bhāskaravarman's time) so much denuded of current that one got the qualifying term *bushka* (dried) prefixed to it and the other had the name Gaṅgiṇikā (meaning the bed of the dried river) given to it. In such circumstances, it is impossible now, after a lapse of more than fourteen centuries from Bhūti-varman's time, to identify the locality of the grant with the help of the description of the boundary.

⁶ The serial number, of course, is not to be found in the plates.

⁷ Where there is no mention of the Vēda or the gōtra, it has been supposed that the immediately preceding one holds good for the case.

⁸ When the number is not stated, only one individual has been presumed and the serial number also put accordingly.

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
8	Chhândōga (i.e., Sāmavedin).	Kātyāyana . .	Manōrathasvāmin (<i>paṭṭakapati</i>) . .	1½
9	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇughōṣha-svāmin	½
10	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vēdaghōṣha-svāmin	1
11	Bāhvīchya (i.e., Rīgvēdin).	Yaska . .	Dāmadēva-svāmin	1 ¹
12	Do. . .	Do. . .	Ghōṣhadēva-svāmin	½
13	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nandadēva-svāmin	½
14	Chhândōga . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Arkadatta-svāmin with his clan share . .	1½
15	Do. . .	Do. . .	Tushṭidatta-svāmin	½
16	Vājasaneyin . .	Kāśyapa . .	Rishidāma-svāmin	1
17	Do. . .	Do. . .	Subhadāma-svāmin	1
18	Do. . .	Kautsa . .	Śanaśchara-bhūti	1½ ²
19	Bāhvīchya . .	Gaurātrēya . .	Śaṅkarshaṇa-svāmin	(clan share) 2
20	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nara-svāmin	1
21	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nārāyaṇa-svāmin	½
22	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇu-svāmin	1
23	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sudarśana-svāmin	1
24	Do. . .	Do. . .	Gōpēndra-svāmin	1
25	Do. . .	Do. . .	Arka-svāmin	½
26	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhānu-svāmin	½
27	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhūyaskara-svāmin	½
28	Vājasaneyin . .	Kṛishṇātrēya . .	Yasōbhūti-svāmin	1½
29	Chhândōga . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Varuṇa-svāmin	(clan share) 1
30	Vājasaneyin . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	Madhusēna-svāmin	1
31	Chhândōga . .	Gautama . .	Dhruvasōma-svāmin	1
32	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇusōma-svāmin	1
33	Vājasaneyin . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vishṇupālita-svāmin	1½
34	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śuchi-pālita-svāmin	1
35, 36	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mitrāpālita and Arthapālita	½
37	Do. . .	Do. . .	Prajāpatipālita-svāmin	½

¹ When only 'amśaḥ' (share) is stated, 'one share' has been presumed: in the preceding case (serial 10) *ekāmśaḥ* (one share) is clearly mentioned; but for brevity's sake *ēka* (one) has been omitted in subsequent cases.

² *Gōtrāmśaḥ' (clan share) seems to be an abbreviation of 'gōtra-sahit-ādhy-arāṇ-āmśaḥ' (one and half shares with clan share), as in serial No. 14 above; so here, as also in other places, 'gōtrāmśaḥ' is taken to mean 1½ shares. It is not, however, clear what 'gōtrāmśaḥ' indicates: it is given only in a few cases either to the sole representative of a gōtra or to the head of the gōtra.

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra,	Name.	Share.
38	Vājasanēym . .	Gautama . .	Madhu-svāmin	1
39	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Chakradēva-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
40	Chārakya (i.e., Yaj- urvēdin). ¹	Vātsa	Kūshmāṇḍapatra-svāmin	$\frac{1}{16}$
41	Do. . . .	Do	Īśvaradatta-svāmin	2
42, 43	Vājasanēyin . .	Maudgalya . .	Sudarśana and Dīnakara-svāmins	1
44	Do. . . .	Śaumbhaka (? Śaunaka)	Yajñakuṇḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
45	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Yasōkuṇḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
46	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Śrāddhakuṇḍa-svāmin	1
47	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Nārāyaṇakuṇḍa-svāmin	1
48	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Īśvarakuṇḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{4}$
49	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Śaktikuṇḍa-svāmin	$\frac{1}{4}$
50	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Tōshakuṇḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{4}$
51	Chāraka	Pārāsārya . .	Sādhu-svāmin	1
52	Chhāndōga . . .	Āśvalāyana . .	Ganga-svāmin	1
53	Bāhvichya . . .	Vārāha	Nara-svāmin	1
54	Vājasanēyin . .	Śālanākāyana . .	Sūryya-svāmin	1
55	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Bhavadēva-svāmin	1
56	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Śarvadēva-svāmin	1
57	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Gōmidēva-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
58	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sāvitrādēva-svāmin	2
59	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Arkadēva-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
60	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sādhāraṇa-svāmin	$\frac{1}{4}$
61	Do. . . .	Gārgya	Dāmarāta-svāmin	1
62	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vasudatta-svāmin	2
63	Do. . . .	Ālambāyana . .	Yāgēśvara-svāmin	2
64	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Viśvēśvara-svāmin	1
65	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Divyēśvara-svāmin	1
66	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Gaṇēśvara-svāmin	1
67	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Buddhēśvara-svāmin	1
68, 69	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Jatēśvara and Aṅgēśvara-svāmins	1
70	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Dhautēśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{4}$

¹ It is stated in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* that Chāraka was a disciple of Vaiśampāyana who was a Yajurvēdin (vide verses 52 and 61 of Chap. VI, Sk. XII).

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
71	Vāsanēyin . .	Ālambāyana . .	Māghēśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{4}$
72	Do. . .	Do. . .	Jāhnavīśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{4}$
73	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nandēśvara-svāmin	1
74	Do. . .	Āngīrasa . .	Dāmabhūti-svāmin	1
75, 76	Bāhvrichya . .	Kāśyapa . .	Prakāśvara-svāmin with brother .	1
77	Vājasanēyin . .	Yāska . .	Gāyatripāla-svāmin	1
78	Bāhvrichya . .	Pārāśarya . .	Śāntaśarma-svāmin	1
79	Do. . .	Kauśika . .	Padmadāsa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
80, 81	Do. . .	Do. . .	Gōvardhana Yajñapāla and Paṇu Sudar- śana-svāmīna. ¹	(clan share), $\frac{1}{2}$
82	Chhāndōga . .	Pāṅkalya . .	Gōpāla-svāmin	1
83	Taittirīya (Yajur- vēdin).	Kāśyapa . .	Ugradatta-svāmin	1
84	Bāhvrichya . .	Vārhaspatya . .	Bhaṭṭinanda-svāmin	1
85	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sādhu-svāmin	1
86	Do. . .	Do. . .	Dēvakula-svāmin	1
87	Do. . .	Do. . .	Janārdana-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
88, 89, 90	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sunayana, Nārāyaṇa and Vṛddhi- svāmīna.	$\frac{1}{2}$
91	Do. . .	Gautama . .	Iśvarabhaṭṭa-svāmin	1
92	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhṛigu-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
93	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Rudraghōsha-svāmin	1
94	Chāraka . .	Kātyāyana . .	Kauśisōma-svāmin	1
95	Vājasanēyin . .	Gautama . .	Prabhākarakirtti-svāmin	1
96	Do. . .	Śāṇḍilya . .	Ananta-svāmin	1
97	Bāhvrichya . .	Saunaka . .	Gatibhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
98	Do. . .	Do. . .	Tējabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
99 & 100	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mantraghōsha, Tējabhaṭṭi and Nandi- bhūti-svāmīna. ²	$\frac{1}{2}$
101	Do. . .	Do. . .	Dāmabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
102	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mēdhabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
103	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sumatibhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
104	Do. . .	Do. . .	Suyōgabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1

¹ If it were not for the dual sign 'bhāyā' after these names, these would be considered as three persons and not four. This 'bhāyā', however, may be an error for 'bhāyō', as 'am' and 'ō' marks are easily interchangeable (vide inscription, penultimate plate, ll 38 and 39). [See f. n. 3 on p. 120 above.—Ed.]

² Mantraghōsha (or Mandraghōsha)—the word in the plate is Managhōsha [or Mañju.—Ed.]—seems to be an adjective to Tējabhaṭṭi, probably to distinguish him from the preceding Tējabhaṭṭi (serial No. 98).

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
105	Bāhvrichya . .	Vātsya . . .	Śāśvatadāma-svāmin	1
106	Chhāndōga . .	Gautama . . .	Tōsha-svāmin	1
107	Bāhvrichya . .	Vārāha . . .	Bhaṭṭihara-svāmin	1
108	Vājasanēyin . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Nāgadatta-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
109, 110	Do. . . .	Ālambāyana . .	Dūrvēśvara-svāmin with brother . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
111	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Rūpādhyā-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
112, 113	Bāhvrichya . .	Kauśika . . .	Chandradāsa and Vimardanadāsa-svāmīns	1
114	Vājasanēyin . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Supratishṭhita-svāmin	1
115	Do. . . .	Gautama . . .	Nandana-svāmin	1
116	Do. . . .	Śākatāyana . .	Tōsha-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
117, 118	Do. . . .	Gautama and Kāśyapa.	Sarasa and Vakula-svāmīns	1
119	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vidūsha-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$

No. 20.—THE SECOND HALF OF A VALABHI GRANT OF SAMVAT 210.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., RAJKOT.

The plate published below was discovered in 1894 in [the small town of **Iyāveja** which lies 10 miles to the south-west of Pālitāna in the Gohelwār *prānt* of Kāthiawār. It was found by Mr. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., the Administrator of the Pālitāna State some years ago, and is now preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. As is clearly shown by the measurements, the distance between the holes of the ring, the characters and the opening words, it must be the second half of the grant the first half of which has already appeared in Vol. XVII, pp. 108 ff., of this journal,

The present plate, containing 15 lines of writing in clear and bold characters, is like the first one in an excellent state of preservation. There are comparatively few grammatical mistakes found in the inscription. The *sandhi* rules are many times not observed. The sign for *upadh-mānīya* is found in lines 2, 5 and 6.

The grant issued by Dhruvasēna I, as may be seen from the first plate¹ and from the year 210 in this plate, when as many as four other grants² were issued by him, makes a gift in the follow-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 108.

² (1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 255.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 130 and *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 109.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 130 and *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 112.

(4) *J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S., Vol. I)*, p. 65.

ing way : (a) a hundred *pādāvartas* in the south-east quarter of the village **Bhadrēṇikā** in the **Surāṣṭrā** to a Brāhmaṇa named Śāntīśarman, resident of **Nagaraka** and of the **Ātrēya-gṛā**¹ and the **Vājasanēya-sākhā**, (b) a hundred *pādāvartas* as well as a *vāpībhōllara* with an area of twelve *pādāvartas* in the same quarter, to Dēvaśarman, brother of the same (Brāhmaṇa).

The meaning of *vāpībhōllara* cannot be definitely given, but it seems to denote 'an unused well filled with earth'.

The *Dūtaka* who executed the present grant was **Rudradhara**. It may be mentioned that in the grants of Dhruvasēna I, preceding the present one, the *Dūtaka* is found to be Mammaka, while in this and in the subsequent grants he is Rudradhara. The writer, as in the preceding and the subsequent grants of the king, is **Kikkaka**.

TEXT.²

- 1 सनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे तथा अस्यैव भ्रात्रे देवशर्मणे अस्यामेव सोमि
- 2 पादावर्तशतं वापीभोन्नरं च द्वादशपादावर्तपरिसरं मया मातापित्रो
⊕ पुण्याप्याय-
- 3 ना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावासिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्कणैवक्षितिस्थि-
तिसरि-
- 4 त्वर्व्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं बलिचरुवैश्य(श्च)देवादयानां क्रियाणा[']*
समुत्स-
- 5 र्पणार्थमुदकातिसर्गेण निवृष्टं यतो न यो⊕ पूर्व्वब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतोः कषतो[']*
- 6 कर्षाप्रयत्नी⊕प्रदिशतीर्ष्वा न कैश्चित्स्वल्पाप्यावाधा विचारणा वा कार्या-
स्मदंशजैश्चा-
- 7 गामिनृपतिभिरपि अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि अस्मिन् मानुषं स[र्व*]सामान्यं भूमि-
दानम्।³
- 8 लं(ल)मवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्वयोनुमन्तव्यः यश्चाच्छिन्वादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदे[त*]
- 9 स पंचभिः महाप[1*]तकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तस्यादिति— अपि चात्र-
व्यासगोत-
- 10 श्लोका भवन्ति— षष्ठिं(ष्टिं) ॥⁴षंसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
आच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च
- 11 तान्येष नरके वसेत्—[॥ १*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां [1*]
स⁵ गवां शतसहस्र-
- 12 स्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किरिप(स्त्रि)षम् [॥ २*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्यवस्य

¹ So much account of the first grantee is known from the first plate. This must be read in continuation of text l. 15 on p. 109 of this journal, Vol. XVII.

² From the original plate.

³ Read व in place of ॥.

⁴ Danda is superfluous.

⁵ [Superfluous.—Ed.]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 कुरु मे प्रसादं त्वत्प्रेमाभासेन ॥ अथ श्रीभक्तप्रिया
 नामाष्टौ ॥ १ ॥ भक्त्या यदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा
 तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ २ ॥ भक्त्या यदा भगवन्
 पश्यति सदा तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ ३ ॥ भक्त्या
 यदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ ४ ॥
 भक्त्या यदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ ५ ॥
 भक्त्या यदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ ६ ॥
 भक्त्या यदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ ७ ॥
 भक्त्या यदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा तदा भगवन् पश्यति सदा ॥ ८ ॥

- 13 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलमिति(म् ॥ ३ इति) = सं २०० १०
भ(१*)द्रपद वदि ६ . . [१*]
14 स्वहस्तो मम महासामन्तमहाराजध्वसेनस्य— दूतको रुद्रधरः [१*] लिखितं
किक(क)-
15 केन [१*]

No. 21.—THE SOHAWAL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA
SARVANATHA—THE YEAR 191.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription, which is published here for the first time, was discovered at **Sohāwal** in the Baghelkhand tract of the Central India Agency. It records a grant engraved on two **copper-plates**, which were brought to the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, by Thākur Sāheb Gopal Singh of Kharwā (in Ajmer-Merwāra) for decipherment. An abstract of the contents of the inscription was published by Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha, Curator of the Museum, in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924.

The copper-plates are bored at the top, and their thick as well as somewhat raised edges have largely contributed towards the excellent preservation of the writing on them. The **ring**, which must have passed through the hole, and the **seal**, if there was any, are missing. The first plate bears inscription on one side only, while the other on both the sides, though it contains only five lines of writing on the back. The plates measure $7\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{5}{8}"$ each and weigh about $2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. or 95 tolas. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}"$.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets (*Gupta-lipi*), being almost similar to those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Excepting the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses which occur in ll. 21-27, the document is written in **Sanskrit** prose.

As regards **orthography**, some of the points may be noted here :—

- (1) Consonants are mostly doubled when combined (i) with a superscript *r*, as for instance, in °श्रव्नेनायः (l. 7), °चन्द्राक्ष° (l. 9), °वर्जितः (l. 10), गत्ती (l. 32), कईमिला° or °आवर्त्त° (l. 33), etc.; and (ii) with a subscript *r*, as in पुत्त° (ll. 1, 2, 4, etc.), °विग्रहिक° (l. 29), यत्त (l. 32), etc. (2) The conjunct consonant **ह** is employed with the subscript *y* in °अनुव्यातो (ll. 3, 4, 5 and 6); (3) the occasional use of *ba* for *va*, as in °परदत्ताम्बा (l. 21), सम्बत्सर° (l. 27), and *vice versa*, as in बलि° (l. 15) and °वलाधिकृत° (l. 30); (4) the use of *n* instead of *anusvāra* before *ś*, as in कारुण्य (l. 8), °अस्मद्वन्धो° (l. 17), and before *l* in °दत्तिन्लोप° (l. 19); (5) the use of *n* instead of *ṇ* in प्रायेन (l. 22); and (6) the use of *upadhmāniya* in °सपञ्चभि° (l. 19).

The genealogy given in the record is identical with the one usually found in the grants¹ of Śarvanātha, and the text is also similar.

This inscription is also a charter of Mahārāja Śarvanātha which was issued from Uchchakalpa. Its object is to record that Mahārāja Śarvanātha granted the village of Vaiśyavāṭaka, as an *agrahāra* on certain conditions herein laid down, for the maintenance of the temple of Kūrtukēya, to two individuals named Viśākhadatta and Śakti. The date is given in words and reads as **the year one hundred and ninety-one, and the tenth day of the intercalary month of Āshāḍha (June-July)**. Assuming that the era used is of the Gupta reckoning, the year of the issue of the grant would correspond to 510-511 A.D. The document was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Manōratha, the son of the *Bhōḡika* Varāhadinna (=Skt. Varāhadatta) and the grandson of the *Bhōḡika*, the *Amātya* Phālgudatta, the *Dūkata* being the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the Kshatriya Śivagupta. These persons are identical with those mentioned in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Śarvanātha.²

The Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa ruled over the territories lying to the east and south-east of Bundelkhand (*i.e.*, in Baghelkhand³) at the time when the Parivrājaka Mahārājas ruled over modern Bundelkhand⁴ and its vicinity. Uchchakalpa was probably the name of their capital. The inscriptions of these rulers do not help us much to know the history of their family. These chiefs seem to have been the tributaries of the Vākāṭaka rulers of the Central Provinces⁵ and Northern Deccan.⁷

Till now, four copper-plate inscriptions of Mahārāja Śarvanātha have been discovered. Of these, three are dated in the years 193, 197 and 214, or A.D. 512-13, 516-17 and 533-34 respectively. No document of the successor of Śarvanātha has yet been found. The present grant is the earliest known record for this king.

Antiquarians seem to differ in regard to the era to which the dates of these inscriptions belong. Prof. Kielhorn was inclined to refer them to the Kalachuri era.⁸ R. B. Gourishankar H. Ojha is of opinion that they should be referred to the Gupta and not to the Kalachuri⁹ era, and I quite agree with him. My reason for holding this view is that the stone pillar inscription at Bhumarā¹⁰ makes it certain that Mahārāja Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and Śarvanātha were contemporaries, and the date of Hastin's inscription refers to the Gupta era.¹¹

I am unable to identify Vaiśyavāṭaka, Dandapālī, Gavāyanagartikā and the river Kardamulā mentioned in the document.

¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, Nos. 28 and 29.

² *Ibid.*, No. 30.

³ Fleet's *Gup. Ins.*, p. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 103. Dr. Barnett supposes them to be the feudatories of the Guptas, [*Antiquities of India*, p. 47], while Dr. Fleet, of the Kalachuri kings, [*Gup. Ins.*, p. 8 (preface)]

⁶ Fleet's *Gup. Ins.*, Nos. 55 and 56. Barnett, *Ant. of India*, p. 51.

⁷ वाकाटके राजति द्वेसेने गु[र्वाषकीशे] सुवि हस्तिभोजः[11]

Inscriptions from the cave temples of Western India, by Dr. J. Burgess and Pt. B. Indrajī, p. 89.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 55, C. 337 and 392.

⁹ *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1923-24, p. 2.

¹⁰ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

¹¹ For Dr. Fleet's views on the question see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 228. See Prof. G. J. Dubreuil's remarks on the dates of inscriptions of the Uchchakalpas in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 103.—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 [श्री]² स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पा³ महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धा[तो] महादे[व्यां]
- 2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजकुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
- 3 नुद्धातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजजयस्वामी [।*] त[स्य]
- 4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्यां रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजव्याघ्र[ः] [।*]
- 5 तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्यामज्झितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-
- 6 जयनाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्या⁴ सुरण्डदेव्यामुत्प-
- 7 न्नो महाराजशर्वनाथः कुशली वैश्यवाटके ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बि-
- 8 नस्सर्वकारू⁵न्ध समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदित(तं) वोस्तु यथैष ग्रामो
- 9 मयाचन्द्रार्कसमकालिक[ः] सो]द्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभट-
- 10 प्रावेश्यः हलिकाकरसमेतः चौरदण्डवर्जितः उत्तरापथेय⁶खाथाना-
- 11 पुत्रविशाखदत्तशक्तिभ्यां एतत्पुत्र[पौत्र*]प्रपौत्रतत्पुत्राद्यनुक्रमेण⁷ ताम-
- 12 शासनेनाग्रहारेत्वेनातिस्थष्टः⁸ [।*] आभ्यामपि मया[न]मोदितकं यथो-
- 13 [प]रिलिखितक्रमेणैव स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये स्वप्रतिष्ठापितकभगव⁹त-
- 14 स्वामिकार्त्तिकेयस्वोमिपादानां खण्डफु¹⁰ट्प्रतिस(सं)स्कारकरणाय
- 15 व¹¹लिचरुसत्तगन्धधूपदीपतैलप्रवर्त्तनाय चातिस्थष्टः [।*]

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 ते¹² यूयमेषां समुचितभागभोगकरहिस्ण्यादिप्रत्यायो[प]न[यं] करि-
- 17 यथाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयाश्च भविष्यथ [।*] ये चास्मद्व¹³ग्नोत्पद्यमानकराजान[ः]
- 18 तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया [।*] यथाकालञ्च प्रतिपालनीया [।*]
- 19 समुचितराजाभाव्यकरप्रत्यायाश्च न ग्राह्याः [।*] यःर(इ)मान्द¹⁴त्तिन्लोपयेत्सप-
- 20 च्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते

¹ From the original plate.² Read °कल्पा°महाराजौ°.³ °उत्तरापथेय is not a correct Sanskrit word but it might have been formed on the analogy of ग्रामेय.⁴ Add उपभोगयः after क्रमेण.⁵ Read °भगवत्°.⁶ Read वलि°.⁷ Read °वृष्टि°.⁸ Read दर्त्तं लोपयेत्स पञ्चभिः°.⁹ This is expressed by a symbol.¹⁰ Read °द्व्यां.¹¹ Read °कारुय.¹² Read °सृष्टः.¹³ Read °स्फुटित°.¹⁴ Read तेन.

- 21 भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] ¹स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा² यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठि-
 22 र [1*] महीमहीम³ताञ्जैष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं [॥ 1*] प्रायेन⁴ हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्य-
 23 ते न शुभा गतिः [1*] पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्रयच्छन्तो वसुन्धरां [॥ 2*] बहुभि-
 24 र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 25 तदा फलं [॥ 3*] षष्ठि⁵ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चातु-
 26 मन्ता च तान्येव नर[के] व⁶सक्तर्वस्यसमृद्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [1*]
 27 श्वविष्टायां क्षमिर्भू[वा] पितृभिस्तद् मज्जते [॥ 5*] लिखितं सम्बत्सर-
 28 शतं एकनवत्युत्तरे द्विराष्टमासदिवसे दशमे भोगिकफालगु-
 29 दत्तामात्यनम्ना भोगिकवराहदिनपुत्रेण महासान्निविग्र्यद्विक-
 30 मनोरथेन [1*] दूतक⁷महावलाधिकृतचक्षियशिवगुप्तः [1*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 हलिकाकरप्रतिमोचनाभिलेखायानेपि दूतकः उपरिक-
 32 मातृशिवः [1*] आघाटाः यत्न उत्तरस्यां दिशि गत्ता यावत्सन्मुखः [1*]⁸
 33 पूर्वण कर्दमिलानदी दक्षिणेन गत्ता पुनः पुनरावर्त्तकेन यावत्सन्मुखः⁹
 34 गवायनगृत्तिकाग्रामसमीपे कच्छको मध्य[मे]¹⁰ गत्तायाः दक्षिणामुखी
 35 दण्डपाली ग्रामस्य पश्चिमे[न] यावदपरा गत्तेति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-8. Ōm ! Hail ! From *Uchchakalpa*—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, born of the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, born of the Mahādēvi Jayasvāminī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, born of the Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, born of the Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, the Mahārāja Sarvanātha, born of Mahādēvi Murundadēvi, being in good health, issues a command to Brahmans and others, householders, and all the artisans at (the village of) *Vaiśyavātaka*—

Ll. 8-12. " Be it known to you that this village is granted by me in a copper edict as an *agrahāra* to *Viśākhadatta* and *Śakti*, sons of *Khāthānā* of *Uttarāpatha*, (to be enjoyed by) their sons, (grandsons), great-grandsons and their sons, (and) to last as long as the moon and the sun will endure (i.e., in perpetuity), with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with (the right to) taxes on ploughs, (but) with the exception of (the right to) fines imposed on thieves.

¹ The metre of this and the following four verses is *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read परदत्ता वा.

³ Read महीमयां श्रेष्ठ.

⁴ Read प्रायेण.

⁵ Read षष्ठि.

⁶ Read वसन्त. [॥ 4*] सर्व्व°.

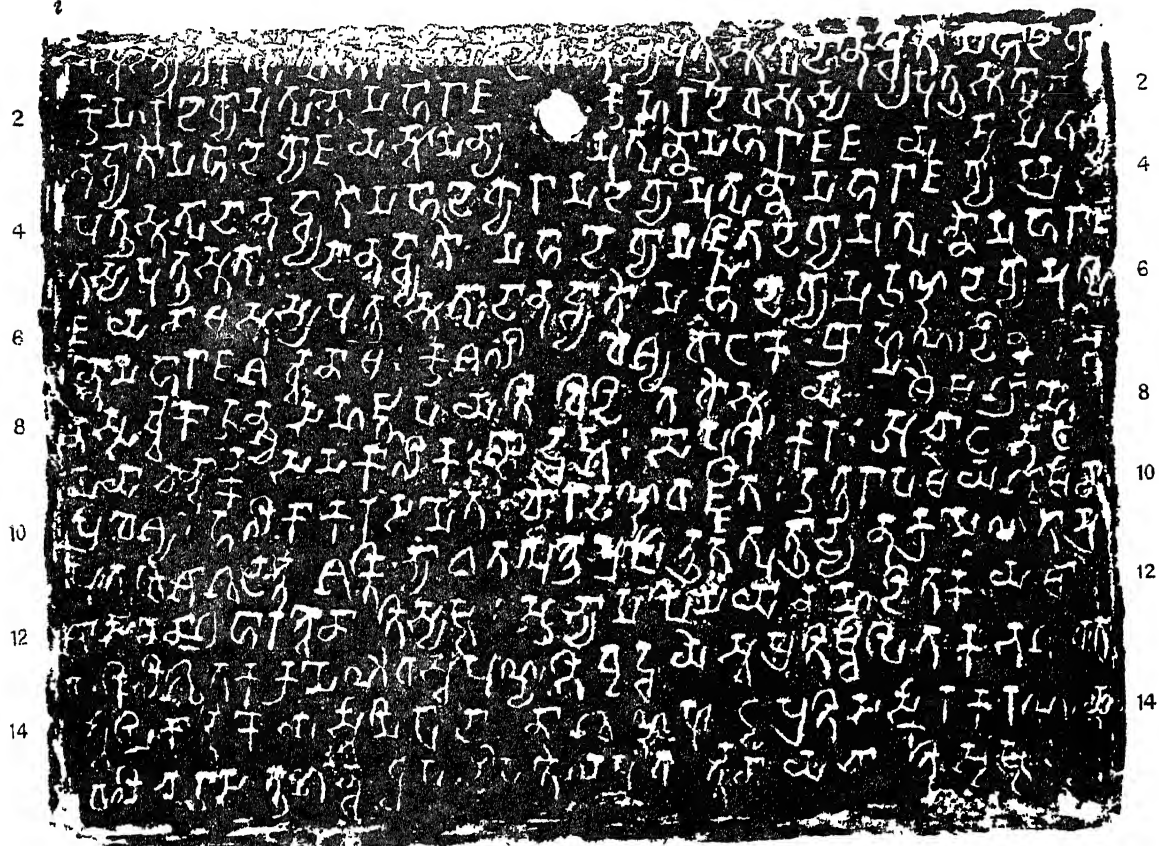
⁷ Read संवत्सर°.

⁸ Read दूतकी महावलाधिकृत°.

⁹ Read सम्मुखः.

¹⁰ [Why not मध्ये ? —Ed.]

SOHAWAL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SARVANATHA, THE YEAR 191.



ii



Ll. 12-20. "Moreover, it is also given to them according to the same terms as mentioned above (*and*) confirmed by me, for the increase of my own merits, for repairs to whatever may be worn out or broken (*in the temple*) of Lord Kārtikēya established by me, as also for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, perfumes, incense, lamps, and oil.

"Therefore, you yourselves shall offer to these persons (donees) shares, the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, etc., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

"And this grant shall not be confiscated by those kings who will be born in our family, (*but*) should be assented to, and preserved, as in the (previous) time. (*And*) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.¹

"Whosoever confiscates this grant—he shall be contaminated with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

[Ll. 20-27. The usual benedictory and imprecatory verses.]

Ll. 27 ff. (*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-one, on the tenth day of the second month of Āshāḍha, by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Manōratha**, the grandson of the *Bhōgika*, the *Amātya* **Phālgudatta**, (*and*) the son of the *Bhōgika* **Varāhadinna**. The *Dūtaka* (*is*) the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the Kshatriya **Śivagupta**. Moreover the *Dūtaka*, in the matter of conveying the letter (*ordering*) the remission of taxes on ploughs, (*is*) the *Uparika* **Mātrīśiva**.

The boundaries (*are*) :—in the north, a boundary-trench as far as (*its*) mouth. On the east, the river **Kardamilā**. On the south, again, (*there is*) a trench with a winding course up to (*its*) mouth. Near the village **Gavāyanagartikā** (*there is*) a low hill (*kachchhaka*)² in the middle of the trench facing **Danḍapālī**³ towards the south. On the west of the village, there is a western trench.

No. 22.—PEYALABANDA GRANT OF KRISHNARAYA.

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These **copper-plates**, which belong to Mr. Archaka Venkatachar, were obtained on loan by the Tahsildar of Rāyadrug for the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, who noticed the record incised on them in his *Annual Report or Epigraphy* for 1913.⁴ The following is an extract from the description of the plates he has given there :—"The plates which are well preserved are held together by a ring with a seal which bears on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a boar facing the proper right. The plates measure on an average about 7½" from side to side and about 11¼" from the highest point in the curved top to the bottom."

The language of the record is Sanskrit verse throughout, with the exception of lines 88 to 98 which are written in Kanarese prose. The alphabet is Nandināgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, i.e., about the 16th century A.D. As regards orthography, the record contains most of the peculiarities and defects common to the Vijayanagara grants of the period, which need not be mentioned here.

¹ [Apparently from Fleet's *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 129.—Ed.]

² *Dongar* in Central Hindi and Marāṭhī.

³ Probably 'a row of bars', or 'a bridge'.

⁴ See p. 13, Appendix A, No. 7.

Omitting that portion of the grant which is common to the Hampi¹ and the Conjeeveram² records, which have already been published, we find that the inscription, incised on these plates, refers to the reign of king **Kṛishṇarāya** of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and records the grant of the village **Pēyalabaṇḍa**, also named **Kṛishṇarāyapuram**, which was situated within the limits of the principality of **Naḍugalla**, to **Nṛisimhādhvarīśarman**, son of **Pañchāgni-Vishṇu(shṇu)yajvārya** of the **Agastya-gōtra** and the **Bōdhāyana-sūtra**. It describes the donee as having commented on all the *sūtras* and performed the *Sarvakatu* sacrifice.

The date given in the charter is **pūrṇimā** of the month of **Vaiśākha** in the **Śaka year 1446** corresponding to the cyclic year **Tāraṇa**. It is regular and, according to the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, equivalent to **18th April 1524 A.D., Monday**.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, **Pēyalabaṇḍa** is evidently **Paḷbaṇḍa** in the **Mada-kṣira Taluk** of the **Anantapur District** and **Kurrubaśivara** is apparently **Palāśivaram**. The latter might have been called **Kurrubaśivara** because of its being inhabited by shepherds (**Kurrubas**).

TEXT.

[For the first 28 stanzas, which are here omitted, see above, Vol. I, pp. 363 ff., and also Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff.]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- * * * * *
- 64 * * * * * [२८*] शालिवाहननिर्णी-
- 65 त शकाब्दे सचतुःशतैः । षट्पवारिंशदधिकैः संख्याते द-
- 66 शभिः शतैः ।। २९*] तारणे वत्सरे माभि वैशाखे पौर्ण(णि)माति-
- 67 थौ [1*] तुंगभद्रा[नदी*]तीरे श्रीविरूपाक्षमंनिधौ ।। ३०*] अगस्ता(स्त्य)गो-
- 68 वजाताय श्रीवोधायनस्त्रिणे । याजुषाध्यायिने
- 69 वेदवेदांतागमवेदिने ।। ३१*] पंचाग्नविष्ण(ष्णु)यज्वार्यसूनवे
- 70 जितमन्यवे । सर्वकृत(तु)महायागयाजिने जितवादिने ।। ३२*]
- 71 क्वा(व्या)ख्यातो(ता)खिलशास्त्राय विख्याताय महात्मन । द्विज-
- 72 श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठा)य शांताय नृसिंहाध्वरिशर्मणे ।। ३३*] नडुगल्लाख्यदु-
- 73 र्गस्य राज्ये प्राज्ये प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)तां [1*] कुरुवंशोवरसीमायां
- 74 रम्यायां विहितस्थितिं ।। ३४*] कंकरेनामकाङ्गामादि(द्दि)शि
- 75 प्राच्यां प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)तां । हलूरुनामकाङ्गामाद(दु) दक्षिणस्यां
- 76 दिशि स्थितं ।। ३५*] महतो दंडमार्गात्तु(त्तु) प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रितं [1*] क(कु)
- 77 र्ववंशोवरसंज्ञात्तु ग्रामादुत्तरतः स्थितं ।। ३६*] ग्रामं पेयलवं-
- 78 डाख्यं प्रथितं शुभमुत्तमं । कृष्णरायपुरं चेति प्रतिनामो-

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 363 ff.

² Above Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff.

- 79 पशोभितं ।[। ३७*] सर्वमान्यं चतुःसीमासंयुतं च समंततः ।
 80 सर्वदा सर्वसस्याख्यं गृह्णारामादिसंयुतं । [। ३८*] निधनि-
 81 क्षेपपाषाणाद्यष्टभोगैः समा(म)न्वितं । विविधैश्च फलैर्यु-
 82 क्तमेकभोग्यं सभूरुहं ।[। ३९*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि स-
 83 मं(म)न्वितं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं क्रमादाचंद्रा(द्र)तारकं ।[। ४०*] दा-
 84 नस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं । परीत[*] प्रय-
 85 तै[*] स्त्रिधैः(ग्वैः) पुरोहितपुरोगमैः ।[। ४१*] वीरश्रीकृष्णदेवेंद्रमहारा-
 86 यो महामना[.] । दक्षिणासहितं धारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ।[। ४२*] तै-
 87 स्तैः समंततः(त)श्चिह्नैःदिक्षु(दिक्षु) प्राच्यादिषु क्रमातु(त्) । सीमैतस्या-
 88 ग्रहारस्य लिख्यते देशभाषया ।[। ४३*] ईपेयलबंडेय अग्रहा-
 89 रद चतु[*]सीमेवलयशासनद विवर । ग्रामद ईशान्यद ।
 90 ल [दं]डिनदारिय पडुवलु दोड्डकरियगुंडिलि वरद
 91 वामनमुद्रे । अल्लिंद तेंकलु करियकल्लबेलिगो-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 92 पु(डे) वरद वामनमुद्रे । कुरुहिन हुडगल्लु । नेट्ट कल्लिन मे-
 93 रये मूडनमेरे । बेविनमरके तेंकलु नेट्ट वामनमुद्रे ।
 94 आग्नेयद मेरे [॥*] अल्लिंद पडुवलु नैरुत्यमूले पर्यंत वामन-
 95 मुद्रे नेट्ट कल्लु । तेंकणमेरे नैरुत्यद मूले कल्लिंद बडगलु
 96 नड(नेट्टा)द वामनमुद्रेकल्लु । पडुवण मेरे वाया(य)व्यद मूले कल्लि-
 97 द ईशान्यद कल्लु परियंतरा मूडलागि नडदु(नेट्टु) वरद वा-
 98 मनमुद्रे कल्लुगले बडगण मेरे ॥

[Ll. 99 to 105 contain four admonitory verses.]

106 श्रीविरूपाक्ष¹

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll. 64-87. In the year, computed by ten hundreds and four hundreds plus forty-six determined according to the Śālivāhana era and named Tārana, in the month of Vaisākha and on the pūrṇimā-tīthi, on the bank of the river Tungabhadra in the presence of Śrī-Virūpāksha, to the best Brāhman, named Nṛsīrṇhādhvari, who is calm, a great soul, well-known, expounder of all the śāstras, who has achieved success in discussions, is a sacrificer, who has performed all the great yāgas (sacrifices), who has controlled anger, is

¹ Written in Telugu-Kannada characters.

the son of Pañchāgni-Vishṇa(u)yajvārya, knows the Vēdas, the Vēdānta and the traditional lore, *i.e.*, who is studying the Yajus, is of the *sūtra* of Bōdhāyana and of the family of Agastya, the well-known beautiful village of Pēyalabaṇḍa which is adorned with the other name of Kṛṣṇarāyapuram, is included in the great principality of Naḍugalladurga on the pleasant boundary of Kurrubaśivara, whose boundaries have been defined (as follows), which lies to the east of the village called Kamkōrrē, to the south of the village called Halūru, lying to the west of the great military road situated to the north of the village named Kurrubaśivara, free of all taxes, on all sides well defined by the four boundaries, always rich in having all the plants, full of houses and gardens, accompanied by theeight kinds of enjoyments (beginning with treasures, deposit and stones), having different fruits, to be enjoyed by one, with what is grown on the land having ponds, wells, tanks, even with mounds or marshy grounds, to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons and others in succession till the moon and the stars last, with the due right of sale, mortgage and gift, the brave Kṛṣṇarāya, king of kings, high-souled, and surrounded by the pious and devoted head priests with delight granted the village with *dakṣhiṇā* and libations of water.

Ll. 88-98. The boundaries of this *agrahāra* are given in the language of the country. To the north-east of the village, to the west of the military road (*the boundary stone having*) the *Vāmana-mudrā* cut on it (*planted*) in the pit called Doḍḍakariyaguṇḍi; from that place to the south the natural stone which is the boundary mark having the *Vāmana-madrā* written on it posted near the pit called Kariyakallu; the boundary of the stone planted (*is*) the eastern limit to the north of the margosa tree, the planted stone having *Vāmana-mudrā* (*is*) the south-east limit; from that place (*to the*) west upto the south-west the planted stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*; southern boundary from the stone (*planted*) in the south-western corner (*to the*) north the stone planted; the western boundary from the stone planted in the north-western corner upto the stone (*planted*) in the north-east stone (*planted*) in the direction of the east; the planted stones bearing *Vāmana-mudrā* (*form the*) northern boundary.

* * * * *

L. 106. Śrī-Virūpāksha.

No. 23.—VISHAMAGIRI PLATES OF INDRAVARMADĒVA.

BY THE LATE TARINI CHARAN RATH, B.A.

These copper-plates are three in number and were discovered from a piece of barren dry land, near the village of Vishamagiri, situated within the Sanakhimedi Zamindari, Aska Taluk of the Ganjām District, when it was reclaimed for cultivation. They were found suspended by a ring on a small stick in an earthenware pot, filled up with sand, the two ends of the stick resting on the edges of the pot.

The plates measure 7 inches by 3½ inches each, their thickness being ¼ of an inch. They are held together by a copper ring measuring 4 inches in diameter and passing through a circular hole on there proper right side. The ends of the ring are secured by a circular seal about 1 inch in diameter, bearing marks which are not quite distinct. The figures on the seal appear to be a couchant bull and a crescent. The plates together with the ring and the seal, weigh 156 tolas.

The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. The edges of the plates are raised into well-formed rims to protect the writing. The letters of the inscription are big enough and quite clear, their size being a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch. There are in all 35 lines, each side having 9 lines on it, excepting the second side of the second plate which contains only 8 lines.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the script used is later in form than that of the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman which I have already published in this journal.¹ The record is not dated.

The object of the inscription is to record that Mahārāja Indravarmadēva of Kaliṅga, a devotee of Śrī-Gōkarṇṇēśvarasvāmī seated on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain (near Mandasa in the Ganjām district), granted some land whose boundaries are specified in it and which lay in the Amēraśūṅga village of the Jalamvōra-vishaya (district) of the ancient Kaliṅga country, to Jakshasvāmi-śarman, a Brahman of the Vājasaneyā-charana, Kāṇva-śākhā and Jātukarṇa-gōtra, for the increase of his and his parents' merit (punya). The Dūtaka or messenger of the grant was Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Nāgakhēddi. The inscription on the plates was written by Mahāpratihāra Ādityavarman and the king's seal was affixed to it by the minister of peace and war (Mahāsāndhivigrahika) Chandapāka. It was engraved by the brazier (Kamsāraka) Dēvapila. The grant was issued from Śvātaka.

The record does not state the ancestry or lineage of the king, but there can be little doubt that he belonged to the Eastern Ganga family of Kaliṅga. A grant of king Indravarman I of Kaliṅga, otherwise known as Rājasiṃha, has been published in this journal,² under the name of the Achyutapuram plates. The characters of these plates appear to be somewhat older than those used in this inscription. The king Indravarmadēva of the present plates is not the same as that of the Achyutapuram plates. He cannot, I think, be identified with even Indravarman II whose grants have also been published with specific years of the Eastern Ganga era. On palaeographical grounds, the characters of the present plates, which are an admixture of the northern and southern types, may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. These plates are noted as No. 9 in Appendix A of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917-18, to whom they had been sent by me for examination.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [l*] [Śvō]tak-āddhi(dhi)stṭhānāt | bhagavatta(ta)ś=char-āchara-[gurōḥ*] śaka-
- 2 la-sha(śa)śāṅka-śēkhara-dharasya sthity-utpa[t*]ti-pralaya-kāra-
- 3 ṇa-hētōr=**m**Mahēndrācha[la*]-śikhara-nivāśi(si)-śrīmānt⁴ Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bha-
- 4 ṭṭārakasya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvvā(vā)pta-punya(nya)-nichaya[h*] śakti-tra-
- 5 ya-pra[bh-ā]⁵nurañjit-āsēsha-śā(sā)manta-ahakra[h*] śva(sva)-bbuḥ-va(ba)la-
- 6 parākrā[nta]-śa(sa)kala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyē parama-māhēśvarō mātā-
- 7 pitri-pād-ānuddhyātō mahārāja-śrī-Indravarmmadēva[h*] kuśali ||
- 8 Jalamvōra-vishayē | yathākāl-āddhyāśi(si)-mahāśā(sā)manta-śrī-
- 9 śā(sā)manta-rājānaka-rājaputrā(tra)-kumārāmāty-ōparika-daṇḍa-

¹ See above, Vol. XV, pp. 275-278.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [cpra[ka*]rshā° might be the reading.—Ed.]

² See above, Vol. III, p. 128.

⁴ Read śrīmātō.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 nāyaka-vishayapati-grāmapati-vrā(bṛā)hma-purōgamān=a-
 11 tyā(nyām)ś=cha chāṭa-bhāṭa-daṇḍapāśika¹-vallabha-jāti(tī)yām(n) | yathāraha[m*]² mā-
 12 nayatu vō(bō)dhayati cha śa(sa)mādisati | viditām(ta)m=astu bhavatām | ē-
 13 tad-viśa(sha)ya-śa(sa)mva(mba)ndha(ddha) | Amēraśiṅga-grāmē bhūmi[h*] |
 pu(pū)rva-diśē(śi) | pō(pu)-
 14 shkarinyā[h*] paśchima-pāli-parichchhēda[h*] | nadi(dīm) yāvat-paśchima-
 15 pradēśē Vṛid[dha*]bhōgikasya bhōgapāṭaka-parichchhēdō(daḥ) | u-
 16 [t*]ta[ra*]-pradēśēbhīshṭha-parichchhēda[h*] | dakṣiṇa-diśāyām nna(na)dī
 parichchhē-
 17 da[h*] | nadilōmpāni(nya-)ardha-bhōga[h*] | Vv(V)ājaśēna³-cha[ra*]nāya Kanma(Kāṇva)-
 śā-
 18 khāya | Jāta(tu)karṇṇa-gōtrāya | Vasi(si)sthātṭa[vat?]-Jātukarṇṇ=ēti-prava-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 rāya | Jātukarṇṇavva(va)ṭṭa(t) Jīva[dvi]ē[shṭha]va[d*] | (-) anupravarāya
 20 Bhaṭṭaputra-Ja[ksh]aśvā(svā)mi-śarmaṇā(nē) | mātṭā(tā)-pitṛōr=ātmanaś=cha
 21 punyā(ny-ā)bhivṛddhayē | śa(sa)hila-dhārā-puraśa(ssa)arēṇ=āchandr-ārka kshī-
 22 ti-śa(sa)makālam=a-karikṛitya pratipādi[tō*]=smābhī[h*] yataḥ | śāśa(sa)-
 23 na-darśanād=dharma-gauravā[d=a*]mad-gauravā[ch*]=cha na kēnachi-
 24 t=paripanthina⁴(nā) bhavitavyām | tathā cha paṭhyatē dharmaśāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhiḥ⁵-
 25 r=vasudhā dattā rājāna⁶ Śa(Sa)gar-ādibhiḥ [!]* yasya asya yadā bhūmi[s=*]
 26 tasya tasya tadā phalam [!]* Śva(Sva)-dattām para-dattāmvā(m vā) yō ha-

Third Plate.

- 27 r[ē]ti(ta) vasundharām [!]* śvavishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[s*]=
 28 śa(sa)ha pachyatē [!]* Mābhuya(bhūd)=aphala-śānkā va[h*] para-datt=ēti pā-
 29 rthiva(vāḥ) | śva(sva)-dānāt=phalam=ānantyam [?]* para-datt-ānupālānē [!]* I-
 30 ti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-bindu-lōlām śri[ya*]m=anuchi-
 31 ntya manuśya(shya)-ji(i)vitāñ=cha śa(sa)kalām=idam=udāhri-
 32 tāñ=cha vu(bu)dhā(dhvā) nahi purushai[h*] para-ki(kī)rtayō vilōpyā[h*] Dūttagō(takō)-
 33 ttra Mahāśānta-śrī-Nāgakhēddi [!]* Mahāpratīhāra-Ādi-
 34 tyavarmmaṇā [?]* likhita[m*] | lāñchhitāñ=cha Mahāśa(sā)ndhivigrahī(hi)kaḥ(ka)-
 35 Chandapākēnah(na) [!]* utki(tkī)ṇnam Ka[nśā](mā)rakā(ka)-Dēvapilēn=ētiḥ(ti) |

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1 to 12. Hail! the glorious *Mahārāja* Indravarman who has acquired a store of virtue by the worship of the lotus feet of the divine lord Gōkarṇṇēśvara, the almighty master of the animate and the inanimate, who wears the crest ornament of the half-moon, is the cause of existence, genesis and destruction, and who resides on the summit of the *Mahēndra* mountain; —he, possessing the overlordship of the entire *Kaliṅga* country, won by the strength of his own arms, endeared to all his vassals by the pre-eminence of his threefold powers, a great devotee of *Śiva* and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother, advises and commands, from the

¹ *kṛ is written below the line between pā and śi

² Read *yathāraha*.

³ The letter *na* is cut below the line between pā and nāhi.

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous.

⁵ *Danda* is superfluous.

⁶ Read *Vājasaneyā*.

⁷ Read *rājābhīśa*.

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 २४
 २६

११ वेद्युः ३१ ॥ विष्णुवाः ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

VISHAMAGIRI PLATES OF INDRAVARMANDEVA.

i.

2
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ii a.

10
 12
 14
 16
 18

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residence of Śvētaka, the Mahāsāmanta, Śrīsāmanta, Rājāvaka, Rājaputa, Kumārināya, Uparika, Daṇḍanāyaka, Viśhayapati, Grāmapati and other officers in the Jalamvōra-vishaya, thus :—

Ll. 12 to 24. Be it well known to you that the land in the village of Amēraśiṅga belonging to this province, bounded on the east by the western face of the tank as far as the river, on the west by the Bhōgapāṭaka land of Vṛiddhabhōgika, on the north by such limit as you like and on the south by the river as far as the middle of its bed, is granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Ja[ksha]svāmi-śarman of the Vājasaneyā-charaṇa, Kāṇva-śākhā, Jātukarna-gōṭha, Vasishthātta(vat)-Jātukarna-pravara and Jātukarnavat-Jivadvijēshthavat-anupravara, for the increase of the merit of my father, mother and self, accompanied with the handful of water, to be enjoyed by him as long as the moon, sun and earth last. Nobody, whoever he may be, should interfere with this, out of regard for virtue and myself.

Ll. 24 to 32. It is stated thus in the Dharma-śāstra. (Then follow four of the customary benedictive and admonitory verses.)

Ll. 32 to 35. The *śūtaka* here is Mahāsāmanta śrī-Nāgakhēddi. (The document was) written by Mahāpratihāra Ādityavarman; the king's seal was affixed (to it) by Mahāsān-dhivigrahaika Chandapāka; and it was engraved by Kamsāraka (brazier) Dēvapila.

NO. 24.—TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA PRINCES.

By the late K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The two copper-plate inscriptions which are now for the first time published, with plates, deserve special study by the students of South-Indian history. They are issued by the two brothers Bādapa¹ and Tālā II, sons of Yuddhamalla II, not hitherto known to us. The first of the plates viz. the Ārumbāka Plates of Bādapa will be referred to as A and the second viz. the Śrīpūṇḍi Plates of Tālā II as B.

A.—THE ĀRUMBĀKA PLATES OF BĀDAPA.

These plates were found in 1921, buried underground in a pot, at a village called Polamūru in the Tanuku tālukā of the Krishna District, Madras Presidency. I received them from a gentleman of that place and forwarded them for examination to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The ring was not cut when they were first sent to me. They are noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21 and are numbered as No. 16 of Appendix A, in that report. I edit the inscription from the original plates and from one set of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The plates are five in number and measure 4½" high and 9¾" broad and are hung together on a ring 5" in diameter. A massive seal with a diameter of 3¼" is fixed on to the ring. On its surface are cut in relief at the top the figures of the crescent and an *aṅkuśa* in horizontal position placed below it, with the legend Śrī-Tṛibhuvana[m]kuśa cut below the latter.² Below the

¹ This proper name has been read as Bādapa in the *Epigraphical Reports*, Southern Circle, for 1909, p. 108 and for 1920, pp. 86-7. But examining carefully all *ḍa*'s and *da*'s in these two inscriptions and comparing them with each other I have come to the conclusion that the second letter in this word is a dental and not a lingual.

² The last syllable of the legend is put in the second line, to the proper right of the bowl.

legend is the figure of the boar standing on a lotus. The figure of the sun is cut towards the proper left of the seal near the head of the boar. The bottom of the seal through which the two ends of the ring are inserted and in which they are fixed, has the petals of a lotus engraved on it. The plates are rather thin and their rims are raised to protect the writing. The material of the plates is pure copper and that of the seal is bronze.

The discoverer of the plates appears to have subjected them to several mechanical and chemical processes of test. The second plate has therefore been broken and a small piece of it has dropped away. In almost all the plates several letters are hopelessly disfigured and could not be deciphered even with the help of a microscope.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is an admixture of prose and poetry throughout the inscription. Some of the phrases are bodily borrowed from the inscriptions of Amma II such as *e.g.* the Nāmūru grant published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 61 ff.

I propose to deal with alphabets and orthography of both the inscriptions A and B together, for the sake of convenience. The secondary form of the vowel *a*, which is called *talakattu* in Telugu, is a horizontal straight line in B, just as we find the head line in Nāgarī letters of to-day. Then, again, the secondary form of *ā* in B is very peculiar. It bends at right angles to the horizontal line on the head of the original letter and generally comes down straight to the foot-level of the letter and sometimes is prolonged a little downwards on the right side, *e.g.* *tā*, *mā* (l. 1), and *rā* (l. 9). Thus it almost resembles the secondary form of *ā* in Nāgarī letters. The secondary form of *ā* in A goes up in a few cases, directly above the original letter like a tail, *e.g.* *mā*, *nā* (l. 1), *tā* (l. 8), *hā* (l. 23), *jñā* (l. 24) and *jā* (l. 39). We find two different symbols for the short and long initial forms of *ri* in B (see ll. 9 and 35); and in the secondary forms a clear distinction is made in both the plates. In A three different ways of representing the secondary form of the vowel *u* are seen. The first of them and the one generally used here and in other inscriptions of the period is prominently to be seen in the letter *bhu* of *bhuvana* (l. 1). The second form, which differs from the first, is found in *pu* of *Hārītiputrāṇām* (l. 1). Both these forms are prominently visible in l. 37. The third form of the secondary *u* is found in *Kalpataru* (l. 22). Here the secondary form assumes altogether a different shape and resembles the secondary form now used in the Nāgarī alphabet. All the three forms of *u* are seen together in line 38, where they can be conveniently compared and contrasted. The first form is used for all the consonants, the second, for *m*, *p* and *y*, and the third is seen only with the consonants *r* and *k* (ll. 21, 23, 25). In B we find only the first and the last of the secondary forms. The last form makes no distinction between the long and short vowel (A. ll. 53, 63; B. l. 25). The secondary form of *ē* is represented in two ways in A, as in *Mahāsēna* (l. 2), and *vallabhēndra* (l. 4). The first of these is placed on the left side of the letter at the foot almost touching it. The second form is over the letter and is perhaps the precursor of the present Telugu *ēvamu*. B has two more forms in addition to the two found in A. The line on the left side comes downwards from the top of the letter as in *Velanāṇḍu* (l. 24). The fourth form, as in *śvamēdha* (l. 6), and *kṛitaklēśa* (l. 20), resembles the modern secondary form of *ō*. This may be due to the mistake of the engraver. From a study of the palæography of these inscriptions we find that the Telugu language of that period must have had a short *e*. In A, for instance, the name of the sub-donoree is given as Chandepa (l. 63), and we can safely infer that the vowel *e* in the syllable *de* is short, as it is in the ninth letter in a foot of the metre called *Indravajrā*. We have again in A and B the word *Velanāṇḍu* with a short *e* on *v* (l. 24). This makes it clear that both the short and long *e* had only one symbol in writing. The secondary form of *o* is written in two ways, *e.g.* A. *Sarō-nātha* (l. 52), *pad-āmbhāja* (l. 54); B. *tad-anujō* (l. 19), *gōtrāṇām* (l. 2). The first is the combination of the secondary forms of *ā* and *ē* and the second one is an

independent symbol. The first method of representing *ṣ* is still found in Telugu only in the case of a few consonants such as *m* and *y*. The secondary form of *au* in A differs from that used in B. In A it appears twice in *Kauṣiki* (l. 1), and *śauṣha* (l. 38). This form is common to the other inscriptions of that period. But B uses a form which is the same as that of *ṣ* (*Kauṣiki*, l. 2). Perhaps this again is due to the error committed by the engraver. The vowel *ṛi* is usually confounded with the consonant *ri* and *vice versa*, e.g. on the seal of A we have *Tribhuvanāṁkusa* instead of *Tribhuvanāṁkusa*, *bhriṣam* for *bhṛiṣam* (l. 33).

Coming to the consonants, we must note the existence of *ḷa*, marked in this inscription by the symbol 𑀧𑀺 (A. l. 26; B. l. 19). This sound is represented in Tamil by 𑀧𑀺. Dravidian philologists were not aware of the existence of this sound in Telugu. The Bezvada pillar inscription¹ of Yuddhamalla II prominently brought it into light.² This is of course a purely Dravidian sound. In B it appears in the proper name *Tāḷa* (ll. 17, 19). The word *Tāḷa* is found in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas and is spelt in various ways, such as *Tāḍa*, *Tāḷa*, *Tāḷa*, *Tāḷa*. This variation in spelling is a sure indication that the second consonant of this word, which was originally *ḷa*, gradually gave way to *ḍa* in the Telugu country and to *ḷa* in the Kanarese country.

In both the plates the *anusvāras* followed by a letter of the *ta-varga* or *ṭa-varga* are invariably changed into the nasal of that *varga*, e.g. A. *manyantē* (l. 31), *Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa* (l. 48), B. *Velanāṇḍu* (l. 24). A special symbol is used for the compound letter *ṇcha*, e.g. A. l. 65, B. l. 37. This symbol is almost similar in both these plates. In cases where letters of other *vargas* follow, the *anusvāra* is shown as such invariably and the nasal of the *varga* is never used in its place. So the southern system of representing the nasals of the *vargas* by *anusvāras*³ was already in vogue in the tenth century as far as the first, second and the fifth *vargas* (*k*, *ch*, *p*) were concerned.

The inscription begins with the usual eulogy of the Chālukya race found in numerous other Chālukya inscriptions, and then enumerates in order the names, the mutual relations and the periods of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana to Bhīmarāja or Chālukya-Bhīma II. All the details here given agree with those generally found in the other inscriptions of this family. The last king mentioned in the plates as the immediate predecessor of Bādapa, the donor, is Amma II, son of Chālukya-Bhīma II. The length of his reign, which we know from other sources to be twenty-five years, is not given in this inscription. Amma II is praised (ll. 16-17) as a virtuous king who ruled the country of Vēṅgī together with Trikalīṅga, properly and justly, according to the injunctions of *dharma*. However, Bādapa, the donor, who was the son of Yuddhamalla II of a collateral branch, defeated and sent into exile Amma II with the help of one Karṇarāja-Vallabha (ll. 17-18). Bādapa further claims to have defeated other *dāyās* (i.e., *dāyādas*), to have held the titles of 'Samastabhuvanāśraya, Vijayāditya-Mahārāja, Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka' (ll. 22-23). He had also the title 'Adhirāja' (v. 2).

Tracing next, the genealogy of the donee, the plates refer first to a certain [Bā]lāditya who had a son called Nṛipakāma. His wife was Nāyamāmbā. To them was born Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa who was a famous archer (l. 55). To this Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa was given by Bādapa the village of Ārumbāka situated in the Velanāṇḍu-*viśaya*. Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa in his turn gave

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 150. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, however, thinks that the first portion of the inscription may refer to Yuddhamalla I.

² See my note on this inscription; above, Vol. XV.

³ The system is now found among the Marāṭhā, the Telugu and the Kanarese people. The Tamilians, however, follow the north Indian system, [apparently, because there is no *anusvāra* in that alphabet.—Ed.]

the village to one Chandena who was the son of his mother's younger sister (ll. 59-61). The boundaries of the granted village are:—to the east Cherakumballi, to the south Śrīpūṇḍi, to the west Kāvūru, to the north Gōmaḍuvu. The executor of the grant was Kaṭakanṇipa; the poet, Ayyana-bhaṭṭa; and the engraver, Bhaṭṭadēva.

Karnarāja-Vallabha, as the epithet Vallabha clearly indicates, was a Rāshtrakūṭa king and evidently the same as Kanna (or Kṛishṇa) III who was a contemporary of Amma II and ruled from A.D. 939 to 968. The poet of our plates, of course, mistook the word Kanna for the *tadbhava* of Karṇa, while in reality it is the *Prākṛita-tadbhava* of the word Kṛishṇa.

Though no date is given in the inscription itself, it is not difficult to fix it. Bādapa claims to have conquered Amma II and to have reigned immediately after him.¹ We know from several inscriptions that Amma II ruled for twenty-five years (A.D. 945-970). We can, therefore, safely infer that Bādapa issued this inscription after he established himself as the king of the Vēṅgi country after A.D. 970. Following the statement made in the inscriptions of the later Chālukya kings commencing with Śaktivarman, a period of 27 years, *viz.* A.D. 973-999, is generally considered by historians as an interregnum in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas. But these plates of Bādapa and Tāla reveal to us for the first time that there was no real interregnum during that period, but that the collateral or junior line then ruled the country sending the senior line into exile. The interregnum was only from the point of view of the senior line, whose members, driven away from the Telugu country, had to spend their time for 27 or 30 years in the Tamil or the Kanarese countries. The so-called interregnum (*asvāmika*) does not connote absence of rulers or anarchy in the Telugu country, as has been represented by the Chālukyan kings of the post-restoration period or has hitherto been believed by some scholars, but only suggests the complete exclusion of the members of the senior branch from the Vēṅgi and Kalinga countries. I shall discuss in detail the history of this period (the so-called interregnum) in the light of these and other plates, in a separate article.²

The villages mentioned in the inscription can easily be identified. Ārumbāka, the village granted, is found by the same name in the tālukā of Repalle in the Guntur District. The other villages mentioned in the plates are also found now in the vicinity of Ārumbāka. They are all around it within a radius of four miles. Śrīpūṇḍi is now known as Śrīpūḍi; Cherakumballi is now called Cherukumilli; Kāvūru has not changed its name even now.³ I am told Gōmaḍuvu is the same as Gōvāḍa which is three miles to the north of Ārumbāka, in the Tenali tālukā. I must here add that the village Śrīpūṇḍi, which is described as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka in these plates, is the subject of a gift by Bādapa's younger brother Tāla II as found in Plate B below. All these villages were situated in the Velanāṇḍu-*vishaya*⁴ at the time of the gift.

The donee of the grant is one Gaṇḍanārāyana and the sub-donee is his aunt's son Chandena. The donee and his ancestors are described in the plates at great length and with a flourish of rhetoric, in more than thirty lines (ll. 25-55). The grandfather of the donee was an expert archer like Paraśurāma and Arjuna (l. 26). His son Nṛipakāma was also an archer and was

¹ [It is very doubtful if this is so. The participle विजित्वा cannot indicate that Bādapa had once for all ousted Amma II from the Eastern Chālukya throne. He might have temporarily displaced him for a time. The Māṅallu plates (*A. B. on Epigraphy* for 1917, Part II, paragraph 24) clearly state that Amma II in the 11th year of his reign had to go to fight with Kṛishṇa, *i.e.* the Vallabha Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, who befriended Bādapa according to the Ārumbāka plates.—H. K. S.]

² [It is very much to be regretted that this promised article is never to come, for Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is now dead. Had he been spared to us, he would have made his mark in the field of Epigraphy, as he actually did in his wide researches in Telugu literature and philology.—Ed.]

³ *Vide* Taluk map of Repalle, published by the Survey Office, Madras.

⁴ See above, Vol. IV, p. 33.

entitled 'Kārmuk-ārjuna' (ll. 30-33) and the 'Lord of the Lake' (Sarō-nātha) (l. 35). He was also called Satya-Ballāta (l. 49). Nṛipakāma seems to have been a petty chieftain perhaps of the Lake region, i.e. Kollēru, well known for his valour, benevolence and patronage to learning. He was a worshipper of god Śiva (l. 41) and is said to have killed five warriors at a time with his sword (l. 43). By his wife Nāyamambā, he had a son, the donee Bhāskara surnamed Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa (v. 23). We can identify the father and the mother of our donee with the father-in-law and the mother-in-law of Amma II, as stated in his Guṇḍugolanu plates.¹ These clearly tell us that Nṛipakāma *alias* Sarō-nātha (Lord of the Lake), also a worshipper of god Śiva, was the father-in-law of the king, and that Nāyamambā was his mother-in-law.² Thus Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa was the brother-in-law of Amma II. It is therefore very strange that Bādapa who drove away Amma II should patronise his brother-in-law Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa. But we know that in times of revolt and revolution, political adventurers change their allegiance very often. Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa was, perhaps, also related to Bādapa and was instrumental in overthrowing Amma II and the senior line.

The sub-donee to whom Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa gifted away the village was the son of his mother's younger sister Sā[ma]kāmā. As the plates were issued by and under the seal of Bādapa and not by Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, it is clear that the sub-donation was also recognised by the king.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति⁴ [*॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारोतिपुत्राणां
कौशिकी-
- 2 वरप्रसादलब्धराज्याणां⁵ मातृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां
भगवन्नारा-
- 3 यणप्रसादसमासादितवर[व]राहलाङ्गणे⁶ क्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानां मखमेधा-
- 4 वभृयस्त्रानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां [कु]लमलांकरिणीः सत्याश्रयवत्सभेन्द्रस्य
भ्राता कु-
- 5 ऋजुविष्णुवर्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि [वे]गी[दे]शमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिं-
- 6 श[तं] । तदनुजेन्द्रराज[नन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सूनुर्मैगियुवराजः
पंचविंशति⁹ [॥*]
- 7 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्र[योदश] । त[द्व]रजः ¹⁰कोक्किलिः षण्मासान् [॥*] तस्य
ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णु-
- 8 वर्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तविंश[तं] । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्स¹¹तो
विष्णुवर्ध-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248.

⁴ A floral device precedes this word.

⁷ Read °मण्डलानामश्च°.

¹⁰ Read कोक्किलिः.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 23-25.

⁵ Read °ज्यानां.

⁸ Read °मलंक°.

¹¹ Read °सु°.

³ From the original plates.

⁶ Read °नेक्ष°.

⁹ Read विंशति.

- 9 नः षट्त्रिंशत् । तत्सुतो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजश्चाष्टचत्वारिंशत् ।
तत्सुतः कलिविशुव-
10 ईनो[द्ध्यर्धवर्ष] [1*] तत्सुतो गुणगाकविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् । तदमुज-
युवराजवि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 11 क्रमाद्विभूष[तेस्तनयश्चाकुक्वभीम]भूपालस्त्रिंशत्¹ । तत्पुत्रः कोल्लविगण्डविजयादि-
12 त्यः षण्मासान् [1*] तत्सुतोवरा[जस्त्रयवर्षाणि] .[1] तत्सुतं विजयादित्यवा-
लमुच्चाव्य तालपो मा-
13 ससेकं² । तं जित्वा चालुक्य[भीमसूनु]र्विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् [1*]
ततस्तालपराजस्य
14 सुतो युद्धमल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लविगण्ड[वि]जयादित्यसुतो
भीमराजो द्वादश वर्षा-
15 णि । तस्य महेश्वर[मू]र्त्तेः भीमभूपतेः उमासमानाकृतः लोकमहादेव्याः कु-
16 माराभः खलु यस्मिन्भवदम्भराजाख्यः असौ समयधर्मन्यायेन वेंगोदेशं त्रि-
17 कलिंगसहितं रक्षति स्म [॥] आश्रित्य क[र्ण]राजाख्यवल्गुं बादपाधिपः [1*]
विनिर्गम्य तन्दे-³
18 [शा]दम्भराजाख्यमुज्जितं⁵ [॥] [१*] जित्वा⁶ [दा]यान्मदित्वा रिपुनिकरमथा-
भ्यर्त्थिणां⁷ वस्तुराशिं दत्त्वा [संपू]ज्य व-
19 ऋन्सकलगुणगणालंकृतो[त्तंग]कीर्त्तिः[ः] [1*] मानी धीरः प्रतापो मनुमतचरितः
पालयन्भाति भू-
20 सिं ।⁹ वेंगोशो युद्धमल्लक्षितिपतितनयो बादपाख्याधिराजः ॥[२*] यस्मिन्
शासति नृपतो ।⁹ परिपक्वा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 नेकसस्यसंपत्सहितः । भमति¹⁰ धर्मानुरक्तो निरीतिरपरुद्धिरस्तचोरो देशः ॥
[३*] मनुखिव सकलजनानां जन[क]
22 इवाशेषमृत्यवर्गाणां [1*] काम इव [क]ामिनोनामर्त्यजनानां च
कल्पतरुः ॥[४*] स्म¹¹ समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्चोविजया-

¹ Read °स्त्रिंशत्.

² The *anusvāra* is marked on the left top corner of the letter *ka*.

³ Read °विनिर्ग.

⁴ Read तं दृष्ट्वा°.

⁵ Read °मूर्त्तिः.

⁶ [Perhaps the traces of the letter in brackets indicate a *ज्ञ*.—Ed.]

⁷ Read °नां.

⁸ Read °सुग°.

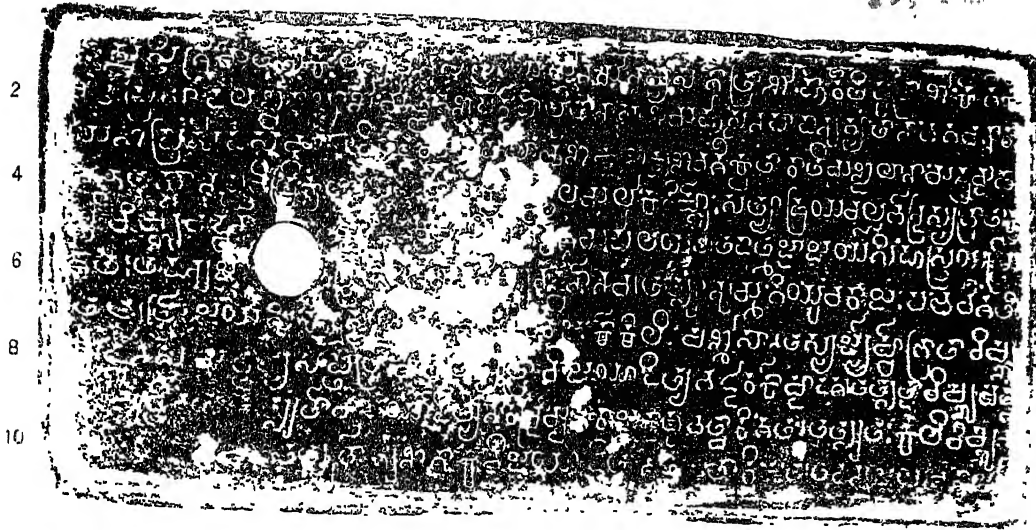
⁹ *Danda* is not needed.

¹⁰ Read भवति.

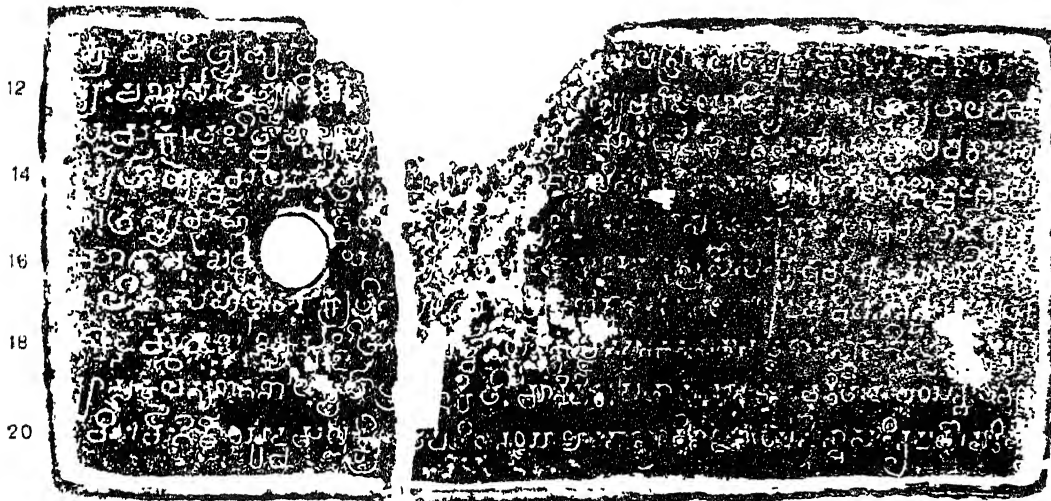
¹¹ Read स°.

ARUMBAKA PLATES OF BADAPA.

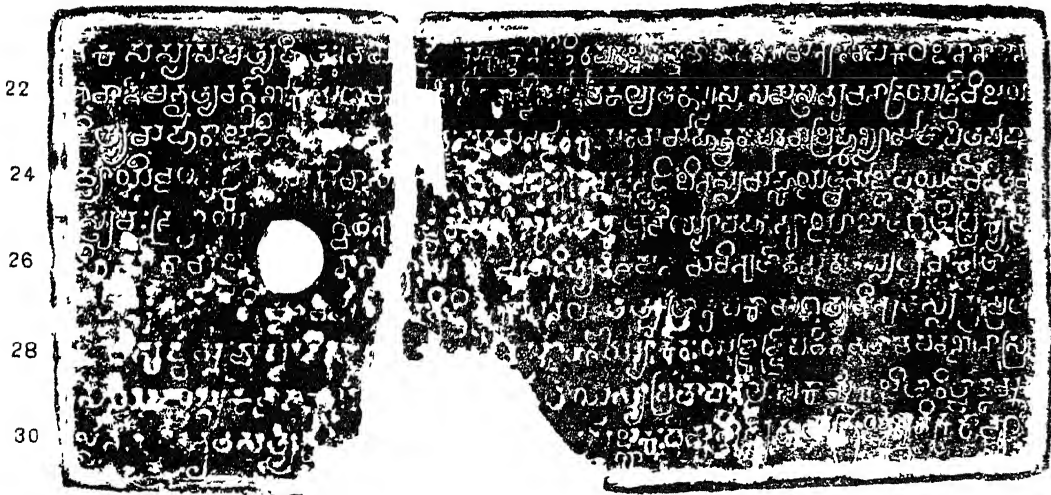
i.



ii a.



ii b.



iii a.

32

34

36

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

iii b.

38

40

42

44

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

iv a.

46

48

50

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

- 23 दित्यमहाराजाधिरा[जप]रसे[खर]: परमभट्टारकः परममाहिखरः परमब्रह्मण्यो
मातापितृपादानु-
- 24 ध्यायी वेक्षनाण्डुविषयनिवासि[नो राष्ट्रकूट]प्रमुखान्सर्व^१ न्कुटिंविनस्समाह्वयेत्य-
माज्ञापयति [॥*] विदितम्-
- 25 स्तु वः अष्टो यश्च धनुर्धर[ः कलि]युगे तत्कार्य^२वोर्यापहः भूयो जात इति
प्र^३व्याम-
- 26 हिमो रामार्जुनाभ्यां सम्म^४ । ^५[वा]८७१दित्यविशेषनामविनुतो धर्म
रतस्सत्यवाक् (i) वा[ता]
- 27 विद्विष्टकालानलः । [॥*] तत्पुत्रो नृपकाम
इत्यभिनुतस्सत्यप्रति-
- 28 [ज्ञो ध]नुर्धर्मं चाप्य विख्यातशौर्याकरः [॥*] यद्वाष्ट्रे
पथि गच्छतां च पवणी^६ नासं-
- 29 सय[त्य]^७ङ्गकं चोरे ता यस्य प्रतापानलैः [॥ ६*]
स कार्मुकजितारित्वात्कार्मुका-
- 30 र्जुननामभृत् [॥*] सत्यै[क] [सत्यवज्ज्ञा]त^८सैन्नकः [॥७*]
^९धीमन्तो गुरुमग्रजन्मनिकरा व्या-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 31 [सं] सहायं नृपाः [प्रोत्या] स्वजनकं कल्पद्रुमं चारिणः^{१०} [॥*]
मन्यन्तेपि स-
- 32 दैकमूर्जितमनेकं पार्थसुवन्निनः चित्रं श्रीवरकार्मुकार्जुननृपं कामा^{११}
[स्स]कामा[ः*] स्त्रियः [॥] [८*]
- 33 यच्छैर्य्य युधि वैरिभूपनिवह्व्याघातजातं ^{१२}भिशं यद्दानं द्विजसंश्रि-
- 34 तार्थिजनसन्निगति^{१३}क्रियापे[श*]लं । यत्कीर्त्तिस्सकलाश्च चन्द्रधव-
- 35 ला शुभ्रीकरोति क्षि[ति] सोयं भाति सुकार्मुकार्जुनसरोनाथोर्जितो वी-
- 36 र्यवान् ॥[९*] कनति सनृपकामसरःपति[ः*] श्रितजनाननपद्मसुनन्दनः ।
इह सदो-
- 37 दितिरंशुनिधिः क्षितो^{१४} (i) रिपुतमोनुदिनेन^{१५} समोनघः । [॥ १०*] दानोदार-
दयावलप्र-

^१ Read °स्वर्वाङ्कुटुवि°.

^२ Read समः.

^३ Read पवनी.

^४ The letters धीमन्तो गु are written on an erasure.

^५ Read कामं सकामा°.

^६ Read क्षितौ.

^७ Read तत्कार्यवोर्यापहः.

^८ [The letter in brackets looks more like म than ह. — Ed.]

^९ Read °त्यङ्गकं.

^{१०} Read चार्धनः.

^{११} Read संज्ञकः.

^{१२} Read भृशं.

^{१३} Read तमोनुदिनेन.

^{१४} Read प्रहृष्ट°.

^{१५} Read संज्ञकः.

^{१६} Read चार्धनः.

^{१७} Read संज्ञकः.

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 38 क[टितप्रा]वीण्यशौचक्षमामानालंघ्यशिवाचनोरुगुणमुक्ताहारसंभूषितः [1*]
 39 दीनानाथनटान्धनग्नकविवाग्मीन्द्रहिजानन्दक्रि'ज्ञाति प्रस्तुतकीर्त्तिमान्प्रजयो
 40 श्री[स]त्यबल्लातराट् [॥११*] भ्र[वल]गुणो धवलयशो धवलितदिग्म'ण्डलो-
 [व]दमितारा-
 41 तिः । भवभक्तो भवकरुणोद्भवभवभोगान्वितो विभाति सुकीर्त्तिः [॥ १२*]
 अर्कप्रता-
 42 पोरिरिडग्रधन्वी श्रीक्रीक्षमाज्ञाकरुणाश्री(श्रि)तोभीः [1*] एनःक्षिदस्यां भुवि भाति
 नित्यं ।²
 43 सत्याश्रितस्मृपकाम[शो]रि[:*] । [१३*] योवधीत्क्षुरिकेणैकः पंचवीरान्वला-
 रस्वयः⁴ । पु⁵ -
 44 [र्णात्त]धनुषा ⁶शतसहस्रान्युधि भाति सः [१४*] ब्रह्मेशेन्द्रक्रि'षीकेश-
 कुमाराणां

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 45 [य]थाभव'न्वाग्धूमाशचोल्क्षी ।⁷जयश्री सुभगा[:*] स्त्रियः ॥[१५*] तथा तेषां
 सम-
 46 स्याभूद्रूपकामसरःपतेः [1*] तासा⁹ समा प्रिया भार्या नायमंबा¹⁰ इति
 47 [श्र]ता । [१६*] सर्वलक्षणसंपन्ना सर्वाभरणभूषिता । सर्वस्त्रीधर्मतत्त्वज्ञा शो-
 48 ल[वृत्तव]ती सती ॥[१७*] तस्यां पतिव्रतायां च गण्डनारायणाह्वय[:]¹¹ [1*] स-
 49 त्वबल्लातनामांकः पात्रं पुत्रमजोजनत् ॥[१८*] उमावृषांकयोर्य-
 50 [था] गुह[श]चि¹²न्द्रयोरिव [1*] जयन्त इत्यभूत्सुतः तयोश्च तत्समानयोः [॥] [१९*]
 51 [व्यू]ढोरस्को वृषस्कन्दः¹³ स्कन्दप्रतिमविक्रमः [1*] महोत्साही महोद्योगी महा-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 52 बाहुर्मिश्रबलः ॥[२०*] नृपकामसरोनाथपुत्रो ज्येष्ठोतिबुद्धिमान्ग¹⁴ण्डनारायण[:*]
 53 श्रीमान्गजाश्वारूढकोशलः¹⁵ ॥[२१*] पटुस्मरश्शुचिर्दक्षशील¹⁶[वृत्तगु]णान्वितः [1*]
 धनुस्त्यु-

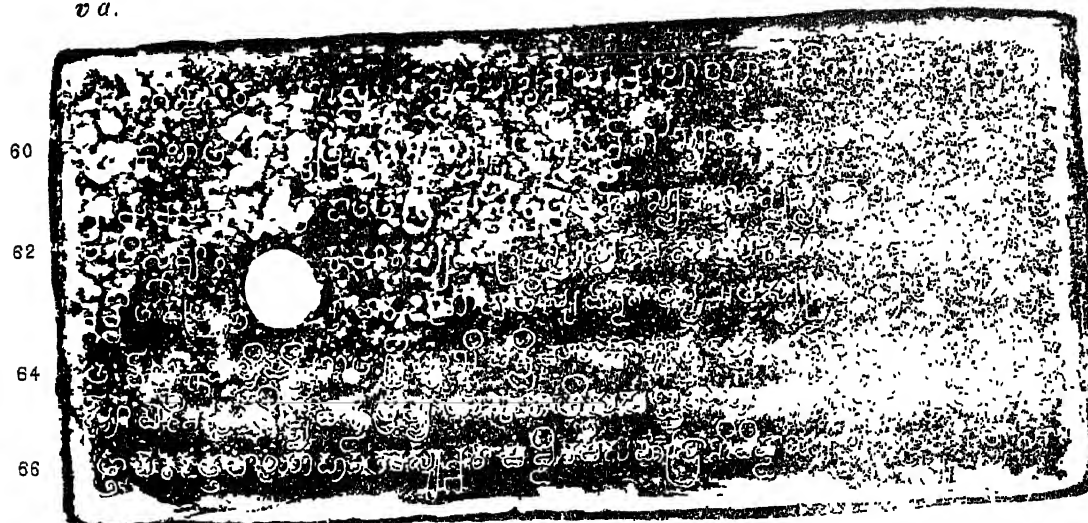
¹ Read °कृष्णाति°.² Read दिङ्म.³ [Danda is unnecessary.—Ed.]⁴ Read रस्वयं.⁵ Read °पु°. The two letters at the beginning of the next line look like न; स on the original plate.⁶ Read शृङ्खल°.⁷ Read °हृ°.⁸ Read °भवन् । वाग्ध°.⁹ Read तासां.¹⁰ [The anusvāra is placed on the syllable वृ.—Ed.]¹¹ Read °हृयं°.¹² Read °वीन्द्र°.¹³ Read स्कन्धः.¹⁴ Read °दिमान् । गण्ड°.¹⁵ [I would read it as °रोह°.—Ed.] ¹⁶ Read पटुस्मरश्शुचिर्दक्षशील°.

ARUMBAKA PLATES OF BADAPA.

ir b.



va.



vb.



SEAL.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

- 54 रुषश्रेष्ठ[*] श्रेष्ठस्त्वर्कलासु च ॥[२२*] मातापितृपादांभोजभूमरो भास्क-
 55 रो नृ[णां] [1*] गण्डनारायणाक्षो यस्त्वर्कशस्त्रितां^२ वरः ॥[२३*] तस्मै
 बादपराजाधि-
 56 [रा]जो रा[जे]न्द्रपुंगवः [1*] प्रीतः प्रादान्महाग्राममारुंवाकेति विभ्रुतः^३ ॥[२४*]
 तस्मै ग-
 57 [ण्डनारा]यणाय वेलनाण्डविषये आरुंवाकनामग्रामं^४ स्वर्करपरिहारं
 58 [ताम्ब]शासनी[कृत्य म]या दत्त इति ॥ बादपराजेन्द्रेण दत्त (दत्त)^५ ग्रामं^६ स्वीकृत्वा^७

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 59 . . गण्डनारायण[*] स्वयं स्वमातुर्न्यायमंवायाः कनीयसी सहोदरो सा-
 60 [म]कां^८बां त[स्याः पु]त्रश्चन्द्रेणाख्यः ॥^९तस्मै चन्दे[णा]ख्याय स्वीकृतमारुंवाकनाम-
 61 [ग्रामं]^{१०}मुदक[पूर्व] प्रादात् [1*] तं ग्रामं स्वीकृत्वा^७ चन्द्रेणाख्यः कलान्^{११} स्वीकृत्वा^७
 पूर्णचन्द्र इव भ्रा-
 62 जति स्म [1*] शूरः कुमारस्सुभ[टा]ग्रगण्यस्सरोनराणां सकलागमन्नः [1*]
 कारुण्यवा-
 63 न्गर्वितशत्रुहन्ता चारु[दयो भाति सुचन्द्रेनार्थः ॥[२५*] तस्य ग्रामस्या-
 वधयः पूर्व-
 64 तः चे००कुंवल्लि दक्षिणतः श्रीपूण्डि पश्चिमतः कावूरु उत्तरतः गोमडुवु ॥
 अस्य ग्राम-
 65 स्थोपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कर्तव्या यः करोति स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो
 भवति । स्वद-
 66 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां [1*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(ठा)यां
 जायते कृमिः ।[२६*] व्यासेना[र्यु]-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 67 तं [1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमि^{१२}तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।[२७*] आन्नसि-
 68 [ः] क[ट]कनृपः कविरय्यनभट्टसर्वशास्त्रज्ञः [1*] लिखितं भट्टदेवेन शासनमा-
 चन्द्रतारकम् ॥ [२८*]

^१ Read °वदा°.

^२ Read °भृतां.

^३ Read perhaps विभ्रुतं.

^४ Read °ग्रामस्त्वर्क°.

^५ The syllables दत्त repeated for the second time have been erased in the original.

^६ [The plate shows मः.—Ed.]

^७ Read स्वीकृत्य.

^८ Read कांवा. [The anusvāra is placed on the syllable वा.—Ed.]

^९ [Dandas are unnecessary.—Ed.]

^{१०} Read ग्राम°.

^{११} Read कलाः

^{१२} Read क्षस्य.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 15). Hail! The brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabhādita**—an ornament to the family of the blessed **Chālukyas**, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the **Mānavyas** praised by the whole world, who are the sons of **Hārīti**, who acquired (*their*) kingdom through the favour of (the goddess) **Kauśikī**, who are protected by the assemblage of (*divine*) **Mātris**, who meditate on the feet of god **Mahāsēna**, who have subdued the realms of (*their*) enemies in a moment by the (*mere*) sight of (*their*) superior **boar-banner** which was obtained by the grace of Lord **Nārāyaṇa**, and who have purified their bodies by sacred bathings (*performed*) at the end of horses' sacrifices,—was **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana**.

(Ll. 5-15). (He) ruled the **Vēṅgī** country for 18 years; his son **Jayasimha**, for 33 (*years*); **Vishṇuvardhana**, the son of his younger brother **Indrarāja**, for 9 (*years*); his son **Maṅgi-Yuvarāja**, for 25 (*years*); his son **Jayasimha**, for 13 (*years*); his younger brother **Kokkili**, for 6 months; dethroning him, his elder brother **Vishṇuvardhana**, for 37 (*years*); his son **Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka**, for 18 (*years*); his son **Vishṇuvardhana**, for 36 (*years*); his son **Vijayāditya-Narēndra-Mrigarāja**, for 48 (*years*); his son **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana**, for a year and a half; his son **Guṇagāṃka-Vijayāditya**, for 44 (*years*); king **Chālukya-Bhīma**, the son of his younger brother **Yuvarāja-Vikramāditya**, for 30 (*years*); his son **Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya**, for 6 months; his son **Ambarāja**, for 7 years; dethroning his son **Vijayāditya**, who was a boy, **Talapa** for one month; having conquered him, **Chālukya-Bhīma's** son **Vikramāditya**, for 11 months. Then **Talaparāja's** son **Yuddhamalla** (*ruled*) for 7 years. Having conquered him, **Bhīmarāja**, the son of **Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya** (*reigned*) for 12 years.

(Ll. 15-17). This king **Bhīma**, the personification of **Mahēśvara**, begot by his wife **Lōka-mahādēvī**, who resembled **Umā** in form, a son called **Ammarāja** who resembled **Kumāra**. This (**Ammarāja**) ruled well the **Vēṅgī** country with **Trikaliṅga**, according to the injunctions of **Dharma**.

(Verse 1). **Bādapa** with the help of the **Vallabha** (*king*) called **Karṇarāja** drove away from the country the prosperous (*king*) called **Ammarāja**.

(V. 2). Having defeated the *dāyas*¹ (agnates) and crushed the multitude of enemies, given a heap of things to supplicants and honoured his relations, the **Adhirāja** called **Bādapa**, son of king **Yuddhamalla**, lord of **Vēṅgī**, rules the earth and conducts himself according to the injunctions of **Manu**, adorned with all virtues. He is highly famous and valorous, a man of self-respect and a warrior.

(V. 3). During the reign of this king the country, rich with abundance of many and full-grown crops, was mindful of its duties (*dharm-ānurakṭa*) and free from calamities, diseases and thieves.

(V. 4). He was a **Manu** to all his subjects, a father to all his servants, Cupid to women and a desire-fulfilling tree to supplicants.

(Ll. 22-25). He, **Samastabhuvandśraya**, *śrī-Vijayāditya*, **Mahārājādhirāja**, **Paramēśvara** **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, the great worshipper of **Mahēśvara** (**Śiva**), most hospitable to Brahmans, one who concentrates his mind on the feet of his parents, having called together all the chiefs of families headed by the **Rāshtrakūṭas** residing in **Velanāṇḍu-vishaya**, orders (*them*) thus:—"Be it known to you".

(V. 5). There is one who is well-known by the famous name of [**Bāḷāditya**, a superior archer whose greatness is taken for that of a re-incarnation of the Destroyer of **Kārtavīrya** (*i.e.*, **Paraśurāma**) in the **Kali** age, who is equal to **Rāma** and **Arjuna** (*in archery*), is devoted to **Dharma**, speaks the truth, and is the saviour of and a fire of destruction to his enemies.

¹ [See foot-note on Text I, 18.—Ed.]

(Vv. 6 and 7). His son, known as **Nṛipakāma**, is one who never swerves from his word in the practice of the bow and well-known as a mine of prowess. Besides, in his kingdom, on the roads, the cloths of the travellers are not even loosened by the winds; the robbers by the fire of his prowess. He received the appellation of **Kārmuk-ārjuna** (an **Ārjuna** in archery) because he conquered his enemies with a bow, and the title **Satyaballāta** because

(V. 8). The excellent king **Kārmukārjuna** is taken by crowds of wise Brahmins to be the teacher (*guru*) **Vyāsa**; by kings, to be a helper; . . . to be their father; and by supplicants, to be the desire-fulfilling tree. It is a wonder that by great archers, he is taken to be many **Pārthas** (**Ārjuna**s) though (*he is*) one (unequalled) and victorious (*hero*), and by passionate women to be **Cupid** (the god of beauty).

(V. 9). His valour, indeed, is born in the heavy blows dealt in battle-fields to the multitude of enemy-kings; his charity is charming by satisfying (*fully the wishes of*) Brahmins, dependents and supplicants; his glory, white as the moon, purifies (or makes white) the whole world. So shines he, the good **Kārmukārjuna**, **Sarō nātha** (lord of the lake), powerful and victorious.

(V. 10). The noble and good **Nṛipakāma**, lord of the lake (*Sarāḥpati*), shines on this earth like the sun, a repository of brilliance (or rays) to the delight of the lotus-like faces of his dependents, always rising and destroying the darkness, *viz.* the enemies.

(V. 11). He is adorned with the pearl necklace of great virtues, such as charity, unstinted kindness, strength, . . . proficiency, purity, forgiveness, respectability and inestimable worship of **Śiva**; he is the source of pleasure to the poor, the forlorn, the actors, the blind, the naked, the poets, great orators and Brahmins. So shines the illustrious and famous chief **Satyaballāta**, the conqueror in battle-fields.

(V. 12). With pure virtues and unsullied fame, he brightens the points of the compass, destroying his enemies. He, the devotee of **Bhava** (**Śiva**), enjoys the pleasures of this world through the grace of **Bhava** and is very famous.

(V. 13). With prowess like that of the sun he destroys his enemies and is the foremost of archers, the abode of wealth, modesty, forgiveness, authority and mercy, and the fearless one. This **Śāuri** (**Vishṇu**), *viz.* the good king **Nṛipakāma**, patronising truthfulness, shines always in this world, a destroyer of sins.

(V. 14). Strong and glorious, he killed single-handed with his sword five warriors (*at a time*), and with full(*-stretched*) bow, thousands of enemies in the battle-field.

(V. 15). Just as the gods **Brahma**, **Īśa** (**Śiva**), **Indra**, **Ṛṣhikēśa** (**Vishṇu**) and **Kumāra** (**Skanda**), have for their beautiful wives the Goddess of Speech (**Sarasvatī**), **Umā**, **Śāchī**, **Lakṣmī** and **Jayaśrī** (the Goddess of Victory), respectively,

(V. 16). so, **Nṛipakāma-Sarāḥpati**, who resembled those gods, had a wife who was dear to him and who resembled those (*goddesses*) and was well-known as (*i.e.*, by the name of) **Nāyamambā**.

(V. 17). She had (*on her body*) all auspicious signs and was adorned with all ornaments. She knew the principles of all the duties of a woman, and was a house-wife (*satī*) possessed of virtuous character and conduct.

(V. 18). By that devoted wife he, surnamed **Satyaballāta**, begot a worthy son named **Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa**.

(V. 19). Just as **Guha** (**Skanda**) was born to **Umā** and **Śiva**, (*or*) **Jayanta** to **Śāchī** and **Indra**, a son was born to them who were equal to those two divine pairs.

(V. 20). With an expanded chest and shoulders like those of a bull, he resembled **Skanda** in valour. With strong arms and extraordinary strength, he possessed great energy and perseverance.

(Vr. 21-23). The illustrious Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, the eldest son of Nṛipakāma-Sarōnātha, was highly intelligent and proficient in mounting elephants and horses. He was strong, brave, pure, clever and possessed virtuous character and conduct and good qualities. He was the best among the archers and the most proficient in all the arts. This sun among men named Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa is the best of all warriors and a bee at the lotus-like feet of (*his*) parents.

(V. 24). To him Bādapa, the king of kings, and the mightiest among great kings, being pleased, gave the big and famous village Ārumbāka saying :—

(Ll. 56-58). "I have given to Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa having issued an order on plates of copper the village called Ārumbāka in Velanāṇḍu-vishaya free of all taxes."

(Ll. 58-62). Having accepted the village granted by Bādapa, the best of kings, Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, in his turn, gave, with an oblation of water, the thus accepted village named Ārumbāka to Chandena who was the son of Sā[ma]kāmbā, the uterine younger sister of his (Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa's) mother Nāyamambā. After accepting the village, (*the said*) Chandena shone like the full moon who receives the (*sixteen*) *kalas* (phases).

(V. 25). Resplendent is the good Chandanārya, a brave young man, the foremost of good warriors, who, among men of the *Saras* (lake-lords), possesses the knowledge of all the *āgamas*, is compassionate, is the destroyer of proud enemies and is rising fortune.¹

(Ll. 63-64). The boundaries of that village (are) : to the east Cherakumballi, to the south Śrīpūṇḍi, to the west Kāvūru, (*and*) to the north Gōmaḍuvu.

(Ll. 64-67). No one shall interfere with this village. If any one so interferes, he shall incur the five great sins.

[Here follow the two imprecatory verses (26 and 27), *viz*, सद्धत्ता परद्धत्ता etc. and बहुभिर्बसुध etc. (sung by Vyāsa), which are well-known.]

(V. 28). The executor (*ājñapti*) (*of this order*) is Katakā-nṛipa; the poet is Ayyanabhaṭṭa who knows all the *śāstras*. The edict was written by Bhaṭṭadēva, to last as long as the moon, the stars and the sun would last.

B.—THE ŚRĪPŪṆḌI PLATES OF TĀLA II.

These copper-plates, registered as No. 5 of Appendix A of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, were received from the Collector of Guntūr in 1908 by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and noticed by him at page 108, paragraph 61 of the same report. But it may be noted that these plates had been examined, transcribed and included, already about A.D. 1800, in the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.² In one of the copies of the plates thus preserved it is remarked that 'the original copper-plates were found buried in the ground, some fifteen years before, in the village of Śrīpūṇḍi by the *karnams* of the place'. It is further noted that there was a tradition in the village that it was given by a king called Vishṇuvardhana to some *Bhaṭṭarājus*—a Telugu caste, analogous to the *Bhāṭas* of Rājputāna.

The inscription consists of five plates with raised rims measuring in height $8\frac{1}{4}$ " and in breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ " to $3\frac{3}{4}$ ". The first and last plates are written only on the inner side. They are strung on a circular copper ring measuring $4\frac{1}{10}$ " in diameter and nearly $\frac{9}{16}$ " in thickness. The

¹ [and possesses a lovely appearance.—Ed.]

² See Bk. No. (15-5-80), pp. 179-182; Bk. No. (5-6-21), pp. 136-138, and Bk. No. (15-5-35), pp. 41-43, preserved in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. The second, the third and No. 5 of 1908-09 (Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*) have been noticed by Mr. V. Rangacharya in his *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, as Gt. 539, 607 and Ms. 165 and are given as separate copper-plates, while in reality they are copies of the same. In one of the copies (*viz*. Bk. 15-5-35) *Rāshṭrakūṭa* is read as *Sourāshṭra*, Śrīpūṇḍi as Śrīvāru, Velanāṇḍu-vishaya as Teluguṇṭi-gōshṭi, and Ravivarmāchārya as Kavi-kaimadhama-māchārya.

ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal measuring $2\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter. The bottom is fashioned into a flower of several petals which support the seal. An expanded lotus flower and above it the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanasiha* are cut in relief on the seal but are slightly damaged. Above the legend is a standing boar facing the proper left with the tip of its snout slightly raised. Above the boar is an *aṅkuśa* laid in a horizontal position and above the latter, the crescent with a dot which latter, perhaps, stands for the symbol of the sun. The ring had been cut when the plates reached the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent's office. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation, and not a single letter is illegible as the work of engraving was most carefully done. They are now deposited in the Madras Museum.¹ Remarks on the palæography and orthography of this inscription have been included in my introduction to the grant A above.

The inscription commences with the usual titles of the Eastern Chālukyas beginning with the words "*Svasti Śrīmatām*" and ending with "*Chālukyānām*." It then enumerates the kings of the Eastern Chālukya line from Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Satyaśraya-Vallabhendra, down to the donor Vishnuvardhana-Tāla (II). Unlike the other inscriptions of the Chālukyas, the periods of reigns of the different kings are not given in this inscription. The genealogy also differs widely from the genealogy given in A above—the Ārumbāka plates of Bādapa—and from the other published grants which supply a genealogical list of the Chālukya kings.² The relationship, for example, of the ruling kings from Jayasimha-Vallabha to Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, is different. The interval between these two kings includes five generations instead of the usual two. From Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka to Amma I the genealogy is correctly given and in the right order of succession. Next, coming to Amma I, it is stated that he, Vikramāditya (II) and Tāla I, ruled one after another, and then came Yuddhamalla II and the latter's two sons, Bādapa and Tāla II. The omission of the short reigns of Bēta-Vijayāditya V and Bhīma III, the two sons of Amma I, and the reversing of the order in the case of Vikramāditya II and Tāla I, perhaps suggest that the author of the record intended to represent that after Vikramāditya II, from Tāla I to Tāla II, there was an unbroken succession quite contrary to what is stated elsewhere. This seems to be the reason why he took care to omit to mention the number of years each king ruled.

The donee is one Kuppanayya, grandson of Kalivarma and son of Makariyarāja. He occupied the position of a great feudatory and minister (*mahāsāmant-āmātya*) under the king, had successfully stood the test of the four kinds of honesty (*upadhī*), viz. loyalty, disinterestedness, continence and courage, and was a member of the family of Pallavamalla. His father Makariyarāja is stated to have suffered and lost his life in serving his master. Thus it is evident that both father and son were in the service of Tāla II. The Vaṇḍram plates of Amma II³ also mention a donee by name Kuppanayya or Kuppanāmātya; but there, his grandfather was one Tūrkiya-Peddiya or Tūrkiya-yajvan. We cannot therefore identify Kuppanayya of our plates with that Kuppanāmātya. From the appellation 'varma' applied to the name of the grandfather of the donee we may take it that he belonged to a family that claimed to be Kshatriyas. Regarding the family-name Pallavamalla, we know that the usurper Pallavamalla Nandivarman, the last great king of the Pallavas, flourished about A.D. 717 to 779.⁴ After the fall of the Pallavas, some of the later members of the family may have settled in the Telugu country; and Kuppanayya's family has evidently to be traced to one of them. The high-sounding titles of the donee indicate that the members of the family may have once enjoyed a great position.

¹ They are numbered as Eastern Chālukya plates No. 12, in the "Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras" (1913). In the remarks on these plates, there, it is stated that the grant must have been made by Tāla I who reigned for a month in 925 A.D. But we know from the plates themselves that these were issued by Tāla II, the grandson of Tāla I.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 131.

⁴ Professor G. J. Dubreuil's *The Pallavas*, p. 74.

The language of the plates is Sanskrit prose which is very carelessly written. Telugu words are, however, used in describing the boundaries. Some of these are out of use in the current spoken dialect and are not found in standard Telugu lexicons. They are therefore of great interest and must be carefully interpreted with the help of cognate words in other Dravidian languages :—

(1) *Maṇḍi-moṇka-chinta* : *maṇḍi* means 'bent' (Kittel) and *chinta* means 'a tamarind tree'; *moṇka* may be taken as *mōka* which means 'a sprout' or 'a young tree'; *maṇḍi-moṇka-chinta* will mean 'the young tamarind tree which is bent'; perhaps the tree was known in the village by that name.

(2) *Koḍamaduvu* ... We may try to interpret this compound word thus :—The top sill of a sluice is called *goḍugubaṇḍa* (lit. the umbrella-slab) in Telugu, perhaps because it stands like an umbrella on the sluice. Similarly the top plank of a door-way is called a *goḍugu-balla*. In Tamil and Kanarese, the cognate word for *goḍugu* is *koḍai* or *koḍe*. *Maduva* in Tamil means 'a sluice'. Hence *koḍa-maduva* may mean 'a sluice of a tank with a top sill', i.e., a sluice with masonry construction, as contrasted with an ordinary sluice. If we take *koḍa* as *koṇḍa* then the word would mean 'a sluice on the hill-side'.

(3) *Gōgurēvu* : *gōgu* means 'hemp' and *rēvu* beginning with *r* and not with *ṛ* means in the current Telugu language, 'a ford, a ferry, a landing place, a fort'. Kittel's *Kannaḍa Dictionary* gives this word in both the forms *rēvu* and *ṛēvu* in the same sense. In the Nandamapūṇḍi plates of Rājārāja I, we have the terms *tāḍla-rēva* (l. 82) and *golla-rēva* (l. 86). We have in Telugu *Chākali-rēvu*, the place where washermen do their washing business. I take *ṛēva* and *rēvu* to be the same word and interpret it as a place where a group of people or of trees is to be found. If this interpretation is correct, *gōgurēvu* would mean the plot of land in which generally *gōgu* plants are cultivated or grown in abundance.

(4) *Kadamukōpu*. *Kōpu* is a conical bar or column as the small pillars of earth left in the middle of pits by earth diggers, to indicate the original depth of the pit at different places. Bars of slate pencils are also called *balapapu kōpulu*. *Kadamu* may be *kadambu*, the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit word *Kadamba*. The compound word then means 'the trunk of a *kadamba* tree which was like a cone'.

(5) *Kalavelalagula-pedda-chinta*. To make some sense out of it I would like to correct this compound word as *Kalvelagula-pedda-chinta*. *Kal* is 'stone' and *velagula* or (*velugula*) means a 'fence'. We can translate the whole phrase as 'the big tamarind tree adjoining the stone fencing'.²

(6) *Chirūṣōḍi-maddalu*. *Chirūṣōḍi* is perhaps the name of a village or a variety of *maddalu*, and *maddalu* means 'the *maddi* (*bricadelia retusa*) trees'.

(7) *Goragapallamu* and *Kaṭṭumbōḍalu*. *Goraga* is a Śaiva mendicant and *pallamu* means a low land, a wet land, a paddy-field. Therefore the first phrase means 'the paddy field belonging to the Śaiva mendicants'. *Bōḍa* means a tiny embankment constructed to irrigate a field. *Kaṭṭumbōḍalu* would mean 'artificial embankments', or, as there is no distinction made in these plates between a short and a long *o*, we may read this word as *Kaṭṭumbōḍalu* and divide it as *kaṭṭu(m) + pōḍalu*. *Kaṭṭuva* means 'a fence' and *pōḍalu* means 'bushes'. The compound word would then mean 'the fences made of (natural) bushes'.

(8) *Bāḍiya-bola-yaṇṭapēdariyāku-jinta*. The meaning of *Bāḍiya* is not clear. It may be a village. *Bola* is *pola* which means 'boundary'. This word is found in this sense in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (ll. 81, etc.). *Yaṇṭa* is *aṇṭa* and means 'touching, near, by the side of'.

² [The Tamil word for 'a sluice' is *madagu* or *maḍai*.—Ed.]

² [The word may be corrected into *karala-velagala*, that is, 'of bifurcated wood-apple trees'.—Ed.]

Pēdari means 'poor'; *pēdariyāku* may be translated as 'poor-leaved', (with very small leaves). The tree perhaps had peculiarly tiny leaves. The whole phrase may be translated as 'the dwarf-leaved tamarind tree which is near the boundary limits of Bādiya.'

It is not clear from the text whether the village given away was Śrīpūṇḍi or the adjoining Ādūru or both. In ll. 29-30 it is stated that the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of Śrīpūṇḍi is given; while in ll. 35-36 Ādūru is mentioned as the hamlet (*grāmaṭikā*) which is the subject of the gift. I think this contradiction is due to a mistake of the writer. I believe that in ll. 29-30 he ought to have written (*Ādūru-grāmāntarvartinī*) *Śrīpūṇḍi-nāma-grāmaṭikā mayā dattā* but omitted by mistake the letters put in brackets, and he ought to have repeated the same words in ll. 35-36. It may also be suggested that the mistake of the writer was rather in l. 36 than in l. 30. He ought to have stated *simāntarvartinī-Ādūru-(sahita-Śrīpūṇḍi)-nāmā grāmaṭikā ēta*. Thus it would be that the king gave Śrīpūṇḍi with Ādūru (as its *upagrāma*). But it is not likely that Ādūru formed part of the gift, because it is mentioned in the plates as a boundary to the place mentioned which is the subject of the gift (l. 32) and because if Ādūru was one of the villages given, the donor in all probability would have defined its boundaries also. Anyhow the limits of the village do not seem to have touched the boundaries of any of the neighbouring villages except that of Ādūru in the south. It may, therefore, be inferred that instead of gifting away the whole village of either Śrīpūṇḍi or Ādūru, a new hamlet was carved out of the old village or villages for the purpose of this grant. This view is strengthened by the boundaries given in the plates of Bādapa. There, Śrīpūṇḍi is given as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka (l. 64). If the whole village of Śrīpūṇḍi was given, we should have expected the name of Ārumbāka as the northern boundary of Śrīpūṇḍi. Instead of that we have some embankments or bushes as the northern limit.

There is no doubt about the identification of Śrīpūṇḍi; because it is given as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka in A and we find it in the same position even now in the Repalle talukā of the Guntūr District. But Ādūru is not found now. Perhaps it has merged in the parent village. In describing the position of the village Śrīpūṇḍi it is said that it was in the middle of (or between) *vāgaru*. But what is *vāgaru*? I think it is a compound word consisting of two words *vāgu* and *aru*. *Vāgu* means 'a stream' and *aru* may be equivalent to *āru* which means 'a river' in Tamil, the cognate of *ēru* in current Telugu. The land given by the grant seems to have been situated within a delta formed by streams, one of which was known by the name of *vāgu* and the other *āru* or *ēru*.

The date of the grant, though not given in the plates, can easily be guessed. Of the kings mentioned in the plates Amma II is the last one known to us and the grant must have been therefore issued subsequent to his reign and prior to the restoration. Whether Tāla II of record B actually ruled for some time and whether this grant was issued during his *de facto* rule or whether he considered the reign of his brother Bādapa as *svarājya-samaya* cannot be definitely determined. But the probability seems to be that Tāla did not rule independently of his elder brother Bādapa. The legend on his (Tāla's) seal and the epithets used for Bādapa and Tāla in these plates support this view. The legend on the seal of Tāla is 'Tribhuvana-siha' instead of the imperial legend of 'Tribhuvanānkuśa' which we find on Bādapa's seal. In mentioning the prior kings the inscription uses no royal epithets. But on coming to Bādapa he is styled as 'Bādapākhyā-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvaraḥ' (ll. 18-19). This clearly indicates that the previous kings were dead and Bādapa was the living supreme ruler according to the writer of the inscription. Again, in mentioning Tāla, he is styled at one place only as Tāla-bhāpāla (l. 19) and at another place Mahārājādhirāja (l. 24), but the epithet of Paramēś-

vara is not applied to him. We know that Pulakēśin II acquired this title as a sign of paramountcy after defeating Harsha, the paramount lord of the north, who had this title. From this we can infer that Bādapa was ruling as the supreme lord of the kingdom, and Tāla acted as a subordinate and lieutenant. It is not necessary that such charities should be conferred by the reigning prince alone, and *svarājya-samaya* need not necessarily mean the reign of the donor. It may here mean the period during which the once-excluded junior line obtained possession of the kingdom, which, in their view, really belonged to them. Tāla, of course, considered the possession of his elder brother as his own possession.¹

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 'स्वस्ति [I] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्थयमानमानव्य-
- 2 सगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादल[ब्ध]राज्या-
- 3 नां म[I]दुगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपा-
- 4 दानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमा-
- 5 सादितवरवराहलांकनोक्षणक्षणवशीक्रि^१तारातिम-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 ण्डल^२नां अश्वमेधावभृत(य)स्त्रानपवित्रीक्रि^३तवपुषां
- 7 चाकुक्ष्य[I*]नां कुळमळकरिणो^४सत्याश्रयवत्समेन्द्रस्य
- 8 भ्राता कुळविष्णुवर्द्धनः । तत्सुतो जयसिंहव-
- 9 क्षभः । तत्सूनुर्विष्णुराजः । तत्पुत्रः ^{१०}इद्रिभट्टार-
- 10 कः । तत्पुत्री विष्णुवर्द्धनः । तत्सुतः सत्याश्रयः । तत्सूनु-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 ममियुवरज^{११} तत्पुत्रः कोकिक्रि^{१२} । तद्भ्राता विष्णुराजः । तद्भ्रा[I*]-
- 12 ता विजयादित्यः । तात्पुत्रो^{१३} विष्णुवर्द्धनः । तात्पुत्रो^{१३} विजयादि-
- 13 त्यभट्टारकः । तत्पुत्रः विष्णुवर्द्धनः [I*] तत्सुतो नरेन्द्र-
- 14 विजयदित्यः^{१४} [I*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव[र्द्ध]नः । तत्पुतो^{१५}
- 15 गुणक्रेनज्ञातविजयादित्यः । तदनुजसुतो भिमराजः^{१६} ।

^१ Vide Fleet's *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts*, p. 361.

^२ The marks of a floral design are faintly visible here.

^३ The letter न is cut above the line in the plate.

^४ Read °बाह्नेच°.

^५ Read °वोक्षत°.

^{११} Read °ममियुवरजः.

^{१०} Read विजयादित्यः.

^६ Read वशीकृता°.

^७ Read °कुळमळकरिणी°.

^{१२} Read कोकिचिः.

^{१३} Read तत्पुत्री.

^८ Read संक्षुमान°.

^९ Read °मण्डलानां.

^{१०} Read इन्द्र°.

^{११} Read तत्पुत्री.

^{१२} Read भीमराजः.

ŚRĪPUNDI PLATES OF TALA II.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

ii a.

6

8

10

ii b

16
 18
 20

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

ir a.

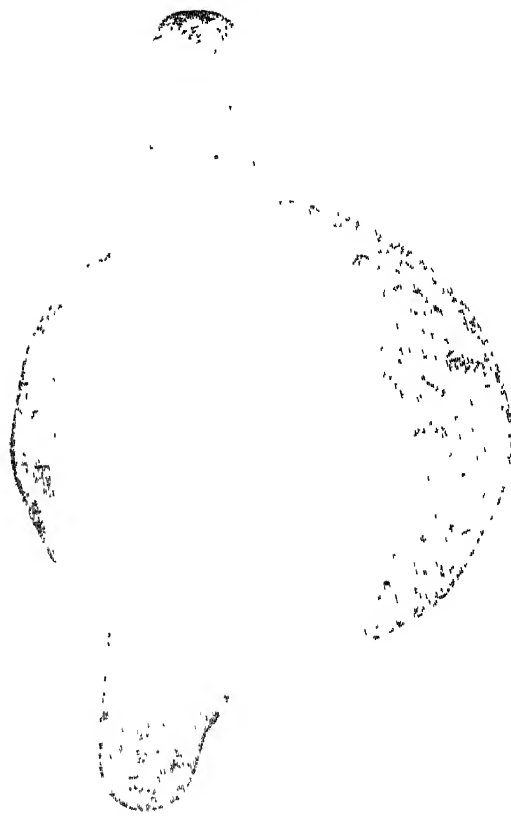
ib.

[illegible]

2

36
38
40

SEAL. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)



Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 तत्पुनः कोल्लविजयादित्यः । तत्पुनुरम्भराजः । तदनु वि-
 17 क्रमादित्यः [1*] तदनु भीमानुजः त'७७भूपालः । तत्पुत्र[*] श्रीयु-
 18 क्ष्मन्तः [1*] तत्पुतो बादबा(पा)ख्यमहाराज'धिराजः परमेश्व-
 19 रः । तदनुजो विष्णुवर्द्धनस्ता७७भूपालः^३ स्वराज्यस-
 20 मये परमनिर्भृत्यस्य कृतकौशा[क]रजीतस्त्रमङ्गिदयस्य^५

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 पलवान्वयस्य चतुरूपधारायस्य महासामन्तामात्य-
 22 पदनियुक्तस्य सक[ल*]गुणगणालकृतस्य^७ पती^८हितधवल-
 23 स्य नानार्किंकुर्वीणतया परमकरुणापन्नङ्गि^९
 24 दयस्त्रन्विष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजः वेलनाण्डु-
 25 विडय^{१०}निवासिनी राष्ट्रकु(कु)टप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिन आह-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 26 य इत्यमाज्ञापयति अ । विदितमस्तु वोक्षाभिः अस्मै
 27 पञ्चवमल्लान्वयाय कलिवर्मस्य पोत्राय^{११} अस्मत्प्र-
 28 स्तावमृतस्य क्रि^{१२}तक्लेशस्य मकरियराजस्य
 29 पुत्र[र]य कुप्यनय्यवरना[स्त्रे]^{१३} वाग७७मच्ये^{१४}
 30 श्रीपुण्डिनामत्रमटिका^{१५} मय[र*] दत्त^{१६} । तस्य[र*] [अ*]वधयः । पुर्व-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 त^{१७} मण्डिमंकचिन्द^{१८} आग्नयतः^{१९} कोडमदुवु दक्षिणतः अ-^{२०}
 32 दुरि सीमान्तो(न्ते) गोगु७७वु नैरित्यतः^{२१} कदमुकोपु पञ्चवात^{२२} क-
 33 लवेललगुलपेहचिन्त । वायव्यतः चि७७शो-
 34 दिमडलु उत्तरतः गोरगपल्लमुत्तरमुन कहुंबोदलु
 35 ईशानतः बादियबोलय[ण्ट] पेदरियाकुजिन्त^{२३} । एतत्स^{२४}मान्तर्व-

^१ Read ता७७भूपालः.^२ Read ०राजाधिराजः.^३ Read ०भूपालः.^४ Read निर्भृत्यस्य.^५ Read [कृतकौशाचार०जितस्त्रामिङ्ग०.-Ed]^६ Read पञ्चवा०.^७ Read ०लंकृतस्य.^८ Read पति०.^९ Read ०हृदय०.^{१०} Read ०विषय०.^{११} Read ०वर्षणः पोत्राय.^{१२} Read कृतकौशा.^{१३} The superscription (here and in line 31 below) is written in the form of a final s; while in other cases (such as 1. 6 ईशान), 1. 7 रिचो, etc.) it is formed as in modern Telugu.^{१४} Read ०मच्ये.^{१५} Read श्रीपुण्डिनामयात्रमटिका.^{१६} Read दत्ता.^{१७} Read पूर्वतः.^{१८} Read ०चिन्त.^{१९} Read आग्नयतः.^{२०} Read आदुरि०.^{२१} Read नैरित्यतः.^{२२} Read पञ्चवातः.^{२३} Read ०चिन्त.^{२४} Read एतत्स०.

Fifth Plate.

- 36 त्ति[नो] आ[दू]हनाम(न्नी) ग्रामटिका सर्वकरपरिहारेश मान्यमया
 37 दत्ता इति [1*] अस्योपरि न क्षेत्रे चाद्वा[ब्र]ा¹ कर्त्तव्या यः करोति स पञ्च-²
 38 महा[पा]तकसंयुक्तो भवति । तथा चीन³ व्यासेन । स्रद्धतां परदत्त[i]
 39 वा यो हरत वसुधरा⁴ [1*] प्रष्टित्वैसह[स्र]णि वि[ड]ा-
 40 यां जायन्⁵ क्रिमिः⁶ । रविश्चन्द्रचार्येण लिखित⁷ ।

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8). [The usual titles of the Chālukyas, and the mention of Satyaśraya Vallabhēndra as in ll. 1-4 of A.]

(Ll. 8-19). His brother was **Kubja-Vishnuvardhana**; his son **Jayasimha-Vallabha**; his son **Vishnurāja**; his son **Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka**; his son **Vishnuvardhana**; his son **Satyāśraya**; his son **Maṅgi-Yuvarāja**; his son, **Kokkili**; his brother, **Vishnurāja**; his brother **Vijayāditya**; his son **Vishnuvardhana**; his son **Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka**; his son **Vishnuvardhana**; his son **Narēndra-Vijayāditya**; his son **Kali-Vishnuvardhana**; his son **Guṇakkēnallāta-Vijayāditya**; his younger brother's son **Bhimarāja**; his son **Kollābi-Vijayāditya**; his son **Ammarāja**; after him, **Vikramāditya**; after him, **Bhima's** younger brother **Tālabhūpāla**; his son **Śrī-Yuddhamalla**; his son **Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bādapa**; his younger brother **Vishnuvardhana Tālabhūpāla**.

(Ll. 19-26). (This) **Vishnuvardhana-Mahārājādhirāja**, during the period of his rule (*svarājya*),—(moved) with heart full of great kindness on account of the various services rendered by one, who was very much devoted (to him), who won the heart of his master by hard work and good behaviour, who belonged to the family of the **Pallavas**, who came pure out of the four tests (loyalty, etc.), who was appointed to the position of a great *sāmanta* and *amātya*, who was adorned with all virtues and who was pure in the cause of his master—sent for the chiefs of families residing in **Velanāṇḍu-vishaya** headed by the **Rāṣṭrakūṭas** and ordered them thus:—

(Ll. 26-30). “Be it known to you that to this (*donee*) named **Kuppanayya**, of the family of **Pallavamalla**, grandson of **Kalivarma**, and son of **Makariyarāja** who has suffered and died in our cause, we have given the small village (*grāmatikā*) named **Śrīpūṇḍi** (*situated*) in the middle of **Vāgaru**.

(Ll. 30-35). “Its boundaries are: to the east *maṇḍimuṅka-chinta*, to the south-east *koḍa-maduru*, to the south *gōḍa-rāvu* which lies at the end of the boundary of **Āḍūru**; to the south-west *kāḍamu-kōpu*, to the west *kalarēlalagula-pēḍḍa-chinta*, to the north-west **Chirūṣōḍi-māḍḍalu**, to the north *kaṭṭuṇ-bōḍalu* north of *Gōraga-pallamu*, to the north-east *bāḍiyabolayanta pēḍariyāku-chinta*.

(Ll. 35-37). “Within this boundary I have given you as *mānya* the small village called **Āḍūru** exempted from all taxes.”

(Ll. 37-40). None should interfere with this (*village*). One who does so shall be deemed to have committed the five great sins. **Vyāsa** has also said: [the usual imprecatory verse स्रद्धतां परदत्तां, etc.]. Written by **Ravivarmamācharya**.

¹ Read °विहावा.

⁴ Read वसुधरा.

⁵ Read °जायते.

² Cancel the *amuvāra*.

³ Read जायते.

⁶ Read लिखित.

⁸ Read चीन.

⁶ [Read कृति:—Ed.]

No. 25.—PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE KONA KING CHODA III.
SAKA-SAMVAT 1325.¹

By J. NOBEL, PH.D., BERLIN UNIVERSITY.

An inked estampage of the inscription (No. 210 of 1899) was supplied by the late Mr. Venkayya and made over to me by Prof. Lüders. The inscription is engraved on three faces of a square pillar at the eastern entrance of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at **Pañchadhārāla** in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency. On the north face are five verses (*pañcharatna*) which are not connected with the inscription, but were composed, as stated in the first five lines of the west face, by a certain Chen[n*]āpeg[g*]aḍa Chennakavirāja-kalahansa in praise of the god Dharmalinga. That these verses were engraved at a later time than the inscription is shown by a Telugu inscription² on a pillar at the western entrance of the same temple dated in Śaka-Samvat 1465, which mentions a certain Chennapeggaḍa Chennakavirāja, and by a pillar inscription³ at the entrance of the Viṣṇu temple in the same village dated in Śaka-Samvat 1452, which contains a verse by a poet called Chennakavirāja. There can be no doubt that the person mentioned in these two inscriptions is identical with the author of the '*pañcharatna*.'

The inscription contains 93 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is 1 inch. The alphabet is Telugu. Peculiar is the subscript form of *tha* which resembles the *ta* in its full form (see e. g., *Sthānuśailaḥ*, l. 14; *parātrāṇ-ārththam*, l. 37). The same sign is used for expressing the second *dha* in the ligature *dhdha* (see e. g., *Varasiddhalinga*, l. 83). The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the last remark in Telugu (*ślokaḥ* 20), the whole inscription is in verse. Regarding the orthography it may be stated that after *anuvāra* as well as after *r*, consonants are sometimes doubled, as in *limggas-tīrththam* in l. 43.

The inscription is of some interest as it makes us acquainted with one of the smaller dynasties of Southern India, of which but little was known to us hitherto.

After an invocation of god Gaṇēśa (v. 1) the inscription begins with a mythical genealogy of the **Kōṇa** dynasty. From Viṣṇu's navel sprang Brahmā, his son was Marīchi, his son was Kaśyapa, from him sprang Bhānu (the Sun), from him Manu, and in his race was born Arjuna Kārtavīrya (v. 2).⁴

The historical genealogy begins with verse 3. In Arjuna Kārtavīrya's race there was **Chōḍa I**, who governed the country lying between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean (v. 3). His *birudas* are enumerated in verse 4 and are: 'Māhishmaty-adhipa, Saubhadia, Birudañkarudra,⁵ Ātrēya-gōtra Gaṇḍavēṇḍa, Mamniya-kṣmāpālī-mṛiga-vēṇṭakāra'. The title of 'the lord of Māhishmatī' seems to be founded only on the fact that he derived his descent from Arjuna Kārtavīrya. Chōḍa I was married to **Mallāmbā** (v. 5).

Their son was **Upēndra** (v. 5), of whom nothing is recorded except that his *biruda* was Gaṇḍavēṇḍa (v. 8), and that his wife was **Bimbāmbikā** (v. 7).

From her he had a son, **Chōḍa II** (v. 7). In verse 8 we are told that he ruled over the kingdom which was given to him by his father, the honoured Gaṇḍavēṇḍa, the ruler of

¹ [I had to make a few alterations in this and the next article and am alone responsible for them.—Ed.]

² See the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1900, p. 39, No. 211.

³ See *ib.*, p. 40, No. 220.

⁴ See above, Vol. VII, p. 126.

⁵ The same *biruda* was borne by a prince Viraparāja, who is mentioned in a Telugu inscription from the same Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla, dated Śaka-Samvat 141[6], and by a king Lakkama-Chōḍa in an undated inscription from the same place. See *Annual Report* for 1900, p. 39, No. 212 and p. 40, No. 222.

Madhyadēśa. Madhyadēśa is usually taken to be the name of the country lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It seems impossible, however, that this region should be meant by the Madhyadēśa of our inscription, because we are told in verse 5 that Chōḍa I ruled over the country between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean. For this reason Madhyadēśa must be taken in a sense different from the usual one. It apparently denotes the region lying between the two rivers Gōḍavārī and Kṛishṇā, which by its natural condition bears a certain resemblance to the country between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. In the same meaning Madhyadēśa appears to have been used in two other passages. In the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithvīvara, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1108,¹ the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu claim their origin from Indrasēna, whose capital is said to have been 'Kīrtipura in Madhyadēśa, (a city) that was the only receptacle of the bliss of the enjoyment of all pleasures (*asēśha-sukha-sambhōga-bhōgadhēy-aika-bhō[ja]nam* | *Madhyadēśe-bhavat tasya śhānam Kīrtipuram mahat* ||).' Since we know that the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu ruled over a tract of the Telugu country, it is highly probable that here also Madhyadēśa is to be understood as the name of the country between the Gōḍavārī and the Kṛishṇā. This conclusion is corroborated by verse 23 of the same inscription. There we read that the king Vēdura II won a victory over an unnamed Pāṇḍya king under orders of Vīra-Chōḍa, who conferred upon him, as a reward, one half of his crown and the *Sindhuyugmāntara*, 'the country between the pair of rivers.' The late Prof. Hultzsch was certainly right in identifying the 'pair of rivers' with the two rivers Kṛishṇā and Gōḍavārī. *Sindhuyugmāntara*, then, would be the same as Madhyadēśa.

The second passage occurs in a verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaiḍyajīvana*² ; *Yatr-āgatā Tryambakaparvatāch=cha Gōḍavārī sindhunadēna yuktā* | *tatr=āsti Gōḍātata-Madhyadēśe Shatkhētakākhyam*³ *nagaram suramyaṁ* ||. The *Gōḍātata-Madhyadēśa* of this stanza cannot be the country between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, but must be looked for in the vicinity of the Gōḍavārī, as the region included by the Kṛishṇā and the Gōḍavārī.

In verse 9 we are told that Chōḍa II set about in aid of the harassed **Sultān** (*suratrāṇa*) of **Paṇḍuva**, vanquished the **Emperor of Dilli** (Delhi), and gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the **king of Utkala** (Orissa).

The 'Sultān of Paṇḍuva' is, apparently, Iliyās Khwāja Sultān, the first independent ruler of Bengal, who in 1353 A.D. transferred his capital from Gauṛ to Pandua in the Mālḍa district,⁴ and the verse of our inscription refers to the war between him and Fīrōz Tughlaq, the Emperor of Delhi and successor of the well-known Muḥamad Tughlaq. According to Ferishta the campaign took place in 1353 A.D. which would agree well with the statement of the present inscription, that the grandfather of Chōḍa III, whose date was 1401 A.D., took part in the campaign against

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 32.

² See Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Saurer. Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 318a. See also above, Vol. VI, p. 132, note 5.

³ The town of Shatkhēṭaka I am unable to identify.

⁴ There are altogether three places of the name of Paṇḍuva. The first is a village in the Gōḍavārī district, situated about 40 miles to the south-west from Dākshārāma (see v. 10), but it is quite improbable that the Paṇḍuva of our inscription should be identical with that place which apparently in early times was only a village. In the *Life of the Aṣṭagiri Rājā in the Presidency of Maṭras*, Vol. I, p. 39, Mr. Sewell mentions that there is a copper-plate inscription dated in Śaka 1056 which records the grant of the village of Paṇḍuva, as an *agrāhāra* to certain Brahmans, by Kolani Kōṭappa-Nāyaka, lord of Sarasipura. Another Paṇḍuva is found in Bengal in the Hūgli district. It is at present a village, but in ancient times it was fortified and the seat of a Hindu rājā, but it never was the capital of a Mahomedan ruler (see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New ed., Vol. XIX, p. 394). For the third place of the name of Pandua in the Mālḍa district, see *ibid.* p. 392.

the Emperor of Delhi. Of the war Ferishta gives the following account in his *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* ¹:-

“ In the year 754 (i.e. 1353 A.D.) the King (Feroze Tughlak, the successor of the well-known Mohamed Tughlak) having hunted at Kallanore, caused a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal, of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehly, and himself marched towards Luknowty, to subdue Hajy Elias. This chief had assumed royal honours, and the title of Sums-ood-Deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa, ² one of the stations of Hajy Elias; and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, whither the King pursued him, and arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul. An action ensued on the same day; but Hajy Elias having entrenched his position very strongly reduced the King to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroze, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works, and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards fell into the King's hand. The rainy season soon after came on with great violence; peace was concluded; and the King returned to Delhy, without effecting his effects.”

The last remark leaves no doubt that Firōz Tughlaq did not succeed in subduing Iliyās Khwāja, which would be quite in harmony with the statement of the present inscription, that the Sultān of Paṇḍuva gained a victory over the Emperor of Delhi. From the inscription we may further gather that the Sultān of Paṇḍuva was aided by the king of Orissa, and from the account that Chōḍa II gave ‘ the Śrī of Victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala ’ it becomes likely that he was a vassal of the ruler of Orissa, or a general in his army.

According to verse 10, the **Bhīmōśa-liṅga** in **Dākshārāma**, ³ the modern Dracharam in the Godāvari district, four miles from Rāmachandrapuram, was the idol of king Chōḍa II. He was married to **Attemāmbā** (v. 11).

The son of Chōḍa II was **Bhīma** (v. 11), of whom nothing is recorded except that he was married to **Lakkāmbā** (v. 12).

His son was **Chōḍa III** (v. 12). In verse 16 he is said to have protected the princes of the great **Shaṭkōṇa**. The name of Mahā-Shaṭkōṇa seems to be identical with Kōṇa-śīma and Kōṇa-maṇḍala, the local designation of the Godāvari Delta. ⁴ In the Naḍupūru grant of Anna-Vēma dated in Śaka-Samvat 1296, we find the name Kōṇasthala which, according to the late Prof. Hultzsch, is the same as Kōṇa-maṇḍala and Kōṇa-śīma. ⁵

From the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Maṇma-Satya II ⁶ we know of a certain dynasty that ruled over the Kōṇa-maṇḍala. The last of the princes here mentioned is Maṇma-Satya II, who ruled in Śaka-Samvat 1117. Since the dynasty of our inscription has no connection with that older dynasty, it seems that in the 13th century a change of dynasties

¹ Translated by John Briggs, Vol. I, p. 448 f.

² Bundwa undoubtedly is the Paṇḍuva of our inscription. Pandua is situated some twenty miles from Gaur.

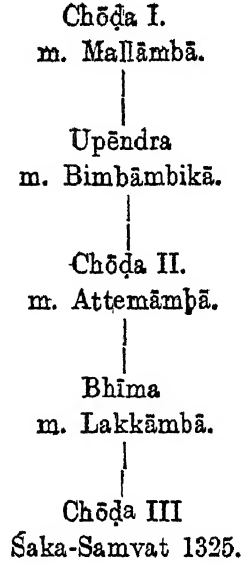
³ With regard to the name of Dākshārāma, see Hultzsch's remark above, Vol. IV, No. 37, note 3.

⁴ See above, Vol. III, p. 287.

⁵ See above, Vol. III, p. 287, and Vol. IV, p. 84; also Vol. VII, p. 75.

⁶ See above, Vol. IV, p. 83.

took place, though the cause of it is unknown to us. Perhaps it will be best to distinguish the new dynasty from the older one by calling it the second Kōṇa dynasty. Its pedigree according to the present inscription would be as follows :—



With verse 16 we come to the real purpose of the inscription. We are told (vv. 16, 18, 20) that Chōḍa III built a *gōpura* and laid out a grove at the eastern entrance of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla, the modern Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district.

The date of this event is given twice, both times in chronograms. According to v. 18 it took place in the Śaka year that is unfolded by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the moon (1); according to v. 20 in the Śaka year counted by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the earth (1), in the year Svabhānu, in the month of Rādhā, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight, on Friday. This date corresponds to A.D. 1403, April 27, Friday.

TEXT.

West Face.

- 1 त्रियमवतु गजास्य[.] त्रयसां¹
- 2 वो गुणानां स सुवनजमनादी
- 3 रम्यदम्यं सुराणां । अजविनु-
- 4 तमहिन्नः कंदुको यस्य ना-
- 5 भीकुहरविहरदंभः कुम्भि-
- 6 नीशाटिकाभूत् ॥ [१*]² नाभेर्विष्णोरज-
- 7 नि स विधिस्तत्तनूजो मरौचिस्तत्तजा-

¹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Metro: *Mālinī*.

- 8 तो भुवनभवनः कस्यप¹स्तस्य स्रुतः ।
 9 भानुर्मूर्तित्रयमयवपुस्तत्सुतो-
 10 भून्मनू राडाद्यस्तस्यान्वयनृपमणि-
 11 चार्जुनो दुर्जनोयः ॥ [२*]² यच्चक्रं चक्रपा-
 12 णेर्दशशतभुजभृद्भूवरो लीलयाभू-
 13 द्यत्कारायां चिरायावसदवसर-
 14 भागुधृतस्याणुशैलः³ । तस्य श्रीकान्तवीर्या-
 15 र्जुनधरणिपतेर्व्यंशजो नम्रभूभृच्चू-
 16 ङश्चोडाभिधानश्चिरविभवमशास्त्रिधुविं-
 17 ध्यान्तरोर्वी ॥ [३*]⁴ माहिस्त्रयविष⁵ प्रथाम-
 18 हिमभिर्माद्यङ्गुजक्रोडया सौमद्रो वि-
 19 रुदंकरुद्र उदयैरात्रेयगोत्रोय-
 20 मैः । विक्रांत्यापि च गंडर्वेण्डविह्वो
 21 धाटीभटैर्मनियक्ष्मापाळीमृगवैट-
 22 कार इति तं प्राप्नुजन् भूभुजः ॥ [४*]⁶
 23 ततश्चोडमहीपालादजीजनदयो-
 24 दयं । मल्लांवा महितोपेंद्रमु-
 25 पेंद्रमिव सादितिः ॥ [५*]⁷ तस्मिन्भरं जनक-
 26 दोरवतीर्णसुर्व्या विम्वत्यदभ्रव-
 27 लविभ्रमदंसकूटे । दिक्कुम्भिनः स्तक-
 28 रिणीष्वरमन्त नित्यं शेषोपि शंकरकरे-
 29 भवदिष्टभूषा ॥ [६*]⁸ तस्मादुपेंद्राद्दुदभृदु-
 30 दारो बिंबाविकायां किल चोडभूष-
 31 : । चूडामणोचुंबितपादपीठः क्रोडा-
 32 जितारातिनराधिपानां ॥ [७*]⁹ महितगंडुर्वे¹⁰-
 33 ङ्गमध्यदेशाधीशजनकदत्तराज्यसमधिकेन
 34 । तेन किल नृपेण वृषचातुर्वर्त्यमसर-
 35 तरुवितोर्णिमपजहास ॥ [८*]¹¹ एकं चित्र-

¹ Read कस्यप°.⁴ Sargdharā.⁷ Anushtubh.¹⁰ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.¹¹ [Aṭṭavelādi, a variety of Gīti usually employed in Telugu verse.—O. R. K. Ch.]² Mandākrāntā.⁵ Read °धिपः.⁸ Vasantatilakā.³ Read °भागुधृत°.⁶ Sārdūlarikrīḍita.⁹ Indracakra.

- 36 मिदं तु पंडुवसुरत्राणार्त्तसेना-
 37 परिचाणार्थं प्रतिगम्य बाहुवि-
 38 भवैर्निर्जित्य डिक्लीपति । द्वाविंश-

South Face.

- 39 त्थुरुदंतिभिस्त्रिममदाज्जैत्रे-¹
 40 हिरामुक्कळ्ळोणीशाय स
 41 भूपतिः सुरवरस्त्रोभ्यस्तुरु-
 42 ष्कानपि ॥ [८*]² दैवं दाक्षारामभीमे-
 43 शलिंगस्तोदर्थं गोदा यूपसंवा-
 44 धरोधाः । कीर्त्तीः³ शुद्धा समसंतानसि-
 45 द्वा चोडेंद्रस्य श्रीरपि श्रीविधात्री ॥ [१०*]⁴
 46 तस्मादसूतात्मजमर्त्तमांबिका च⁵-
 47 द्रं द्वितीयेव विपश्चिदञ्चितं । एष
 48 त्विषा भीम इति द्विषां रणे पित्रैव
 49 भीमः क्रियते स्म नामतः ॥ [११*]⁷ भीमक्षो-
 50 णिभुजो भुजोर्जितजयादागामिभ-
 51 द्रोदयक्रीडं चोडकुमारमात्मत-
 52 नयं प्राप्नोत्युरंध्रीमणी । सा र-
 53 त्नाकरमेखला वसुमती गुर्वी यथा-
 54 र्थ्यागमं लक्षांश्चा ललितोदये विरचि-
 55 ते पुण्यैर्ग्रहेः पंचभिः ॥ [१२*]⁸ चोडनृपालि
 56 तस्मिन् लोकनुतां भजति राजहं-
 57 सविभूतिं । कुवलयतलमपि विकस-
 58 त्कमलाकरतामुपैति सततामोद⁹
 59 ॥ [१३*]⁹ तर्कषु धर्मेषु जनावनेषु क्षमाकंठ-
 60 कानां परिमर्द्दनेषु । चोडेंद्रमाश्रि-
 61 त्य चिरं चतस्रः स्थाय्यं भजन्ते भु-
 62 वि राजविद्याः ॥ [१४*]¹⁰ दानं दीनजनेप्सिता-

¹ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Read कौर्त्तिः.

³ *Śālinī*.

⁴ *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ [Here for the sake of metre the vowel *e* is to be treated as short. Telugu recognises a short *e*.—Ed.]

⁶ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ *Indra-ajrā*.

⁸ *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ *Aryāgītā*.

¹⁰ *Indra-ajrā*.

- 63 दतिशयश्रीदं गुणालंकता कीर्ति-
 64 र्यस्य सरस्वती सहचरी सौंदर्य-
 65 माय्यादृतं । तेजो विक्रमविश्रुतं रिपु-
 66 मनोगर्वाधकारापहं धर्मश्रीड-
 67 नृपस्य तस्य धरणावाकल्पमुजुंभता¹ ॥ [१५*]²
 68 श्रीमश्रीडनृपः स पालितमहाषट्कोण-
 69 भूमीश्वरो लोकोदंश्चितपञ्चधार-
 70 नगरीधर्मेश्वरप्रीतये । पूर्वद्वा-
 71 रि विराजितं विलसितैरास्थापय-
 72 न्नोपुरं द्रष्टुं गोपुरयोषिता-
 73 मिव नवक्रीडाद्रिमिष्टोक्तवान् ॥ [१६*]³ यच्चो-
 74 र्जिताः पणसज्जविक्रनाळिकेररंभा-
 75 रसाळतरवो नृपचोडनाम्ना । दातु-
 76 त्वमस्य परिचेतुमिवावतीर्णाः कल्पद्रु-
 77 माः पुरवने विलसन्ति पञ्च ॥ [१७*]⁴

East Face.

- 78 सशरभुजरामचंद्रप्रसरे शाके
 79 निजौजसीव विरचितं । चोडेश्व-
 80 रेण सवनं ⁵गोपुरमाचंद्रमादिने-
 81 द्रं जयतात् ॥ [१८*]⁷ लिंगैः पंचशतैः
 82 सदा परिहृती नागेद्रशैलालयः
 83 संसिध्वा⁸ वरसिद्धलिंग इति यः
 84 पूर्वैः पुरा भाष्यते । पश्चात्पाण्डव-
 85 भक्तवत्सलतया धर्मेश इत्यागमैः
 86 सीयं रक्षतु चोडभूपमनिशं
 87 श्रीराजराजेश्वरः ॥ [१९*]⁹ शाकाब्दे शर-
 88 बाहुरामवसुधासंख्ये स्वभा-
 89 न्वब्दके राधे षष्टदिने सितेप्युशनसो
 90 वारे वरं गोपुरं । सारामं प्रक-

¹ Read °मुजुंभता.

² *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*

³ *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*

⁴ *Vasantatilakā.*

⁵ गोपुरमाचंद्रमा° is corrected from गोपुरं चंद्रमा°.

⁶ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ *Aryāgītā.*

⁸ Read संसिद्ध

⁹ *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*

- 91 टं प्रतिष्ठितमिदं ओचोडभूमी-
 92 भुजा खेयादाशशिभास्करं गिरिसुता-
 93 धर्म्मेशविश्रान्तये ॥ [२०*]¹ श्लोकात् २० ॥

TRANSLATION.²

(Verse 1.) May the Elephant-faced (Gaṇēśa) increase the splendour of your excellent qualities : he whose playing ball in the beginning of the creation of the world was the pleasant dwelling-place of the gods, while his majesty was praised by Brahman, the water moving in the cavity of whose (Gaṇēśa's) navel became the garment of the earth.

(V. 2.) From Viṣṇu's navel Brahmā was born. His son was Marīchi. His son was Kaśyapa, the origin of beings.³ His son was Bhānu (the Sun), whose body consists of the three forms.⁴ His son was Manu, the first king. A jewel among the princes of his race was Arjuna, terrible to evil-doers.

(V. 3.) Born in the race of the glorious king Arjuna-Kārtavīrya,—in whose prison he (*Rāvaṇa*) who had uplifted the mountain of Sthāṇu (Śiva) lived long, waiting his time, through the sport of the wielder of the disc (Viṣṇu) his realm had been conferred as a boon on the thousand-armed one⁵—king called Chōḍa, to whom the crests of kings bowed down, ruled with long-lasting power the country between the ocean and the Vindhya.

(V. 4.) On account of the greatness of (*his*) fame the kings honoured him as 'Māhishmaty-adhipa', on account of the sport of (*his*) proud arm as 'Saubhadra', for his accomplishment as 'Birudankarudra', on account of (*his*) self-control as Ātrēya-gōtra, on account of (*his*) valour as having the *biruda* 'Gaṇḍaveṇḍa', on account of (*his*) warriors as 'Mamniya-kshmāpā]i-mṛiga-vēṇṭakāra'.

(V. 5.) To that king Chōḍa, Mallāmbā bore the honoured Upēndra, the origin of fame, as Aditi (*bore*) Upēndra (Viṣṇu).

(V. 6.) While he, in whose shoulder there was no small strength, bore the burden of the earth descended from his father's arms, the elephants of the quarters were unceasingly sporting with their females and Śēsha was a favourite ornament in Śiva's hand.⁶

(V. 7.) From that Upēndra was born to Bimbāmbikā the august prince Chōḍa, whose foot-stool was kissed by the crest-jewels of the hostile princes, vanquished (*by him*) in sport.

¹ *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² [In some places it has become too literal.—Ed.]

³ Kaśyapa had numerous wives and for this reason a very large and heterogeneous progeny : deities, demons, serpents, birds, reptiles, in fine, all sorts of animated beings. Hence he is called sometimes Prajāpati; see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Wilson, p. 122 ff.

⁴ *Trimūrti* is an epithet of the Sun; cf. Hōmādrī (*Bibl. Ind.*) 1.611.9; 823.6; 2a.126.11; the same sense has *trayīṇaya* in Buṇyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (*Kāvya-milā*, No. 35), p. 99. See also Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, p. 446 f.

⁵ I take the compound दशशतभुजधरः as दशशतभुजधर्यस्य सवरः। The verse refers to the well-known legends of Rāvaṇa's lifting the Kailāsa on his march to attack Indra and his capture by Arjuna-Kārtavīrya; but the feature alluded to in the first *pāda* does not seem to occur in other versions of the story. [The first *pāda* seems to imply that this (*i.e.* Arjuna-Kārtavīrya's) realm had been conferred on him by the sport of Viṣṇu as a boon for his one thousand arms, though he is said to have got various boons from Dattatṛēya.—Ed.]

⁶ Both the elephants and Śēsha were released from their duties, for Upēndra acted as *iśkapāla* and *Chūdora*.

(V. 8.) Being satisfied by the king who was great on account of the kingdom given (to him) by his father, the honoured Gaṇḍaveṇḍa, the ruler of Maḍhyadeśa, the four castes laughed at the gift of the celestial tree.

(V. 9.) But this was an unique (and) wonderful (deed) : having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sulṭān of Paṇḍuva, and having by the strength of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Pilli, that king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two great elephants to the king of Utkala, and the Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods.¹

(V. 10.) King Chōḍa's idol (was) the Bhīmēśa-liṅga at Dākshārāma, his bathing-place, (was) the Gōḍā,² the banks of which were beset with sacrificial stakes, his pure fame (was) complete through the seven saṁtānas³ and his Śrī (was) the distributor of happiness.

(V. 11.) From him Attemāmbikā bore a son, praised by the wise, as the second day of the bright fortnight (bears) the moon⁴; he was called Bhīma by (his) father (because he said to himself) : " he will be terrible in battle by (his) wrath to (his) enemies ".

(V. 12.) From king Bhīma who had gained victories by (his) arm, Lakkāmbā (whose girdle was set with many gems), the jewel among women, obtained as a son prince Chōḍa who (was to exhibit) in future without effort the display of fortune, as the heavy earth, whose girdle are the oceans, (obtains) the growth of treasures, a happy conjuncture having been effected by the five auspicious planets.

(V. 13.) While this king Chōḍa displayed the splendour of a rājakaṁsa praised by the world, the surface of the earth became an ever-blossoming lotus-field (and obtained) perpetual joy.

(V. 14.) In reasoning, in (fulfilling) religious duties, in helping the people, in destroying the enemies of the country, the four royal sciences, after they have attached themselves to king Chōḍa, at last attain to their real purpose on the earth.

(V. 15.) Let the law of this king Chōḍa expand on the earth until (the end of) the kalpa—(of this king), whose liberality granted more wealth than the miserable ones had asked for, whose glory was adorned with virtues, whose companion was Sarasvatī, whose beauty was honoured by the noble ones, whose splendour, famous through his valour, took away the darkness of pride in the minds of (his) enemies.

(V. 16.) To the delight of (god) Dharmēśvara in the town of Pañchadhāra (of Dharmēśvara) renowned in the worlds, the glorious king Chōḍa, by whom the princes of the great Shaṭkōṇa-land are protected, had a gōpura (gate-way) erected at the eastern entrance (of the temple), brilliant by its charms, a new pleasure-hill, as it were, for the damsels in heaven, to behold (from there) the charming festivals (in the temple).

(V. 17.) In the park of the town where the bread-fruit, the jāmbīḷa,⁵ the cocoa-nut, the plantain, and the mango-trees nursed by him, who bears the name of king Chōḍa, are flourishing as if the five wish-giving trees had descended (from heaven) to witness his liberality.

¹ I.e., he killed them.

² Gōḍā is an abbreviation of Gōḍāvari, cf. e.g., Hōmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* 1084, *Rajhuvamśa* XIII, 35 (anu-Gōḍām), and the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaṁśavāṇana*, quoted above.

³ The seven saṁtānas or saṁtatis are enumerated above, Vol. VI, p. 119. v. 15.

⁴ *Devitīyā* is the second day of the bright fortnight. See e.g. *Ratnāvalī*, act II.

एसीसु शिरन्तरुण्डापरिक्षामं पि सविसेसबाहणीं तणं समुच्चइतो उदिदो विष सोहदिदिशदु चदरं श्रीदिध
पिचवचसी ॥

⁵ *Jambūḷa* is *jambū* or the 'rose-apple'.

(V. 18.) This *gōpura* erected by king Chōḍa in the Śaka year that is unfolded by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the Moon (1), and (for this reason), as it were, in its innate strength, (the displaying of which is like that of Rāmachandra in whose arms there are arrows), shall flourish, together with the park, as long as the moon and the sun will last.¹

(V. 19.) May this holy Rājarājēśvara, who, always surrounded by five hundred *līngas*, is dwelling on Mount Nāgēndra, who by the ancients was formerly called Varasiddhaliṅga on account of his (*granting*) successes, (*but*) according to tradition later on Dharmēśa on account of his being gracious to the faithful Pāṇḍavas,² always protect king Chōḍa.

(V. 20.) Let this excellent *gōpura* publicly established together with a grove by the glorious king Chōḍa in the Śaka-year counted by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the earth (1) in the year Svabhānu, in (the month of) Rādha, on the sixth bright day, on Friday, endure as long as the moon and the sun, for the repose of Pārvatī and Dharmēśa.

(Line 93.) Twenty verses.

NO. 26.—THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING VISVESVARA: SAKA-SAMVAT 1329.

By J. NOBEL, PH.D., BERLIN UNIVERSITY.

Two inked estampages of this inscription were supplied to me by the late Mr. Venkayya through Prof. Luders. The inscription is engraved on three faces of a pillar in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* in the Dharmahīnēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district. The name of the engraver is Dēvāchāri.

The characters are Telugu not differing from those of the pillar inscription of King Chōḍa III of the Kōṇa dynasty, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1325 which has been published above.³ The following peculiarities, however, may be noted. The remark about the combinations *ttha*, *ddha*, and *stha* does not hold good for the present inscription. In the former, *da* and *dha*, *i* and *ī* could clearly be distinguished, in the latter, they are constantly mixed up.

The language is Sanskrit verse throughout; only at the beginning and the end there is some prose. In the beginning we have *Śrī-Viśvēśvarāya namaḥ*, which is an invocation to Śiva, the illustrious lord of the universe. At the end comes the passage *Hari-Hara-Hiranyagar-bhu(ṛ)bhṛyō namaḥ* which means 'adoration to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahma', and is followed by the name of the engraver Dēvāchāri, written in Telugu as *Dēvāchāri-likhitaṃ*. The style is very similar to that of the foregoing inscription, from which one verse (v. 25) has been borrowed almost verbally. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the former inscription is but four years older than the present. There can be little doubt that both originated from the same author.

¹ The word *prasara*, not found elsewhere at the end of a chronogram, seems to have been used on account of the *śīrṣā*; it means: development, development of power, power.

² With regard to the term *bhaktavatsala*, cf. Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*—II, 50.

अलं बुलुक्कचितिपालसञ्जन शमेष विद्यायतु कर्कशं तपः ।

कनय्यपूने लयि पार्थतीपतिः प्रसादसारीकृति भक्तवत्सलः ॥

³ 'Away with mortification, thou ornament of the Chulukya princes, let cease the hard austerity. Pārvatī's husband, gracious to the faithful, will bestow an unheard-of favour on you.' Cf. also *Malabhi* I. 188, 23.

³ *Supra* pp. 155 ff.

In regard to **orthography**, it may be stated that after *anuvāra* and *ra* the doubling of consonants, unlike the preceding record, has not often been resorted to. The *visarga*, furthermore, is sometimes to be found where it is out of place (see vv. 19, 22, 25). Taking in view that it stands at the end of a verse, and once (v. 19) before a *cæsura*, we may take it as some sort of hyphen.

‘The proper **object** of the inscription is to record that the Eastern **Chalukya** king **Viśvēśvara** erected a *maṇḍapa* for the *kalyāṇa* festivals of the god Dharmēśa of **Pañchadhārāla** in **Śaka-Samvat 1329**, and that he set up an idol of Vishṇu in the **Upēndravara-āgrahāra** built by himself. /

After an invocation of Gaṇēśa (v. 1) the inscription opens with some mythical ancestors of the **Chālukyas**. From Vishṇu’s navel sprang **Brahmā**; he had a son **Atri**, from whose eyes the Moon arose. His eldest son was **Budha**. His son was **Purūravas**, and one of his descendants was **Pāṇḍu** (v. 2). His son was **Arjuna** (v. 3), his son **Abhimanyu**, his son **Parīkshit**, his son **Janamējaya** (v. 4). From his race descended **Vishṇuvardhana** (v. 5) with whom we come to the historical ancestors of **Viśvēśvara**.

Vishṇuvardhana is said to have practised the life of an ascetic on the **Chalukya** mountain which I am unable to identify. It is also mentioned in the **Korumelli** plates of the Eastern **Chālukya Mahārājādhirāja Rājārāja I Vishṇuvardhana**¹ and also in a grant of **Vīra-Chōḍa**.²

In **Vishṇuvardhana**’s race was born **Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara** [I]³ (v. 6). We are told that the **Śiva** temple **Kumārārāma**, being largely enriched with treasures by this king, was called after him **Chālukya-Bhīmēśa**. This temple is to be found even at the present time at **Bhīmavaram** near **Cocanada** in the **Godāvari** district.⁴ In other inscriptions this town is called **Chālukyabhīmēśvara-pura**, **Chālukyabhīma-nagarī**, or **Chālukyabhīma-pura**.⁵ That in former times the temple was named **Kumārārāma** we may gather from some unedited inscriptions where the town **Bhīmapuram** is called **Kumārārāma** or **Skandārāma**. In the **Pithāpuram** pillar inscription of **Mallapadēva**, dated **Śaka-Samvat 1124**,⁶ we are told, in contradiction to the passage in the present inscription, that **Chālukya-Bhīma** [I] himself founded the **Śiva** temple, called after his own name **Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara**. But there is no doubt that the account of the new inscription corresponds with the real fact.

From **Chālukya-Bhīma**’s race originated king **Vimalāditya**,⁷ who is said to have ruled over the land lying between the **Vindhya** mountain and the sea (v. 7). The same is recorded of the **Kōṇa** king **Chōḍa** [I] in the **Pañchadhārāla** pillar inscription (v. 3), noticed above. Of course, they were princes who ruled over a small part of that country.

The son of **Vimalāditya** was **Rājamahēndra**, called **Rājārāja** [I] in other inscriptions.⁸ After him a town on the **Godāvari** is named **Rājamahēndra** (v. 8), which is identical with the modern **Rajahmundry**.⁹

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 51, l. 25.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 53, l. 22.

³ He is also called *Dīdhārjuna* (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 32, 38, 42).

⁴ See above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

⁵ See above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ He was married to **Kundavā**, the younger sister of the [Chōḷa king] **Rājēndra-Chōḷa** [I] and daughter of the [Chōḷa king] **Rājārāja** [I] of the solar race. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 302, l. 1, p. 350.

⁸ See e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

⁹ See also above, Vol. V, p. 58, l. 23—*Rājamahēndranāmā(mnī) rājadhānī*. The town is called **Rājamahēndra-nagarī**, above, Vol. IV, p. 323, l. 33; **Rājamahēndra-nagara**, Vol. IV, p. 324, l. 42, Vol. V, p. 58, l. 27 and **Rājamahēndra-paṭṭana**, Vol. V, p. 32, v. 4.

Rājamahēndra's son was **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa (I)**. In verse 9 we are told, "that he played with his majesty on the summits of the Sandal-Mountain, and against the horrible Pāṇḍya". As may be concluded from the Tamil inscriptions¹ of this king, the name Malayāchala (= Chanda-nāchala) refers to the territory of the Chēra king, generally called Malai-nāḍu. The modern designation of Malaya (or Malakōṭṭa) is Malabar. In this country, too, dwelt the five Pāṇḍyas.² Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa's victory over the Pāṇḍya princes and king Chēra is very often mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions. In the same verse the king is called **Kēsarīn**, an abbreviated form of **Kēsarivarman** or **Rājakēsarivarman** of other inscriptions.³

So far we had to deal with princes, already known from other inscriptions. The remaining verses introduce new kings. From Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa's lineage arose **Vijayāditya (v. 10)**, who was married to **Chandāmbikā (v. 11)**. His son was **Mallapadēva (I)** whose *biruda* was **Sarvalōkāśraya (v. 11)**. His wife was **Lakshmi (v. 12)**. From her he got a son, **Upēndra (I)** who, as verse 12 seems to hint, bore the two surnames **Karavālabhairava** and **Dharaṇivarāha**. He was married to **Gaṅgāmbā (v. 13)**. Upēndra's son was **Mallapadēva (II) (v. 13)**, who was married to **Chōḍāmbikā (v. 14)**. She bore him **Upēndra (II)** whose *biruda* was **Rājaśekhara**. He is said to have founded the town **Chōḍamalla** in honour of his parents (v. 14). His wife was **Mallāmbikā (v. 15)** and his son was **Kōppa** with the surname **Paragaṇḍabhairava (v. 15)**. He was married to **Gaṅgamāmbā (v. 16)**. Kōppa's son was **Upēndra (III)** who bore the *biruda* **Rājanārāyaṇa (v. 16)**. His wife was **Bimbāmbā (v. 17)**. From him originated **Manum-Ōpēndra (IV) (v. 17)**, to whose praise five verses (17-21) are devoted. He bore the three *birudas* **Rājaśekhara**, **Sarvajña**, and **Śamkara (v. 20)**. His wife was **Lakkāmbikā (v. 22)**. The son of **Manum-Ōpēndra (IV)** was **Viśvēśvara**, also named **Viśvanātha (v. 1)**, **Viśvabhūmiśvara (v. 26)**, **Viśvadharaṇībhartṛi (v. 28)**, **Viśvanṛipa (v. 29)**, and **Viśvēśa (v. 30)**. The record of his deeds must be considered the chief object of the present inscription. From verse 23 we learn that his *biruda* was 'Sarvalōkāśraya', verse 29 mentions another, viz., 'Rāyagaṇḍagōpāla', and verse 30 a third one, i.e., 'Dharaṇivarāha'. A historical fact is reported in verse 24. We are told that in the year which is counted after the **gatis (5)**, the **arms (2)**, the **śaktis (3)**, and the **earth (1)**, and which is called **Chitrabhānu (Śaka-Samvat 1325)**, king **Viśvēśvara** overcame the **Āndhra** army in the sphere of **Sarvasiddhi**, which town lies seven miles south-west to **Pañchadhārāla**. We do not know, however, the near circumstances of this event. Verse 26 records the erection of a *maṇḍapa* for the success of the *kalyāṇa*-festivals of the god **Dharmēśa** of **Pañchadhārāla**. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *kalyāṇa* is a 'festival' and especially a 'marriage'. This last meaning the word must have in the present inscription; for the god **Dharmēśa** is called '*pratyabdam pariṇēṭṛi*', 'he, who marries every year'. This marriage, certainly, was every year celebrated in this *maṇḍapa*.⁴ Verse 28 furnishes us with the exact date of this *maṇḍapa*: it was erected in the year, counting after the **nine (9)**, the **arms (2)**, the **Rāmas (3)**, and the **moon (1)**, i.e. 1329 of the **Śaka era** in the month of **Śuchi (Jyēṣṭha)**, on the seventh bright day, and **Sunday**. This corresponds to Sunday, the 12th June A.D. 1407.

The last verse (30) records that **Viśvēśvara** set up an idol of the god **Vishṇu** in the **Upēndravara-āgrahāra**, built by himself, and probably called after his father's name.

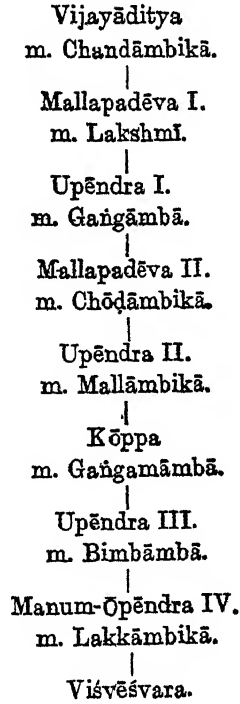
¹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 2, 236.

² [This statement is incorrect.—Ed.]

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. II, *passim*.

⁴ [*Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* are meant for such marriages of gods and goddesses.—Ed.]

The pedigree of the new princes may be represented thus :—



TEXT.¹

[Metres : vv. 1 and 17, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 2, 6, 23 and 25 to 28, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 30, *Indravamśā*; vv. 4, 5, 8, 14 and 18, *Upajāti*; vv. 7, 9, 13, 16, 20 and 21, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 10, 24 and 29, *Gīti*; vv. 11, 15, 19 and 22, *Indravajrā*; and v. 12, *Praharṣiṇī*.]

South Face.

- 1 श्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः ।
- 2 श्रीसंघ[र्द्धि] चिरमुत्त-
- 3 रां श्रेयसां स प्रतन्याश्चाकु-
- 4 क्तानां कुलदिनरवेर्विश्वनाथस्य² रा-
- 5 ज्ञः ॥(1) मात्रादर्शं जनकशिरसश्चंद्रखंडे-
- 6 न युंञ्जन् यस्तद्धिन्वं विदधदिव संपू-
- 7 र्णमास्ते गजास्यः । १ । विष्णोर्नाभिसरीर-
- 8 ङादुदभवद्भ्राता तदात्मोद्भवोऽप्यत्रिस्तन-
- 9 यनोदितः शशधरस्तस्याग्रसूतुर्वुदः³ ।
- 10 तत्पुत्रः स पुनरुवा रघु'रवापनायसं-

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Read °नाथस्य.

³ Read °वुदः.

⁴ Read °रघुरवा°.

- 11 नाहितस्तदंशेषु गतेषु पांडुरजनि स्मा-
 12 पालचूडामणिः । २ । तस्यात्मजोभूदरिम-
 13 र्दनोर्जुनः कोदंडदंडाङ्गितुष्टशंकरः ।
 14 संप्राप्तवान् पाशुपतास्त्रमीश्वरात् को नाम
 15 तेनोपमितो नरेश्वरः । ३ । तस्याभिमन्युस्तन-
 16 यस्तदात्मजः परिचिदाशोदध^१ तस्य नंदनः । लो-
 17 केषु रेजे जनमेजयस्ततः कृते कळवैद्यववं^२-
 18 श्रजेः शुभेः^३ । ४ । तदन्वयेजायत विष्णुवर्द्ध-
 19 नः संवर्द्धनो^४ राजकुलस्य संततेः । चक्रुक्वशैले
 20 तपशा^५भिनंहितैर्दुर्गाच्युताद्यैः कृतविक्रम-
 21 स्ततेः^६ । ५ । आसीदिंदुकुलाग्रणीर्जनपतिः चाकुक्वभी-^७
 22 मेश्वरस्तस्य चात्रपवित्रशैवपदवीवृत्तं विचित्रं भु-
 23 वि । तेनैवार्पितवैभवात् खलु सदा चाकुक्वभीमेश इत्याख्या-
 24 मापदपूर्व्विकामिह कुमारारामभीमेश्वरः । ६ । तद्वं-
 25 श्यो विमलादित्यो दित्यपत्यारिविक्रमः । शशास यश-
 26 सा सांद्रां विंध्यसिंहतरां^८ दरां^९ । ७ । तदात्मजो
 27 राजनरेन्द्रभूवरो^{१०} भूत्याभवद्राजमहेंद्र-
 28 नामकः । तदाख्यया राजमहेंद्रसंजकं^{११} रम्यं^{१२}
 29 प्ररं^{१३} राजति गीतमीतटे । ८ । तस्य पुत्रः कुलोत्तंग-
 30 चीडश्चिक्रीड तेजसा । चंडनाचलशृंगेषु चंडुपां-
 31 षो च केसरी । ९ । दरणी^{१४}शस्तस्य कुले स्वकरजपद्मानुरा-
 32 गतात्पर्या[त्*] । उदयादित्यसदृचा^{१५} विजयादित्याभि-
 33 दानपभुरभवत्^{१६} । १० । चंदांविकायां जनितः स
 34 तस्माद्राजार्चितो मल्लपदेवभूपः । यः सर्वलो-
 35 काश्रयतां प्रपेदे मर्त्यैरमर्त्यैः पितृभिश्च वृत्तैः । ११ ।

^१ Read °दासीदध.^२ Read कळवैद्य° The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^३ Read शुभे.^४ Read °वर्द्धनः संवर्द्धनो.^५ Read तपसाभि°.^६ Read °स्ततः.^७ Read °पतिशब्दक°.^८ Read विंध्यसिंहतरां.^९ Read घरां.^{१०} Read राजनरेन्द्र°.^{११} Read °संज्ञकं.^{१२} The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^{१३} Read पुत्रं.^{१४} Read घरणी°.^{१५} Read °सदृची.^{१६} Read °निधानप्र°.

- 36 लक्ष्मीमल्लपत्न्ययोरुपेद्रभूपः सन्पुत्रो¹ निखि-
 37 लमवन् द्विरेव² भेजे । शत्रूणां युधि करवालभै-
 38 खत्वं मित्राणामपि ³दरणीवराहकल्पं । १२ ।
 39 तस्माद्गंगावया लब्धः(ब्धः) स्रुर्मल्लपदेवकः । कुं⁴-
 40 भिकूर्मकुम्भलोभारं भूमेर्वभार सः । १३ ।
 41 चोडाविकामल्लपदेवयोः सुतः संरा(सम्मा)दुपेद्रो-
 42 जनि राजशेखरः । चकार पित्रोः परितृप्तये पुरं स
 43 चोडमल्ला(ल्ला)ह्वयमग्रहारकं । १४ । मल्ला⁵-
 44 विकायामुदभूदुपेद्रात् कोप्यत्तितीशः प-
 45 रगंडुभैरवः । विद्याश्चतस्रो धरणीपतीनां स्वा-
 46 त्तं⁶ दधुस्तेन⁶ विनीतवृत्तिना । १५ ।

East Face.

- 47 उपेद्रो गंगमांवायां
 48 कोप्यभूपादजायत । स तु वि-
 49 श्रव(भ)रत्वेन⁶ राजनारायणोभ-
 50 वत् । १६ । बिम्बांबायामजनि
 51 मजनि⁷ मनुमोपेद्रभूपोप्युपे⁸-
 52 द्रात् को वा तुल्यो जगति विधुषा⁹ तेन
 53 राजाश्चितेन । चात्रे धर्मं विनयग[िद]-
 54 तेनूपदाने¹⁰ च दाने श्रौतस्मार्त्तस्य-
 55 शि च सरणी शाश्वते शैवतं च
 56 । १७ । उपेद्रभूपेन शिवार्चनायां¹¹
 57 प्रभूतदीपत्वमुपेत्य पावकः ।
 58 सुपात्रसुखेहभरेण वृत्तो ह्य-
 59 तं कथंचिज्जते च¹² यज्वनां । १८ ।
 60 तेनाभिषिक्तस्य शिवस्य मूर्त्तेः¹³ पं-

¹ Read सन्पुत्रो.

² Read द्विरेव.

³ Read धरणी.

⁴ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ Read स्मार्त्त.

⁶ Read 'न.

⁷ This मजनि must be dropped.

⁸ Read 'मोपेद्रभूपोप्यु'. The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁹ Read विधुषा.

¹⁰ 'नूपदाने metri causa for 'नूपदाने ?

¹¹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹² Read क.

¹³ Read मूर्त्तः.

- 61 चामृतैर्निर्गक्तैः फणासु । पूतो भ-
 62 भूवेत्यनुमीयतेसौः¹ शेषो द्विजिह्वो-
 63 पि विषाननोपिः² । १८ । इहैवोपे-
 64 द्रभूभर्त्रे सारूप्यपदभाजनं । रा-
 65 जशेखरसर्वज्ञशंकरत्वमदाद्भवः
 66 । २० । शस्तीपेद्रुणो यज्ञैः ³शतेना-
 67 पि सुदुर्लभं । शंभोरवाप सायु-
 68 ज्यं शैवदीक्षाशतीस्रवैः । २१ । लक्षाब्धि-
 69 कोपेद्रमहोशयोरभूद्विश्वेश्वरो
 70 विश्वगुणोजितः सुतः । तेनान्वयावु-
 71 ज्ज(ज्ज्व)लितावदीव्यतां द्यावापृथिव्यावि-
 72 व तीव्रभानुनाः⁴ । २२ । शंभोर्मौळिवि-
 73 भूषणं कुलपतिः शीलं त्रिवर्गोचितं को-
 74 र्त्तिषंदनचर्चिका दशदिशां तेजोपि नीराज-
 75 ना । विद्यासीन्नि विहारशर्म विहृदं य-
 76 त्सर्वलोकाश्रयो धीमंतः किमिव स्तुवं-
 77 त्ति ननु तं चाकुव्यविश्वेश्वरं । २३ । सति-
 78 बाहुशक्तिभूमितिमपि गणयत्सर्व-
 79 सिध्धि(द्वि)पथभग्नं । सति चित्रभानुसाक्षिणि
 80 दरणीवराहाददावदंद्रवलं⁵ । २४ ।
 81 लिंगैः पंचशतैः कुबेररचितः प्र-
 82 ग्राजराजेश्वरः संसिध्धा⁶ वरशिध्धलिंग⁷
 83 इति यः पूर्वागमज्ञैः स्मृतः । पश्चा-
 84 त्पांडुवभक्तवत्सलतया धर्मेश इत्यु-
 85 र्जितो नागेंद्रा⁸चलमंदिरः सदवनैः शं-⁹
 86 भुः समुज्जृभतेः(ते) । २५ ।

North Face.

- 87 तस्योदंक्षितपंचदा¹⁰रनगरीधर्मेश्वर[स्यो]-
 88 र्जितं प्रत्यब्दं परिणेतुरीशितुरिदं सं[जा]-

¹ Read बभूवेत्यनुमीयतेसौ.

² [यज्ञशतेन would be a better reading.—Ed.]

³ Read धरणीवराहाददावदंद्रवलं.

⁴ Read नागेंद्रा°.

⁵ Read °पञ्चधार°.

⁶ Read विषाननोपि.

⁷ Read शंभोर्मौळिवि.

⁸ Read संसिध्धा.

⁹ Read वरसिद्ध°.

¹⁰ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 89 तचैतोभुवः । कल्याणोत्सवमंडुपं सवि-
 90 भवं द्राकल्पयइक्तिमान्¹ आकुक्षान्व-
 91 यविष्णुवर्द्धनं² कुलश्रीविश्वभूमोश्चरः ।
 92 २६ । पत्यादेरिव क्षुप्तमंगळचतुःशा-
 93 ले परिभ्राजिते कल्याणोत्सवमंडुपे विरचि-
 94 ते विश्वेश्वरोर्वोभुजा । दिव्यामोदिनि राजरा-
 95 जविनुते वृद्धतश्चोविश्रुते पार्वत्या सह
 96 पंचदा³रनगरीधर्मेश्वरो राजते । २७ ।
 97 शाकाब्दे नवबाहुरामशशिसंख्या-
 98 ते शुचौ भासिते सप्तम्यामिनवारभा-
 99 जि महितः संस्तापितो⁴ मंडुपः । कल्या-
 100 णोत्सवसिद्धये⁵ सविभवः⁶ श्रीपंचधारापु-
 101 रीधर्मेशस्य चकुक्षविश्वधरणीभर्त्रा वि-
 102 चित्रास्यदं । २८ । किं च तदुत्तरदिक्[सु]-
 103 दंक्षितसालं विशालसुत्तालं । प्राकल्प-
 104 यदाकल्पं विश्वनृपो रायगंडुगो-
 105 पालः । २९ । विष्णुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)मक-
 106 रोत्ससौदां(धां) विश्वेशभूपो धरणीवरा-
 107 हः । स्वापादितोपेद्रवराग्रहारे ष-
 108 द्वर्मभिस्तृप्तमरुद्विहारे । ३० । हरिह-
 109 रहिरण्यगर्भेभ्यो⁷ नमः । श्री श्री श्री
 110 देवाचारिलिखितसु¹⁰ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.¹¹

Line 1. Salutation to (*the*) Blessed (*god*) Viśvēśvara.

(Verse 1.) May He for a long time exceedingly advance the progress of the fortune of king Viśvanātha (Viśvēśvara), the sun of the race of the Chālukyas, (*he*) the Elephant-faced (Gaṇēśa), who combining his mother's (Pārvatī's) mirror with the half-moon on his father's (Śiva's) head is making full, as it were, that disc of the moon.

(V. 2.) From Vishnu's navel-lotus originated Brahmā whose son was Atri. From Atri's eyes arose the Moon whose eldest son was Budha. His son (*was*) Purūravas, whose enemies

¹ Read प्राकल्पयइक्तिमांश्च^०.

⁴ Read वृद्ध^०.

⁷ Read °सिद्धये.

⁹ Read °हिरण्यगर्भेभ्यो.

² Read विष्णुवर्द्धन^०.

⁵ Read पंचधार^०.

⁸ The letter भ looks somewhat like च.

¹⁰ Read °लिखितसु.

³ Read क्षुप्त^०.

⁶ Read संस्थापितो.

¹¹ [See f. n. 2 on p. 162.—Ed.]

were afflicted and destroyed by (*the mere hearing of*) the noise of his chariot. When his descendants had passed away, Pāṇḍu the crest-jewel of kings was born.

(V. 3.) His son was Arjuna, the destroyer of his enemies, who pleased Śambhu (Śiva) by striking him with his bow-staff. Which king has been compared with him who received from the Lord (Śiva) the Pāśupata missile?

(V. 4.) His son was Abhimanyu, who had Parīkshit for his son. His son was Janamējaya who shone in the world in the Kali age, which was purified by the descendants of the Lunar race.

(V. 5.) In his family was born **Vishṇuvardhana** who promoted the (*uninterrupted*) line of the royal family, to whom power was given by (*the deities*) Durgā, Achyuta (Viṣṇu) and others, because they rejoiced over his ascetic life on the **Chalukya-mountain**.

(V. 6.) The most excellent prince of the Lunar race was **Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara**. His following of Śiva's doctrine purified by his qualification as a Kshatriya was famous in the world. (*Śiva here worshipped as*) Kumārārāma-Bhīmēśvara got, indeed, a new name of Chālukya-Bhīmēśa (*after him*), on account of the riches he always bestowed on him.

(V. 7.) His descendant **Vimalāditya**, whose valour was like that of the enemy of Diti's sons (Viṣṇu), ruled the earth (*lying*) between the Vindhya mountain and the sea, and densely filled up by his fame.

(V. 8.) His son was king **Rājanarēndra**, (*who*) on account of (*his*) glory was called **Rāja-mahēndra**. With his name glitters the lovely town of **Rājamahēndra** on the bank of the **Gautamī** (*Gōḍāvarī*).

(V. 9.) His son **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa**, Kēsari¹ (**Rājakēsarivarman**), played by means of his majesty (*i.e.*, glory) on the summits of the Sandal-mountain (*Malaya*) and against the horrible **Pāṇḍya**.

(V. 10.) In his family was born a king whose name was **Vijayāditya**. Because of the lotus-like red colour of his finger-nails (*karaja*), he resembled the rising sun who has the redness of the lotus which is caused by his rays (*karaja*).

(V. 11.) From him **Chandāmbikā** bore king **Mallapadēva** who was honoured by princes and was the refuge of the whole world, because he satisfied men, gods, and his ancestors.

(V. 12.) **Lakshmi's** and king Mallapa's good son, prince **Upēndra**, attained, when governing the universe (*these*) two² (*things*): the state of being 'Karavālabhairava' (*i.e.*, terrible on account of his sword) in battles with the enemies, and similarity with 'Dharaṇivarāha'³ in the case of his friends.

(V. 13.) His son king **Mallapa**, begotten by him on **Gaṁgāmbā**, bore the burden of the earth, (*otherwise borne*) by the elephants, the Tortoise, the mountains, and the Boar.

(V. 14.) From **Chōḍāmbikā** and king Mallapa was born the emperor **Upēndra**, the crest-jewel of kings.⁴ For the gratification of his parents he built as an *agrahāra* the town named **Chōḍamalla**.

(V. 15.) **Mallāmbikā** bore from Upēndra king **Koppa** *ahas* **Paragaṇḍabhairava**. The four royal sciences attained their proper aim through him whose character was noble.

(V. 16.) **Gaṁgamāmbā** bore Upēndra from king Koppa. Because of his sustaining the (*whole*) world, he became **Rājanārāyaṇa**.

¹ [as a lion.—Ed.]

² *div* is used instead of *divyam*.

³ The *burden* Dharaṇivarāha was borne by king Viśvēśvara, as may be concluded from v. 24

⁴ Probably, Rājasēkhara was a *burudā* of Upēndra.

(V. 17.) **Bimbāmbā** bore from Upēndra king **Manum-Ōpēndra**. Who in this world will equal that scholar, honoured by princes, in the *dharma* relating to the Kshatriya-tribe, known by 'discipline, in charity devoid of corruption,¹ in the knowledge of the Vēda and the tradition, and in the eternal Śiva-doctrine?

(V. 18.) The fire which in the worship of Śiva performed by Upēndra assumed the form of many lamps, and which was satisfied by plenty of good vessels with good oil,² cared but little for the sacrificial offerings of priests.

(V. 19.) From the fact that the five nectarian substances³ dropped on the hoods (of *Śēsha*) from Śiva's head, besprinkled by him (*Upēndra*), it is concluded, that the serpent *Śēsha* became pure, though he has two tongues (and) carries poison in his mouth.

(V. 20.) Already in this life Bhava (Śiva) gave to king Upēndra the state of being Rāja-śekhara, Sarvajña and Śaṁkara—Upēndra who was the receptacle of the condition of assimilation to the deity.⁴

(V. 21.) The famous king Upēndra got, by feasts in which there were a hundred of Śiva-dīkshās,⁵ union with Śaṁbhu (Śiva), very difficult to get even by one hundred of Vēdic sacrifices.

(V. 22.) The son of **Lakkāmbikā** and king Upēndra was **Viśvēśvara** endowed with all the virtues. Through him shone the two excellent families⁶ (of father and mother), as do the heaven and the earth through the powerful sun.

(V. 23.) Because his first ancestor was Śaṁbhu's (Śiva's) crest-ornament (the moon), (because) his behaviour was in accordance with the three *vargas* (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*), (because) his fame was the sandal-ointment of the ten regions, (because) his majestic lustre was a waving light (of the ten regions), (because) it was his pleasure to divert himself in the region of knowledge, (because) his *biruda* was Sarvalōkāśraya—can the wise ones adequately praise that Chālukya Viśvēśvara?

(V. 24.) The army of the Āndhras defeated in the region (the town) of Sarvasiddhi (shattered by means of his complete success), reckoning after the *gatis* (5), the arms (2), the constituents (3), and the earth (1) (considering their resources, the strength of their arms, and the extent of the place), fled before Dharaṇivarāha (Viśvēśvara), the witness being (the year called) **Chitrabhānu** (when the sun was present as witness).

(V. 25.) The (god) Rājārājēśvara (in his temple) who formerly, being founded by Kubērawith five hundred (subsidiary) *līngas*, was, on account of the fulfilment of the desires (of the devotees) called Varasiddhalinga, by those who know the tradition (and who) later on, on account of His affection towards His worshippers, the Pāṇḍavas, was famous as Dharmēśa,—(this) Śaṁbhu (Śiva) whose abode is the **Nāgēndra-mountain** prospers through the aid (rendered) to the good.

(V. 26.) The pious Viśvabhūmiśvara (Viśvēśvara) of Viśṇuvardhana's family of the Chālukya race has built this magnificent and large *maṇḍapa* for the *kalyāṇa*-festivals⁷ of the worshipped⁸

¹ I am not sure if this translation is correct. As for *upadāna*, Apte, in the *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, gives: a gift made for procuring favour or protection, such as a bribe.

² Suggested meaning: satisfied by the profusion of his great love to very venerable persons.

³ Milk, curds, ghee, honey, and sugar.

⁴ *Sārāpya* is one of the four states of *mukti*: compare *Sāyujya* in the next verse.

⁵ The exact meaning of *Śivadīkshā*, which seems to signify a special ceremony, is unknown to me. Should *dīkshā* be used in the more general sense: self-devotion (to Śiva)?

⁶ In *Raghuvamśa* VI, 45 Sushena is called *āchāraśuddhōbhayavarmāśadīpam*.

⁷ Here, it seems, we are to suppose some local cult. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* gives *kalyāṇa*—a festival (marriage). It is usual to celebrate the marriage of the god and his consort every year and this annual festival is called *kalyāṇotsava*.

⁸ As will appear from verse 16 of the pillar inscription of King Chōḍa III (*supra* p. 161) which gives '*lōkādhichchita*—*amchadhāranagari-Dharmēśvara-prīṭaye*', *udamchchita* here is used in the sense of 'bright worshipped'.

Dharmēśvara of the town of **Pañchadhārāla** (of *Dharmēśvara*), who year by year is marrying (*Pārvatī*),—the lord whose love (to *Pārvatī*) has appeared.

(V. 27.) In the magnificent *maṇḍapa*, with four sacred halls constructed, as it were, by the lord of the mountain (*i.e.*, *Himavat*), which has celestial perfumes and which is praised by the king of kings (*Kubēra*, in the other case) and famous on account of its being extolled by great men (*Indra*, in the other case)—(in this *maṇḍapa*), erected for the *kalyāṇa*-feasts by king Viśvēśvara, shines (the god) Dharmēśvara of the town Pañchadhāra with Pārvatī.

(V. 28.) King Viśva (Viśvēśvara) of the Chālukya dynasty has erected (this) magnificent *maṇḍapa* as a beautiful abode of the glorious Dharmēśa of the town of Pañchadhāra (Pañchadhārāla) for the celebration of the *kalyāṇa*-festival in the Śaka year which is counted after nine (9), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the Moon (1), in the bright half of (the month) Śuchi (Jyēṣṭha), on the seventh day, on Sunday.

(V. 29.) And king Viśva (Viśvēśvara), the Rāyagaṇḍagōpāla, has erected this magnificent (and) large temple with a beautiful hall¹ to the north, (which will endure) until the end of the kalpa.

(V. 30.) King Viśvēśa (Viśvēśvara), the Dharaṇivarāha, installed (the image of) Viṣṇu in a shrine in the Upēndravara-āgrahāra laid out by himself, (which is) the pleasure-ground of the gods who are pleased by the Brāhman's six *karmas*.²

(ll. 108-109.) Adoration to Hari, Hara and Hiranyagarbha. Hail! Hail! Hail!

(l. 110.) Engraved by Dēvāchārī.

No. 27.—A FRAGMENTARY PRATIHARA INSCRIPTION.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, RAJKOT.

The following note is prepared from an impression preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhāvnagar. The name of the place where the inscription of which this impression is a copy was found has unfortunately not been recorded, nor did anybody come across the record again. The impression measures 1'-6" in height and the breadth varies from 1' to 1'-2". The stone from which the impression was taken must have originally been more than double the size of the estampage. About 35 to 40 letters have been completely lost with the latter part of each line, as the gaps in the verses would show. The concluding portion of the inscription is, however, preserved in the impression under notice.

The record is written in characters of about the ninth century A.D., and exhibits certain peculiarities which are found in the western variety of the *Kuṭila* script. Attention may be drawn in particular to the forms of the following letters: *na* is sometimes made up of two parts, each joining the top line close to the other. Its left part consists of an open hook with a bend the right part being vertical. It can thus be easily mistaken for *ma* (cf. *na* in l. 11). Sometimes the right hand vertical line is absent (cf. *na* in l. 19). Palatal *śa* is also similarly seen divided in two parts, the vertical on the right and the double-looped limb on the left. The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except the invocation in the beginning and the names of the writer as well as the engraver at the end, the whole of it must have been in verse.

The inscription being represented only partially by the impression its contents cannot be known fully. But the following items of information may be noted: The record opens with

¹ [The text gives *sālam*.—Ed.]

² The six *karmas* or duties enjoined on Brāhmanas are: *adhyayana*, *adhyāpana*, *yajana*, *yājana*, *dāna*, and *prati-graha*, or the six acts belonging to the practice of Yōga (Apte under *षट्कर्म*). It is not *सर्वकर्म* meant here?—Ed.]

an invocation to god Siva. In the following lines Śiva seems to be praised in his *Aruhanār-īśvara* (half male and half female) form. In the eighth line the Lunar race is referred to. In l. 9 a king of the Western country is mentioned. Line 11 seems to mention a person whom people called [Va]rāha. Next is mentioned the river Rāvā. In l. 12 is mentioned a king named **Kṛishṇarāja**, who was made to retreat hastily to his own country. In l. 13 some one is referred to as having gone to heaven after distributing untold wealth to Brāhmanas. In l. 15, some town, the name of which began with **Malava**, is mentioned as the place where a very charitable man named **Gōgga**, whose munificence is described in the following six lines, seems to have died. His faithful wife was named **Manikā**. Line 22 records the building of a temple of Vishṇu, the enemy of the demon Madhu. In l. 23 **īśvara**, the grandfather of one **Siddhāditya**, is mentioned, probably in connection with certain endowments to some temple. A verse in ll. 24 and 25 expresses the benediction for the long life probably of the temple. The *prasasti* was composed by **Śambhuvarman**, son of **Dēvavarman**. The writer's name is missing. It was engraved by the son of **Dharmalālaka**.

The name [Va]rāha contained in the above account is significant and reminds us of 'Ādivarāha', the *biruda* of **Bhōjadēva**, the famous king of the **Pratihāra** dynasty. If it is really meant for the said ruler, as is very likely, the inscription can well be relegated to his reign, and the king **Kṛishṇarāja** mentioned in l. 12 can safely be identified with the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa II** (875-911 A.D.), who was his contemporary. We know that the **Pratihāras** and the **Rāshtrakūṭas** were constantly at war with each other and were alternately victorious. This inscription may be referring to a fight in which **Bhōjadēva** defeated **Kṛishṇarāja**, for poets usually record victories and not defeats of their patron kings.

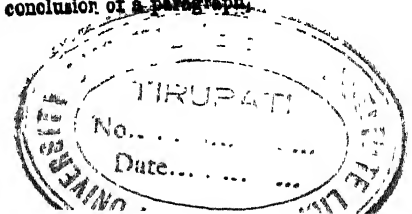
TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री² नमः शिवाय ॥ ब्रह्माण्डजन्मस्थितिसंज्ञते[ना]
- 2 स्था वपुरिदमखिलं चन्द्ररेखा मदीयं चाक्षुसिहस्त
- 3 यस्य प्रदुग्धा सुरस[रि]त इव श्रोत्र . . ति सोव्यात् [दिहे?]
- 4 हृंभीर्व्वं वेपसे किं गदितमिति हरस्वार्त्तनारीशमूर्त्तः प्रत्यख्या[तो] विधिर्भ-
- 5 लोन्दीर्गलितेन सिक्कममृतेनागत्य विस्तारि[त⊕]कण्ठे यस्य विषं प्रसारित[म]-
- 6 ध्वजगदिकर्मनिरते निश्शेषमास्तान्तरो कोमाभ्यासनिष्ठकृतमि[त्रि] धियां सव्यं[ता]
- 7 पमे देहिनां ॥*³ अखिलमममारे(?)मृत . . कराचमनिर[त]

¹ From a rubbing preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhavnagar.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ This symbol and the one in the fifteenth line seem to indicate the conclusion of a paragraph.



- 8 आसीन्निशाक[र]कलाकृतपूजमूर्द्धदेवातिदेवदशनोप[म]शुभ्र

- 9 पाश्चात्यदेशाधिपो राज . . ह.परेसं.मरे च पञ्चत्वमापा

- 10 सुस्नाग्णो दितिजेशसंगरजयोभिप्रायतः प्रापितो(तस्) तस्मिन्वांध

- 11 राह इति यं सर्वः समन्ता[ज्जनः] ॥ रेवातोयां(यान्)वहद्भि[र्न]रपतय इ .

- 12 शदेशाभिमुखमविरतं सातिरेकैः प्रयाणैः प्राप्य द्राक्ष्यराजं

- 13 [ङ्गि] दत्वा द्रविणानविदितप्रायसंख्यं द्विजेभ्यः । याते स्वर्लोकमाप्तुं सु . .

- 14 टितकृतक्रीडमालाप्रलापप्रान्तस्या(?)पट्टतान्यध्वनिविभवधनुर्मुक्तरो[ष]प्रहृ . . .

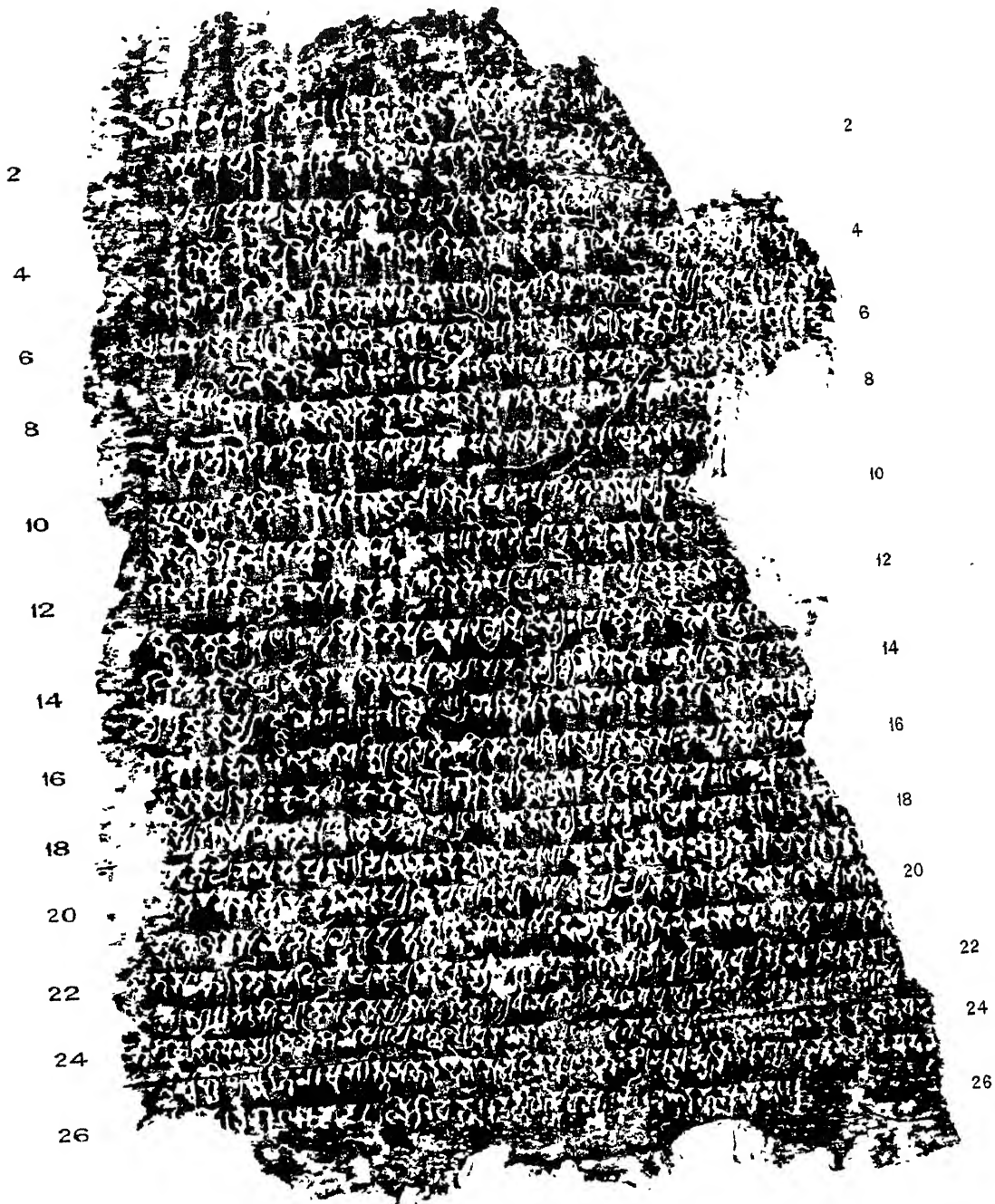
- 15 त्वार्जितस्यार्जनेनः(न) ॥*॥ क्षीणामस्ति परं हारि मलवादिपदान्वितं नगरं

- 16 [वास्व] शरद्वन[म्] । दानविस्मितचित्तेन¹ शिरःकंप² विधास्यता भूकंपः ³क्षयते-
 द्यापि ह
- 17 सुदारचरितः कृतधीः [कृतज्ञो गोग्गोभवत्तिभुवनप्रथितप्रभावः ॥ जन्मान्तरा

- 18 तस्यासी[न्मनिका साध्वी] भार्या[शेष]गुणान्विता हरत्यच⁴ नृणां याता या
 गंगेव [दृशा]
- 19 . ददता येन मुदा प्रणयिनावृत⁵ देहीति कृपणा वामो⁶ न नीताः
 श्रुतिगोचरं ॥ सं
- 20 . युत एव सर्वमिदं निरूप्य निपुणं धर्मं समालंब्य यो विभाषेत्
 हिमाचलप्रतिनि
- 21 . स्वकलवसुमतीप्रान्तसंप्राप्तकीर्तिः दीनाना[मा]र्त्तिहन्ता प्रतिदिनमसमावाप्त-
 पुण्यप्रता
- 22 . तसा कारिता सुधिया येन प्रतिष्ठास्य [मधु]द्वि[षः] ॥ तस्य . सुव्या
 ध्यास्तवास्ति(?)मायिका गु

¹ Read °चित्तेन.² Read °कंपं.³ Read क्रियते°.⁴ Read त्वचं.⁵ Read प्रणयिनी.⁶ Read बाधो.

A FRAGMENTARY PRATIHARA INSCRIPTION.



SCALE ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 23 . . न्यस्य ॥ आसोन्मातामहस्तस्य सिद्धादित्यस्य धीमतः।] मूर्तिमानिव
पुष्पेषुः श्रीमानीश्वरसंज्ञितः ॥ मा
- 24 . . कारि भयनस्य निवेशमेषः[*] ॥ यावत्किं¹विरामकालविलसद्वाताहतिप्रे-
रितप्रोत्सर्पद्वन्द्वदाम्बुवाहनिवह . . .
- 25 .[र्हा] स्वकीर्त्यद्वितः ॥ प्रशस्तिमकरोदेनां सर्व[ज्ञे]न प्रचोदितः शम्भुवर्म-
ति विख्यातस्तनयो देववर्म[णः]
- 26 [रंगला] .२. लिखितं² ॥ उत्कोष्णी धर्मलालकसूनुना ॥

No. 28.—AN ODD PLATE OF PARAMARA SIYAKA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1026.

By D. B. DISKALKAR.

This **copper-plate** was obtained from a copper-smith of **Ahmedābād** by some pleader of **Kaira** (in **Gujarāt**), who made it over to **Muni Jinavijaya** of the **Gujarāt Purātattva Mandir** of **Ahmedābād** some seven years ago. The latter kindly handed it over to me for publication.

The plate, which is the **second half of a grant**, has two holes each measuring $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter at its top at a distance of 7 inches from each other. They are meant for the two copper rings holding the two plates together. The rings are missing. All the edges of the plate are fashioned into rims to protect the incised portion which is in a good state of preservation. It measures 1'-1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in length and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth, and contains ten lines of writing, the last one containing, in about three times larger letters, the **sign-manual** of **Śrī-Siyaka**. In the left hand lower corner of the plate is engraved the figure of a flying **Garuda** holding in his left hand a cobra and having his right hand raised to strike it, as is generally seen in the grants of the **Paramāra** rulers of **Mālwa**.

The engraver has done his work in a slovenly way. The letters are not straight but are seen inclined to the left or more often to the right. Their average size is $\frac{1}{4}$ " by $\frac{1}{4}$ ". There are a number of grammatical mistakes even in this small portion of the record. The *anuscāra* is many times left out. The **characters** are old **Nāgarī** current in the 10th century A.D. They agree with those of the copper-plate grants of the **Paramāra** rulers, **Vākpati Muñja**³ and **Bhōja**,⁴ but are rather different from those of the two **Harsola**⁵ plates of V.S. 1005 of **Siyaka**, who is identical with the **Paramāra Siyaka** of the present inscription. The **language** of the record is **Sanskrit**. As regards **orthography** nothing special is to be noted.

A larger part of the plate, from the first line to the eighth, is taken up by the five customary imprecatory verses, which are the same as in the grant of **Vākpatirāja** of V.S. 1031. The last two lines of the inscription contain an important historical information. The ninth

¹ Read °क्कि°.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51, and Vol. XIV, p. 160.

⁵ They are being edited in this Journal.

² Better read लिखिता.

⁴ Above, Vol. XI, p. 181, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

line gives the 15th day¹ of the dark half of Āśvina of the [Vikrama] year 1026 as the date of the record, and mentions Kaphapaika as the *dāpaka* (or the person who caused the grant to be issued).

By the loss of the first plate we are deprived of that portion of the record which contained the details of the family to which *Siyaka* belonged. There is, however, no doubt that this *Siyaka* was the illustrious *Paramāra* king of Mālwa. The Garuḍa symbol found in the plates of the *Paramāras*, namely, *Vākpati* and *Bhōja*, is found here exactly in the same form, and the characters are similar. We can even say that the *Siyaka* of our plate is the father of *Vākpati* Muñja, whose two grants of V.S. 1031 and 1036 have been discovered. The *dāpaka*,² moreover, in this grant and in the grant of V.S. 1031 is the same individual. We know that *Siyaka* had reigned at least up to the year 1029 of the Vikrama era, as the poet *Dhanapāla* of *Dhārā* says in verse 276 of his *Prākṛit Dictionary* called *Pañlacchī*, that he had composed the work for the sake of his sister *Sundarā* in V.S. 1029, when *Mānyakhēṭa* was looted by the people of Mālwa.³ This undoubtedly refers to the statement in the 12th verse of the *Udayapur prasasti* that Śrī-Harsha, (another name of *Siyaka*), had invaded the dominions and looted the capital of *Khōṭṭiga*.⁴ The present grant, being dated in V.S. 1026, is three years earlier than that date and twenty-one years later than the *Harsola* plates.

A point which requires to be borne in mind here is that the present plate and the *Harsola* plates, which are the earliest known records of the *Paramāra* family of Mālwa, were discovered in the *Ahmedābād* district of *Gujarāt*. The *Harsola* plates show that the property granted by the king consisted of the same tract of *Gujarāt*. We have, therefore, reason to believe that the *Paramāras* were connected with *Gujarāt* in the early days of their power.

TEXT.⁵

1 सासान्वं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभीकृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोय-

2 म[नु]गन्तव्यपालसीयय' [1*] उक्तं च भग[व*]ता व्यासेन[1*] * * *

3 to 8

[Five imprecatory verses.]

¹ It will be seen that the *tithi* is given here as the 15th of the dark half, which is the *amāvāsyā* day of the month. In the *Harsola* grants of the same king, which are dated in V.S. 1005, the same *tithi*, *amāvāsyā*, is expressed as the 30th of the dark half as is done now-a-days. It seems, therefore, that both the forms of expressing the *amāvāsyā* day were in use in the mediæval period. Out of the eighty *Valabhi* grants, for instance, in as many as nine places the *tithi* is expressed in the former way.

² The word *dāpaka* has been read by the editors of *Vākpati*'s grants of V.S. 1031 and 1036 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51, and Vol. XIV, p. 160) as *dāyaka* and combined with the preceding word *ājñā* as स्वयमाज्ञादायकः. But it is to be noted that the word *dāpaka* found in these grants and in the grants of V.S. 1005 and in the present grant stands for the usual word *dātaka* and the word स्वयमाज्ञा means, as the grants of V.S. 1005 clearly state राज्ञाज्ञया, 'by order of the king'. Both the expressions are quite separately given there thus—दापकीच ठक्कर योविषः। राज्ञाज्ञया लिखितं कावस्मत्पुण्यधरेण। The word *dāpaka* conveys, I think, the same meaning as another word *kārāpaka* '... to look after the execution of the record' does. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62 n. 53, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 189.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI (1907), p. 169.

⁴ From the original plate.

⁵ Read पालसीयय.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ Read बुद्धा°.

[illegible]

- 9 * * * * सं १०२६ आश्विन वदि १५ [*] स्वयमाज्ञा दापकश्चान् श्रीकण्ठवैकः ।
 10 Garuḍa figure श्रीसीयकस्य स्वहस्तोयं ।

No. 29.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOLUR AND DEVAGERI.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

Kolūr is a village in the Karajgi tāluka of the Dhārwar District, about 3 miles nearly west from Karajgi town, in lat. 14° 52' and long. 75° 27'. The name is ancient, and is that given to the village in the records here published. On the neighbouring village of *Dēvagēri*, anciently *Dēvamgēri*, I need only refer to Dr. Fleet's remarks in Vol. XI above, p. 1. The present series is now published for the first time¹ from ink-impressions which were prepared for Dr. Fleet, and on his lamented death passed into the British Museum. Four of them (Nos. A., C., D., and F.) are from Kolūr; the rest (B. and E.) are from *Dēvagēri*. They range in date from Śaka 967 to the reign of the Yādava Siṅghaṇa, in the first half of the 13th century A.D.

Kolūr and *Dēvagēri*, together with the adjoining town of Kulēnūr, formed part of the *manneya* or seignior (something like the modern *inām*) of the district known as the *Bāsavūra Hundred-and-forty*; or *Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr*. In the present records, with the sole exception of No. C., this seignior is mentioned as being under the control of a dynasty of nobles who claimed to belong to the *Jimūtavāhan-ānvaya* or lineage of Jimūtavāhana and the *Khachara-vamśa* or Race of the Birds, and bore on their banners the figure of a snake (A., l. 18. F., l. 27). This refers to the legend dramatised in the drama *Nāgānanda*, attributed to Harshavardhana, and brings them into connection with the *Śilāhāra* dynasty of the Southern Kōṅkaṇ (circa 783-1008 A.D.), with the Northern branch of the same family, with Goṅkadēva, who was reigning at Tērdāl in A.D. 1122,² and with the *Sēnavāra* or *Sēnamāra* family ruling in the Kaḍūr district of Mysore from about the end of the 7th century,³ all of whom claimed the same ancestry. This raises a point of peculiar interest. The *Nāgānanda* is one of the plays which the Chākyaṛ of Travancore are in the habit of acting at religious festivals.⁴ At first sight it seems strange that a Buddhist drama should be habitually performed by orthodox Hindus in honour of their gods; but the reason is now apparent. The scene of the *Nāgānanda* is laid on the Malaya Mountain, i.e. the Western Ghats of Malabar and Travancore; and its theme is indicated by the pedigrees of these three families. Hence either the plot of the drama was entirely fictitious, and these pedigrees were concocted on the basis of it; or else it embodies a genuine legend of Malabar or Travancore, which was the source of these pedigrees, either directly or through the medium of the drama. The former alternative seems to me to be quite untenable. The other alternative fully accounts for the facts,—both the pedigrees of these neighbouring families and the appearance of a Buddhist play in orthodox Hindu festivals. Hence I venture to draw the inference that the performance of the *Nāgānanda* is one of the few cases in which a Hindu play is definitively associated with an ancient legend of the place where it is enacted.

¹ No. E. is included in the Elliot Collection, on fol. 367a. of Vol. i. of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy.

² See *Dyn. Kavar. Distr.*, pp. 439, 443, 450, 523, 536, 548; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 252.

³ See *Ep. Carn.*, VI. Cm. 61, 62, 75, 76, 94, 95, Kp. 37.

⁴ See Pandit Ganapati Sastri's preface to Vol. xlii of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*.

A.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SOMESVARA I : SAKA 967.

This is from a slab found in Kōlūr; but I can find no record of its site or other details. The inscribed area is 2 ft. 1½ in. wide and 4 ft. 10½ in. high.—The character is good Kanarese of the period; the letters in the upper lines are about ⅝ in. high, the rest about ⅔ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) appears in *ma[m*]gaḷa* (l. 45).—The language is Old Kanarese prose, except in the two Sanskrit verses on ll. 41-44. The *ḷ* does not appear; its place is taken by *ḷ*. Initial *p* is preserved. The spelling *-śchēdamuṃ* for *-śchhēdamuṃ* (l. 39) is interesting: cf. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 227a, and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 154.

The record opens by referring itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla-dēva (Sōmēśvara I) in ll. 1-4. Under him a certain functionary with the title of Rājagurudēva, of the Kādamba lineage, was governing the twelve towns which were administered for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Baṅkāpura (ll. 4-13); he is described as the 'guardian of the Koṅkaṇ' (l. 11), and much is said about his piety, valour, learning, and other merits. Next is introduced Kaliyāmmarasa, of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and the Khachara race, who was administering the *manneya* of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll. 14-23). He was a Jain by religion, the tutelary goddess of his family was Padmāvatī, and their banner bore the device of a serpent. He is also termed *Dāyiga-dallaḷam*, 'a trouble to Dāyiga,' apparently some potentate whom he had defeated (l. 21). Then follow the details of the endowment (ll. 23-34), by which Rājagurudēva granted some land to the temple of Kalidēvēśvara at Kōlūr, and Kaliyāmmarasa assigned thirty houses to defray the cost of perpetual lamps in it. The writer of the record was Basavayya, and the sculptor Bammōja.

The date is given on ll. 26-27 as: Śaka 967, the cyclic year Pārthiva; Paushya-suddha 5, Sunday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Monday, 16 December, A.D. 1045; it ended at 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise on that day, and began 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Sunday. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 23 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 23 December,—a week after the given *tithi*.¹

The places mentioned are: Roḍḍa (l. 8), Baṅkāpura (ll. 13, 27), the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (l. 22), Kōlūr (l. 28), Karage (l. 30), Ālakere (l. 30), the Varade river (l. 31), and the *tīrthas* (ll. 36, 37, 39). On Roḍḍa see above, Vol. VIII, p. 135n. Baṅkāpura is the modern Baṅkāpūr (see above, Vol. XIII, p. 168). On Bāsavūr and Kōlūr see above. Kōlūr was one of twelve towns administered for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Baṅkāpura. Karage may possibly be the modern town of Karajgi, which gives its name to the *tāluka*, and lies in lat. 14° 52' and long. 75° 30'. The Varade river must be the stream called "Verdā" on the Bombay Survey map: Kōlūr lies on its southern bank, and it flows thence westwards to the north of Dēvagēri and then turns southwards. There is a village named "Vardī" (so the Bombay Survey) on its bank in lat. 14° 47¼' and long. 75° 20'.

TEXT.²

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Śālinī*; verse 2, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 ॐ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirājā(ja) para³.
2 mēsva(śva)ra parama-bhaṭṭarakam Satyāśraya-kula-tīlakam Chāḷuky-ābharaṇam

¹ I have again to acknowledge my obligation to the late Mr. R. Sewell, who with his usual kindness checked my calculations for the dates in this series.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The engraver began this word with the syllable *dhi*, and then corrected it to *pa*.

- 3 śrīma[t*]-Trailōkyamella-dēvar sukha-[saṃ]kamtā¹-vinōdadin rājyaṃ-geyyu-
 4 ttam=ire || ☉ Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-prān-ā-
 5 yāma-pratyāhāra-japa-samādhi-sampannar=Īśvara-p[ā*]da-kamaḷa-
 6 bhri(bhṛi)mga sāhas-ōttumgan=āsrita-jana-kalpa-vri(vṛi)ksha sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-suraksha
 7 nuḍid=ante mārppam kure kūrppam pratipanna-Mēruv=ēkāmga-viran=Āsandhu(nda)-
 dhīram
 8 Vir-āvatāram vira-chūdāmani gōtra-chintāmaṇi Roḍ[d*]a-kaivāram Sai(Śai)va-
 prākāram sa(śa)ra-
 9 pariparinata² niśsamka-vairi-vri(vṛi)mdaka³-sa(śa)ra-sandhāna bāṇa-śikshā-guru Kali-
 yuga-
 10 Drōṇāchāryya sarvva-sa(śa)stra-sā(śā)stra-viśāradaṃ nārācha-Parasu(śu)rāma
 giri-durgga-bhamjā(ja)-
 11 n-Ānjanēya trailōkya-ramjanam kaṭaka-mābhiṣam⁴ Komkaṇa-rakshālam
 Kadam̐b-ānvaya-
 12 samuddharana-nām-ādi-samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitam śrīmat Rājagurudēvar
 13 Bām̐kāpurad=Ind[r*]ēśvara⁵-dēvargg=āḷva panneradum bāḍamam sukhadin=āḷuttam=
 ire || ☉
 14 Svasti samasta-vasumatitāḷa-kshā(khyā)ta-Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-bra(pra)sūta ba-
 15 ndhu-jana-kamal[i*]ni-rāja-haṃśa(sa) vidya[j*]-jana-vinōdam gōshḥi-vinōdam Padmā-
 vati-lābha-va-
 16 ra-prasāda rāja-vidyā-parāyana mūrtti-Nārāyaṇam samyakt[v*]a-chū-
 17 ḍamaṇi bhri(bhṛi)tya-chintāmaṇi pratāpa-mārttāṇḍa pagevara-gaṇḍa dīn-
 ānātha-ja-
 18 na-santa[r*]ppit-ānūna-dāna pannaga-dhvaja-vi(vi)rajamāna vidagdha-mugdha-
 19 vār[ā*]mgaṇā-mc*⁶-bhīrāma chalad=amka-Rāva(ma) Ji(Ji)na-pāda-pamkaja-raja[h*]-
 20 puṃja-piṇjarita-gātra par-āmganā-putra sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ōttumga
 21 māvana siṃga jita-vairi-samkuḷa Dāyiga-dallalam nām-ādy-ā(a)nēka-[nā*]m-ā-
 22 lām̐kritam⁶-samētan=appa śrīmat-Kalli(li)yammarasaṃ Bāsavūram(ra)-nū-
 23 ra-nālvattara manneya[d=arasu-geyyuttam=ilḍu*]⁷ || ☉ Svasti yama-ni(ni)yama-
 svādhyāya-dhyāna-
 24 dhāraṇa-mō(mau)-anavara-
 25 ta-dharmma-chittarum=appa śrīmat Vāmarāsi(śi)-dēvara śiṣhyar=appa Mallikā-
 26 rjjuna-bhadāgge⁹ svasti Sa(Śa)ka-varsha 987neya Pārthiva-samvatsarada
 Pauśya(shya)-su(śu)ddha
 27 pamchami Ādivāra uttarāyapa-samkrāntiyandu Bām̐kāpurad=Indrēsva(śva) ra-

¹ Read -saṃkathā-.² Read -parinata-.³ The ānūsvāra and da are not quite clear.⁴ Possibly a mistake for -mahādhiṣam.⁵ I have altered the spelling Indrēsvara to Indrēsvāra, as the latter form appears below, l. 27, and in inscr. C., l. 8. On the other hand, the Hoṭṭur inscription of Śaka 929 mentions a place called Indrēsvaragēri (l. 12); hence it is possible that both forms were in use.⁶ Read -āḷam̐kriti-.⁷ There seems to be a gap here; I have accordingly filled it up from inscription B., ll. 22-23; cf. *ibid.*, l. 8.⁸ Read -parāyana-.⁹ This may be corrected to -bhāṭṭargge, or -bhāṭṭarargge, or -bhāṭṭārakargge. The first seems the most likely.

- 28 dēva[1*]gg=āṣva panneraduṁ bāḍada baḷiya Kōlūra Kalidēvēśvara-dēvargge
 29 śrīmat Bajagurudēvaru dhār[ā*]-pūrvvakadīm sarvva-namasyam=ā-
 30 ge biṭṭa Karageya baṭṭeyim teṁka Ālakeṛeyimḍ=ūr=āṁnaram¹
 31 paḍuval biṭṭa ere mattar=emṭṭ(mṭ)u dēgulada kōde(ḍe)yim paḍuva Varade-
 32 ya toṛeyim teṁkal biṭṭa kisu mattar=eraḍu antu mattar pattu [1*]
 33 Manneya Kaliyammarasaṁ nandā-divigege biṭṭa parisūtrada manegal
 34 mūvattu sarvva-bādhā-parihāram=int=i dharmmamam pratipālisuvar [1*]
 35 Ī dharmmamam pratipālisid-ātager² vijaya-śrīyūṁ baḷ-āyūṁ ārō-
 36 gy-ābhividdhiyūṁ³=uttar-ōttaram=akku [1*] matta[m*] Kurukshētra Vāraṇāsi
 37 Prayāge Argghyatīrttham=emba mā(ma)hā-tīrtthagamloḷ⁴=sāsira kavileya kōḍu[m*]
 koḷagumaṁ
 38 paṁcha-ratnadol=kaṭṭisi mā(ma)hā-brāhmaṇargge ubhayamukhi goṭṭa phalam=akku
 [1*] Idan=aḷi-
 39 dh(d)-ātange rōgam daridratvam santati-śchēdamum⁵ Vāraṇāsiyoḷ=kōṭi
 kavileyum kōṭi
 40 brāhmaṇarum ek-kōṭi-tapōdhanarumam konda paṁcha-māha⁶-pātakan=akkum ||
 41 Sāmānyō=yam dha[r*]mma-sētu[r*]=nripāṇām kālē kālō pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [1*]
 42 sarvvān=ētām(n) chāgina⁷ pārthivēndrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē
 Rāmabhadraḥ [|| 1*]
 43 Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēti(ta) vasundarā⁸ [1*] sashṭhi⁹-varsha-
 sahasr[ā*]ṇi
 44 mishṭhayām¹⁰ jāyatē krimi¹¹ [||* 2*] Bareda sēnabōva Basavayya besa-ge-
 45 yda Bam[m*]ōja [1*] Ma[m*]gaḷa ©

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4.) Hail! When the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chāṣukyas, king Trailōkyamalla, was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations:—

(Ll. 4-13.) Hail! When he who observes the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, suppression of breath, retraction of senses, prayer, and absorption, who is a bee to Īśvara's lotus-feet, possessing all titles of honour such as "lofty in courage, a tree of desire to dependents, a good guardian to seekers of his protection, an opponent (?) according to the word,¹² returning love for love, a Mēru in exaltation, a warrior of the body-guard, valiant as Āsanda [Vishṇu], an incarnation of Vira [Virabhadra], a crest-jewel of warriors, a wishing-gem to his gōtra, a theme of praise to Roḍḍa, a palace¹³ for Śaivas, skilled in (the use of) arrows, stringing arrows against troops of fearless foes, a master to teach archery, a Drōpachārya of the Kali age, accomplished in all weapons and books of instruction, a Paraśurāma with arrows, an Āñjanēya (Hanumān) in shattering mountain-fastnesses, delighting the three worlds, great lord of the camp (?), guardian of the Koṅkaṇ, restorer of the Kadamba

¹ This word is corrupt.

² Read -ātange.

³ On this spelling see Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, §227a, and Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* I, p. 154.

⁴ Read -mahā.

⁵ Read shashṭhi.

⁶ Cf. the phrase *audā-acā gṛha*.

⁷ Read -ābhividdhiyūṁ.

⁸ Read bhāginaḥ.

⁹ Read viśṭhāyācā.

¹⁰ [I would say 'rampart' instead.—Ed.]

¹¹ Read -tīrtthagamloḷ.

¹² Read vasundharām.

¹³ Read kṛmīḥ.

lineage," the illustrious Rājagurudēva, was happily governing the twelve towns administered for (*the benefit of*) the god Indrēśvara of Baṅkāpura :—

(Ll. 14-23.) Hail ! While he who is sprung from the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, possessing many titles of distinction such as 'a royal swan in the lotus-lake of his kin, delighting in learned men, delighting in social circles, receiving the grace of boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvati, versed in the science of kings, an incarnate Nārāyaṇa, a crest-jewel of goodliness, a wishing-jewel to servants, a sun of magnificence, a man of might to foes, satisfying by abundant gifts the miserable and forlorn, brilliant with the Serpent-banner, delighting the mind of witty and modest courtesans, a Rāma in the characteristic of constancy, having his limbs yellowed by the mass of pollen in the lotuses of the Jinās' feet, a son to other men's wives, exalted by the series of all virtues, a lion of his uncle, conqueror of a multitude of enemies, a trouble to Pāyiga', the illustrious Kaliyammārāsa, was ruling the seigniory of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr¹ :—

(Ll. 23-26.) Hail ! to Mallikarjuna-Bhaṭṭa (?), disciple of Vamarāśi-dēva, who is versed in the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, and observance of the vow of silence, who practises prayer and absorption, and is constantly inspired by godliness,—

(Ll. 26-27.) Hail ! on Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year Pārthiva, the 967th (*year*) of the Śaka era, at the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*,—

(Ll. 27-34.) For (*the benefit of*) the god Kalidēvēśvara of Kōḷūr, (*one of the towns*) included in the twelve towns administered for (*the benefit of*) the god Indrēśvara of Baṅkāpura, the illustrious Rājagurudēva with pouring of water granted on *sarva-namasya* tenure, eight *mattar* of black-loam land north of the road of Karage, west . . . from the Ālakeṛe ; (*and also*) he granted two *mattar* of red land west of the wall (?) of the temple, south of the river of Varade : altogether ten *mattar*. The seignior Kaliyammārāsa granted for the perpetual lamps thirty houses in the precinct, immune from all conflicting claims. So they shall protect this pious endowment.

(Ll. 35-40 : a prose formula of the usual type.)

(Verses 1-2 : two common Sanskrit formulæ.)

(Ll. 44-45.) The town-clerk Basavayya wrote (*the record*). Bammōja executed (*the order*). Happiness !

B.—DEVAGERI INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA II AND SOMESVARA III: SAKA 997 AND 1056.

This record was found on a stone at Dēvagēri ; but I have no information as to its site or character. The inscribed area is about 3 ft. 2½ in. high and 3 ft. 6½ in. wide. It contains two documents, in different hands, of which the second is imperfect at the end.—The character is Kanarese ; the letters vary in height from ½ in. to ¾ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) is used in *sampannar* (l. 9), *dharṁmam* (l. 27), *kamma* (l. 28), *mattar* (l. 28) ; the palatal *ñ* appears in *pañcha-* (ll. 4, 6).—The language is Old Kanarese, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse. The archaic *ḷ* occurs in *iḷḍu* (ll. 11, 15, 23), *gaḷḍe* (l. 28), and wrongly in *kaḷchi* (l. 13) ; elsewhere it is changed to *ḷ*. Initial *p* is preserved, except in *hattakk-* (l. 17), and *Halāmā* (l. 29). The word *koṭṭayum* on l. 20 (if I have read it aright) is singular. On *mattalu* (l. 28) cf. above, Vol. XIII, p. 168, and *Ep. Carn.* VII. i., Sk. 8, 61, 70, 71, 322, Hl. 7, 11, etc. Some words are of lexical interest, viz. *kāsaṭa* (l. 16), *maḷave* (ll. 16, 17), *kechchan-appa* (ib.), and *hūige* (l. 17).

¹ There seems to be something lost here ; see above.

The first document, after referring itself to the reign of Bhuvanaikamallī-dēva, i.e. Sōmēśvara II (l. 3), mentions the General Udayāditya—a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, high minister, commissioner for *hēri* and for peace and war, and steward of the household—as administering at the time the Banavase Twelve-thousand (ll. 4-5), while the *Mahāsāmantā Kaliyammārāsa*, of the Jimūtavāhana lineage and Khachara race, styled 'a lion for Rājāditya' (apparently one of his family to whom he had rendered military services),¹ was governing the *manneya* of the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (ll. 5-8). The details of the grant then follow (ll. 8-21), according to which Veṇṇamayya, a general, minister, and controller of the *perjjuṅka* taxes, together with the controllers of the two *vilkoḍe* taxes, assigned the proceeds of a toll on produce carried in a certain area to the temple of Kaṅkaḷēśvara² at Dēvagēri, the trustee being Gaṅgarāśi-Paṇḍita.

The second document opens by referring itself to the ninth year of the reign of Bhūlōkamallī, i.e. Sōmēśvara III, and introduces another Kaliyammārāsa, a kinsman of the Kaliyammārāsa mentioned above, perhaps his grandson, as governing the same seignior (ll. 21-23). A verse (ll. 23-25) states that this dignitary, who is here named Kaliga, made a gift of land to the same temple; and the details of this donation, of which the trustee was Mallikārjuna-Paṇḍita, are given in ll. 25-28. This is followed by a record of a donation by some merchants, of which only the beginning remains.

The date of the first record is given on ll. 11-12 as Śaka 997, the cyclic year Rākshasa; Paushya-*suddha* 14; Sunday; the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*; the *yōga vyatipāta*. In these details the only error is in the week-day. The given *tithi* corresponded to Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1075, when it ended about 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise. The *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* took place on the same day at 18 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, the following Friday being reckoned as Makara.

The second record is dated on ll. 21-22 as: the 9th year of Bhūlōkamallī (i.e. Śaka 1056 expired), Ānanda; Paushya-*suddha* 11; Monday; the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*; the *vyatipāta*. This is irregular. The quoted *tithi* corresponded to Saturday, 29 December, A.D. 1134, on which day it ended about 1 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. On the other hand, the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* occurred according to the Ārya-siddhānta 28 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 25 December. Mr. Sewell has pointed out to me that by the Brahma-siddhānta the *saṁkrānti* took place on Monday, 24 December, at 1 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise, the current *tithi* for that day being Paushya śu. 7. Apparently then the record has mixed up two distinct dates, namely Paushya śu. 11 (Saturday) and the *saṁkrānti* on Paushya śu. 7 (Monday).

The chief places mentioned are: the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty, l. 8, or the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr, l. 22; Dēvaṁgēri, ll. 14-15; Palavūr, l. 15; Eleya-Tammuge, l. 15; Barade, l. 16; Beḍabālu, l. 27; Maruḷeyana kere, l. 27; Chimudagere, ll. 27-28; and Arakere, l. 28. On Bāsavūr, Dēvaṁgēri, and Barade, see above. The other places I am unable to identify.

TEXT.³

[The metres are: verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2, *Utpalanālā*.]

- 1 [Na]mas=tu[m]ga-si(śi)raś-chumbita⁴-cha[m]dra-chāmara-chāravē [i*] trailōkyam(kya)-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Sa(Śa)mbhavē || [i*]
- 2 [Sva]sti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaraṁ parama-bhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-kula-tīlaka[m] Chāluky-ā-

¹ [Ordinarily it may also imply that he was a lion to (i.e. vanquished) Rājāditya. The previous plate has *mīraṇa sīma* (l. 21).—Ed.]

² This name is spelt on l. 14 *Kaṁkaḷēśvara*, on l. 24 *Kaṁkaṇēśvara*, and on l. 28 f. *Kaṁkaḷēśvara*.

³ From the ink-impression.

⁴ Read -*chumbi*.

- 3 bharaṇam śrīmat **Bhuvanaikamalla-dēva-jaya-rājya**=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi
pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāraṁ-baraṁ saluttam=ire [*]
- 4 [Ta]t-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śa[bda-ma]hā-sāmantādhīpaḥ
mahā-prachanḍa-daṇḍanāyaka mahāpradhānam hēri-sa-
- 5 [ndhi]-vīgrahi mane-verggaḍe daṇḍanāyakan=**Udayādityam Banavāse-pannirch-**
chhāsīramuman¹=ā|utt=ire [*] Svasti samadhiga-
- 6 [ta]-pañcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantam vijaya-lakshmi-kāntam samasta-vasumatitāla-
khyātam(ta)-Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasā(sū)-
- 7 [tam] bandhu-jana-kamalini-rāja-hamśa(ss) **Khachara**²-vaṁś-ōdbhavam Padmāvati-
labdha-vara-prasādam tyāga-vinōdam **Rājādityanasīnga** śrīmat
- 8 **Kaliyammaraśam Bāsavūra-nūra-nālvattarkkam** mann[e*]yamaṁ sukhadin=arasu-
geyyuttam=ire ☉ Svasti samasta-rājya-
- 9 bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-padavi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata prabhu-mantr-ōtsāha-śakti-
traya-sampannar=appa śrīmad-daṇḍa-
- 10 [u]āyakam perjjumkada **Vēṇṇamayya**mgaḷum śrīmat-bilkode(ḍe)ya **Nāgavarm-**
mayyanum Chikka-Kētayyanum antu perjjumkav=eraḍu
- 11 [b]ilkode(ḍe)yavarum=iḷdu **Śa(Śa)ka-varsha** 997neya **Rākshasa-samvatsarada**
Paushya-su(śu)ddha 14 **Ādityavāram=uttarāyana-**
- 12 samkrāntiyu[m*] vyatipātamum kōḍid=andū Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-
dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānushṭāpa³-
- 13 parāyana-japa-samādhi-sampannar=appa śrīmat **Gaṁgarāsi(śi)-paṇḍitara** kālam
kaḷchi(rchchi) -dhārā-pūrvvakam mā-
- 14 ḍi **Dēvaṁgēriya** Kamkaḷśvara-dēvargge dhūpa-dīpa-nivēdyakke biṭṭa dharmmam=
ent=endade [*] Śrīmat vaḍḍa-rāvulaḍa perggade **Bē-**
- 15 **chayyanum=iḷdu** Dēvaṁgēriyalum Palavūralum Eleya-Tammm(amm)uge modal=āgi
mūr-ūra talada bhaṇḍadolam paḍuvalu Maṁṇṇ(aṇṇ)a-
- 16 ṇḍiya poḷe mūḍalu Tammuḡeya Kaḷla-vole modal=āgi Baradeyim teṁka pōpa
bhaṇḍakke kāsataḍa malave irppattakk=ondu kechchan=a-
- 17 ppa nūla pāsina biṇigeya malave mūvattakk=ondu pattiya malave ayvattakk=
ondu davasada pēru hattakk=ondara sumkamu-
- 18 maṁ vaḍḍa-rāvulaṁ perjjumka eraḍum bilkode(ḍe)ya sumkava[m*] pratipālisuvar
[||*] I(Ī) dharmmavam pratipālisidavar Prayāge Bā-
- 19 **parāsi** Kurukshētram Argghyatīrtthadolam sāsirvvar vēda-pāragarige sāsira
kavileya kōḍum koḷagumam paṁcha-ratnadol=ka-
- 20 ṭṭisi koṭṭayum phalav=akku [*] I(Ī) dharmmavam pratipālisadavam sāsirvvar vēda-
pāragarumam sāsira⁴ kavileyumam konda
- 21 paṁcha-mahā-pātakan=akkum ☉ Svasti śrīmach-**Chāḷukya**⁵-**Bhūlōka**[malla*]-
varshada **ōṇēy=Ānamda-samvatsarada** **Paushya(śhya)-su(śu)ddha** 11
Sōmavārad=u-
- 22 **ttarāyana-samkrānti** vyatipātad=amdu śrīman-mahāsānanta **Kaliyammaraśaru**
Bāsavūra nūra-nālvattaṛa mann[e*]ya-
- 23 d=arasu-gey[y*]uttam=iḷdu || Śr-īśvaran=appa **Khēchāra**-kuḷ-ānvayan=i **Kaliḡ-āvanīśa**
māhēśvara-dīksheyaṁ tanage māḍisi ko-

¹ Apparently what was intended was *Banavāse-pannirchchāsīraman*.

² Possibly *Khēchāra*; the first vowel is not quite clear.

³ Under the *r* is written *h*.

⁴ Read *-ānushṭāna*.

⁵ Read *-Chāḷukya*.

- 24 nḍu samasta-dēva-dēv-ēśvara-Kaṁkaṇēśvara-mahā-mahimāṁge nivēdya-pūjegaṁ
 sāsātum=āge koṭṭan=akhil-ōrvvare ba-
 25 ṇṇi-al-ndgha-bhūmiyam || [2*] Svasti yama-ni(ni)yama-śvādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-
 mō(mau)n-ānushṭāna¹-japa-samādhi-
 26 śīla-gaṇa-saṁppannar=appa śrīmatu Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitara kālam karchchi dhārā-
 pūrvvakam mādī hi-
 27 tṭa dharmam=ent=ēndade | Beḍabāla baṭṭeyim teṁka | Maruḷeyana keṛeyim
 mūḍa ere mattaru nālku | Chimu-
 28 daḡereya padavaṇa deṣeyalu biṭṭa kisu mattaIn eraḍu | Arakereya keḷage
 biṭṭa galde kamma 50 [||*] MattaIn Kaṁkāḷē-
 29 [śvara-d]ēva[r]ige [P parisi]trada saṁpadalu Kisuva Halamā-seṭṭivaḷaru[m*]
 Kalidēva-seṭṭiyum²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śāmbhu, beauteous with the yak-tail fan, that is the moon, kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the building of the city of the three worlds.

(Lines 2-3) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Śaṭyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chāḷukyas, king Bhuvanaikamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 4-5.) While one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the Mahāsāmantādhipati who has obtained the five great (musical) sounds, great august General, High Minister, commissioner for affairs of hēri,³ peace, and war, steward of the household, the General Udayāditya, was ruling the Binavāse Twelve-thousand:—

(Ll. 5-8.) While—hail!—the Mahāsāmanta who has obtained the five great (musical) sounds, beloved of the god less of victory, scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool—his kindred, born of the Khachara race, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī, taking delight in liberality, a lion for Rājāditya, the illustrious Kaliyāmmarasa, was governing happily the seigniorship of Basavura Hundred-and-forty:—

(Ll. 8-14) He who is eminent in the office of high minister appointed for the administration of the whole kingdom, exalted in dignity, possessing the three powers of lordship, counsel and enterprise, the General Venṇamayya (the controller) of the perijjuḷka taxes, and Nāgavarmayya and Chikka-Kēṭayya (the controllers) of the bilkoḍe taxes, that is to say, the controllers of the perijjuḷka and of the two bilkoḍes, in concert, on Sunday, the 14th of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year Rākshasa, the 987th (year) of the Śaka era, coinciding with the uttarāyana-saṁkrānti and the vyatīpātā,⁴ having laved the feet of Gaṅgarāśi-Paṇḍita, who is versed in the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration and observance of silence, and practises prayer and absorption, granted with pouring of water a pious endowment for (the supply of) incense, lamps, and oblations for the god Kaṁkalēśvara of Dēvamgēri, to the following effect:—

(Ll. 14-18.) With the concurrence of Bēchayya, controller of the vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa taxes, (it was decreed that) they shall maintain both in Dēvamgēri and in Palavūr in the case of the produce of the soil of Eleya-Tammuge and the rest of the three towns, a toll upon produce that is

¹ Read -ānushṭāna.

² Of line 30 nothing is legible; and the rest of the record is lost.

³ See remarks in my paper on the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa inscr. of Jagadīśamalla II, l. 21.

⁴ A yōga in which the sun and moon have the same declination.

carried south of Barade—beginning with the river of Maṇḍandi on the west and the Kalla-river of Tammuge on the east—viz., one *maḷave* upon every twenty of *kāsaṭa*, one *maḷave* upon every thirty of *bīṇige* of red (?)¹ thread, one *maḷave* upon every fifty of cotton-pods, one load upon every ten of grain, (as) a toll of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*, the *perjjunka*, and the two *bilkoḍes*.

(Ll. 18-21 : a prose formula of the usual type.)

(Ll. 21-23.) Hail! At the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year *Ānanda*, the 9th (year) of the Chālukya-Bhūḷōkamalla era, in the *vyatipāta*, while the *Mahāsāmanta* *Kaliyammaraśa* was governing the seigniori of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr:—

(Verse 2.) This prince *Kāṭiga*, of the lineage of the Khēchara family, a lord of fortune, having caused to be performed for himself the Māhēśvara consecration, bestowed in perpetuity, with the approval of the whole earth, good land for the great glory of Kaṅkaṇēśvara, the lord of all gods of gods, and for his worship with oblations.

(Ll. 25-28.) 'Hail! Having laved the feet of *Mallikarjuna-Paṇḍita*, who has the merit of practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, observance of silence, prayer, and absorption, he granted with pouring of water a pious endowment, as follows: four *mattar* of black-loam land south of the road of Beḍabālu, east of Maruḷeya's Tank; two *mattal(r)* of red land he granted on the west of the Chimuḍagere; 50 *kamma* of paddy-field he granted below the Arakere.

[Translation of the latter part of l. 28 and l. 29 is omitted here, apparently because the sense is not complete. As they stand, we might render them thus:—Further, to the god Kaṁkālēśvaradēva, Kisuva Halamā-seṭṭivāḷa and Kalidēva-seṭṭi in the vicinity of the enclosure.—Ed.]

C.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 4TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This record was found on a fragment of a slab in the temple of Dhavaḷēśvara at Kōlūr, concerning which I have found no further details. The upper half is very imperfectly preserved. The maximum height of the inscribed area is about 3 ft. ; the width is 2 ft. 3 in.—The character is a fair Kanarese of the period, the letters varying in height from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) occurs in [*pa*]mcha-mahā°, l. 9, ma[hāse]nāḍipati, l. 11, and paḷama°, l. 28. The language, except for the concluding Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese. The initial *p* is changed to *h* only in *hattiya*, l. 25. The archaic *ḷ* is preserved in *iḷḍu* ll. 17-18, and is written irregularly in *karḷchi*, for *karchchi*, l. 21; elsewhere it has been replaced by *ḷ*. The words *khēṇikāra*, l. 17, *bīṇige*, l. 24, *kechchan=appa*, l. 24, and *maḷave*, ll. 24-25, are of some lexical interest.

The record, so far as it is preserved, begins by referring itself to a time when *Trailōkya-malla-dēva* was reigning over the *Nolambavāḍi*, Thirty-two Thousand and the *Saṁtḷige* Thousand (ll. 1-6). This is probably Jayasimha III, the younger brother of *Vikramāditya* VI, on whom see *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 453. Then, after a mutilated reference to some religious dignitary who was administering the demesnes of the god *Indrēśvara* of *Bāṅkāpura* (cf. above, A., ll. 12-13), we learn that at the same time a *manneya*, probably the *Bāsavura* *Hundred-and-forty*, was under the government of a *Mahāsāmanta* whose name is lost, but was probably *Kaliyammaraśa* (ll. 6-10), while the General *Baladēvaṛya*, a devotee of the Jain church, was ruling the *Banavāse* *Twelve-thousand* and controlling the *kīḷ-vaṭṭe* section of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* taxes (ll. 10-13), the General *Batamadēvaṛasa* was controlling the *perjjunka* and the two *bilkoḍe* taxes of the *Banavāse* *Twelve-thousand* (ll. 13-15), the *pergaḍe* *Chāvanna*, also a pious Jain, was *khēṇikāra* of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* (ll. 15-18), and *Dasa-Gayunḍa* and *Rāja-Gayunḍa* were serving as *gāvunḍas* of Kōlūr (l. 18). Next comes the date (ll. 18-20), followed

¹ Possibly *kechchan=appa* is connected with *kechchane*, 'redness'; but it may equally be connected with *kechchu* in the sense of 'warp'.

by details of an endowment for the temple of the god Grāmēśvara, the "Village Lord", of which the trustee was a certain Kannaḍāchārya, and under which a toll identical in its rates with that specified in B., ll. 16-17, was to be levied on certain produce of the soil in Kōlūr and Aggaḷajūr under the provisions of the above-mentioned four taxes, and applied for the benefit of the temple (ll. 20-26).

The date is given on ll. 18-20 as : the 4th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, Siddhārtha ; Pausya amāvāse, Sunday ; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* ; the *vyatīpāta* ; an eclipse of the sun. This again is somewhat irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Thursday, 26 December, A.D. 1079, ending about 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 19 h. after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday, i.e. at 1 a.m. on Wednesday, 25 December, which was hence reckoned as 1 Makara. The eclipse of the sun actually took place on Thursday, 26 December, as stated : see *Indian Calendar*, p. 122.

The following place-names occur : the Nōḷambavāḍi Thirty-two-thousand, ll. 4-5 ; the Sāntaḷige Thousand, l. 5 ; Baṅkāpura, l. 8 ; the Banavase Twelve-thousand, ll. 12, 14 ; Kōlūr, ll. 18, 22 ; Aggaḷajūr, l. 22 f. ; Karage, l. 23 ; the *tirthas*, ll. 26, 27, 29. Nōḷambavāḍi lay somewhere about Bellary. Sāntaḷige was in the west of Mysore or thereabouts (*Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 306, n. 5). On Baṅkāpura see Vol. XIII, p. 168 ; on Karage, see above.

TEXT.¹

[The metre of verse 1 is *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 [śa]-
- 2 [ra]n-āgata-rakshāma[ṇi]
- 3 gajāgarājam
- 4 . śrīma[t*]-Traiḷōkyamallavēr² Nōḷa[m]bavāḍi-mūva]-
- 5 [tti]rchchāsīramumam Sāntaḷige-[sāsīramu]-
- 6 mam sukha-samkathā-vinōdadiṁ r[ā]jyam-geyyuttam=ire || Svasti yama-niyama-
dhyāna]-
- 7 dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānushṭhāna-japa-samādhi
- 8 Baṅkāpurad=Imdrēsvara-dēvargg=āḷva Gorava(?) [samadhigata]-
- 9 [pa]mcha-mahāsa(śa)bda-mahāsāmantam śrīmatu [Bāsavura-nūṇa-
nāḷva]-
- 10 [tta]ra manneyad=arasu-geyyut[t*]am=ire || Svasti
- 11 ma[hāsē]nādi(dhi)pati mahā-prachamḍa-daṁḍanāyaka Jina-charaṇa-kamala-bhri(bhṛi)m-
ga [daṁḍa]-
- 12 [n]āyaka Baladēvayyam[ga*]ḷu Banavase-pannirchchāsīramumam vaḍḍa-rāvula-
- 13 [da ?] kiḷ-vatṭeya suṁkaman=anubhavisuttam=ire || Śrīmad-daṁḍanāyaka Beṭṭi-
[mayyam ?]-
- 14 gaḷa magam Bammadēvarasaru Banavase-pannirchchāsīrada perjjumkamum
eraḍu[m bi]-
- 15 lkeḍeya suṁkaman=anubhavisuttam=ire || Svasti samasta-guṇa-sampanna nuḍid=
am-
- 16 t=ennam sujan-aiyaka-mitra gōtra-pavitra āśrita-jana-kalpa-vri(vṛi)ksha bandhu-jana-
chintāmaṇi Po .
- 17 tṭiya siṁga Jina-charaṇa-kamala-bhri(bhṛi)mga śrīmatu vaḍḍa-rāvulaḍa khēṇikāra
perggade Chāvannanu[m=i]-
- 18 ḷdu || Śrīmatu-Kōḷu(ḷu)ra Dāsa-gāvunḍanum Rāja-gāvunḍanum gāvunḍu-
geyyū(yyu)ttam=ire || Chāḷu[k]ya-
- 19 Vikrama-varsha 4neya Sidh(d)dhārththa-samvatsarada Pausyad=amāvāse Ādityavā-
ram=uttar[ā]-

¹ From the ink-impression,

² Read *Traiḷōkyamalla-dēvar*.

- 20 yaṇa-samkrānti vyatipāta su(ū)rya-grahapadandu Grāmēśvara-dēvargge dhūpa-dīpa-
 21 nivēdyakke Kannaḍāchāryyara kālam karḷchi dhārā-pūrvvakam=āgi biṭṭa dharm-
 mam=ent=enda[ḍe]
 22 Vadda-rāvuḷa perjjumka eraḍum bilkoḍe antum(ntu) nālkum sumkadalum=āgi
 Kōlūr=Aggaḷa-
 23 jūra Karageya taḷa-bhaṇḍamu[m*?] ā yeraḍum polege barpp=aḍḍa-vaṭṭeyu
 khāsa-
 24 ṭada maḷave irppattakk=ondu kechchan=appa nūla pāsina biṇigeya maḷave
 25 mūvattakk=ondu hattiya maḷave ayvattakk=ondu dadasada pēru i[r*]ppa-
 26 ttakk=ondu [||*] Int=i dharmmamam pratipālisidavaru Vāraṇāsi Gu(Ku)rukshētra
 27 Prayāgeyā(yo)l=sāyira kavileya kōḍum kolagumam paṇcha-ratnadolu kaṭṭi-
 28 si(si) vēda-pāragar=appa sāsirvvaru brāhmaṇargge mahā-dānam-goṭṭa pa(pha)lam=
 akku ||
 29 ī dharmmamam=alidam Vāraṇāsi Kurukshētradol sāsira kavileyum sāsira brā-
 30 hmaṇaran=alida paṇcha-mahā-pātakan=akku || Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā
 yō harēti(ta) vasu-
 31 ndharām shashthi(shṭim)-varsha-sahasrāṇām(ṇi) mi(vi)shṭhāyām jāyatē krimi¹ ||
 [1*] ⊙

D.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 10TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This mutilated fragment is from a stone found at Kōlūr, regarding which I have no details. It contains only the right-hand half of the record. Its height is about 3 ft. 5½ in.; its width at l. 1 is 12½ in., and at l. 32 (the last line) 17½ in. The character is fair Kanarese of the period and the letters vary between ⅞ in. and ¾ in. The language is Old Kanarese, except in the formal Sanskrit verses on ll. 24-27. The *ḷ* is used irregularly in *kamaḷa* and *sakaḷa* (l. 5), and in *negalḍalu* (l. 14); elsewhere it is replaced by *l*. We find the archaic participle *pratipālisidome* (l. 27) in a formula beside the later form *aḷidavame* (l. 29).

The record refers itself in ll. 1-3 to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, *i.e.* Vikramāditya VI, and then mentions in ll. 3-7 Rājagurudēva (compare above, inscr. A.) as administering twelve towns, probably those comprised in the diocese of Indrēśvara of Baṅkāpura. Next appears again Kaliyammaraśa, who figures in inscription B. (ll. 8 and 22), as governing the *manneya* of Bāsavura. After the date (ll. 12-13) begins a series of *kanḍa* verses in praise of Basava and Kētamalla and their family, though of the latter only one name is preserved, *viz.* that of their grandmother (?) Bāgaṇabbe (l. 14). To judge from the words *Ō(Au)raya-kuḷu-tiḷakam* on l. 13, this family also belonged to the Jīmūtavāhana lineage. One or both of these men held the office of *gāvunḍa* in Kōlūr (l. 18), and won the favour of Kaliyammaraśa (l. 19), who was pleased because Basava risked his life (literally, 'gave his head') in his service, and accordingly made a religious endowment (ll. 19-22). The document was drafted by Māḷapayya, the teacher of Kētamalla, and was engraved by Kālōja (ll. 31-32).


The date is given in ll. 12-13 as the 10th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, Krōdhana, Thursday, the month and fortnight being lost. The year Krōdhana corresponded to A.D. 1085-6.

The only decipherable place-names are: the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (l. 11); Kōlūr (l. 18); and the *tīrthas* (l. 27).

¹ Read *krimiḥ*.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follow : verses 1-7, *Kanda* ; verses 8-9, *Anushubh.*]

- 1 [Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvi-vallabha mahār]ājādhirāja paramēśvara
parama-
- 2 [bhaṭṭarakam Satyāśraya-kuṣa-tilakam Chālukya-ābharapa]m śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvana-
malla-dēvaru sukha-
- 3 [saṁkathā-vinōdadin rājyaṁ-geyyuttam=ire | Svasti yama-niyama-sv]ādhyāya-dhyāna
dhāraṇa-mō(ma)n-ānu-
- 4 [shṭhāna] budha-jana-prasamūnarūm
dharmma-latā-
- 5 vā-kamaḷa(la)-mārttaṇḍarūm
sakaḷa(la)- 
- 6 sāra-vīratarūm chāritra-niratarūm
śrīma-
- 7 viṇḍarum=appa Rājagurudēvaru panneraduṁ
bāḍamarūm
- 8 [Samadhighata-pa]mcha-mahāśabda-mahāsāmantam
vijaya-
- 9 [lakshmi-kānta] Jimūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasūta
bandhu-jana-
- 10 [kamalinī-rāja-hamṣa] [Padm]āvati(ti)-labdha-vara-prasāda tyāga-vinōda
biruda-
- 11 [manneya-mada-nivāraṇa(?)] śrīmat Kaliyam[m*]arasa[r*]
Bāsavura-nūra-nāḷva-
- 12 [ttara manneyad=arasu-geyyuttam=ire (?)] | Svasti śrī]mach-Chālukya-Vikrama-
varshaṁ loneya Krōdha-
- 13 [na-saṁvatsara] [Br]i(Bṛi)haspativārad=andu || Ō(Au)raga-kuṣa-tilakam²
prabhu Vi(Vi)r-ā-
- 14 [vatāra] [r]uḥa-lōchane negaḷdaḷu(lu) dhāriniyoḷ
Bāganabbe
- 15 [1*] y=ananta-guṇam bhuvana-bha[vaṇa]-jana-vinutam
śrī-kāntam
- 16 shṭa-nivāsa || [2*] Āta Sītege
do[r]e
- 17 yasa(śa)r=jjaniyisidar=nniti-vida[r] Basava-
Kētamaḷ[1]la-
- 18 [3*] r=Kōḷūroḷ gāvunḍu-geydu sukhadin=
iral=pati-kāra-
- 19 mam mechchi Kaliyam[m*]arasam dayeyi || [4*]
Enage tale-go-
- 20 [tt] n=emdu Kaliyam[m*]arasam manam=osed=
eraḍum kēriya mane-
- 21 itta || [5*] Vighrahadol tale-goṭṭi(ṭṭa)n=udagra-bāḷam
Basava-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² The syllables *ti/a* have been omitted from their proper place and inserted in smaller letters at the end of the line, with crosses to mark the omission.

- 22 [gra]hadimdaṁ samasta-parigrahaṁ¹=ā-cha[m*]-
dra-tāram=amt=āg=itta || [6*]
23 mṅg=adu piridum puṇyam=artthad=ā(a)pēkshateyimd=
idan=aḷidava-
24 ridu naḍege naḍevavar=ella || [7*] Sva-datt[ām*]
para-danta(ttām) vā yō ha-
25 [rēta vasundharām [*] shashṭimv-a]rsha-sahasrāṇām(ṇi) mi(vi)shṭhāyām jāyatē
krimi² || [8*]
26 [Sva-dattād=dvigunam puṇyam p]ūrvva-datt=ānupāli(la)nam [*] pūrvva-datt-
āpahārēṇa sva-dattam nis(sh)phalam bha-
27 [vēt ||] [9*] maryyādeyam tappade pratipālisidoṁge
Vāraṇāsi Gaṅge Kuru-
28 [kshētradoḷ sāsira]-kavileya kōḍum koḷagumam paṁcha-ratnadol kaṭṭisi vēda-
pāraga-
29 [r=appa sāsira-brāhmaṇaṇṇ]e dānam-goṭṭa pa(pha)lam=aḷku || Idan=aḷidavaṇge
ant=ā tīrthadoḷ sāsi-
30 [ra-kavileyu]m sāsira-br[ā]hmaṇarum sāsira-divya-tapōdhanaruma[m*] koṁda pā-
31 [takam=aḷku] || Kētamallanan=ōdisida upādhyāyam Mālapayyam bareda besa-
ge-
32 [yda] siyamōjana magam Kālōja ||

E.—DEVAGERI INSCRIPTION OF THE 48TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This document, of which a transcript is given in the *Elliot Collection*, vol. 1 (fol. 367a. of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy), is from a slab found standing in the front of the gateway of the temple of Basavaṇṇa by the *hoṇḍa* or well of Dēvagēri. The inscribed area is about 3 ft. 10 in. high and 1 ft. 3½ in. wide. The lower part of the inscription is lost.—The character is fair Kanarese of the period, with letters varying between ½ in. and ⅔ in. in height. The cursive *m* occurs in *mūla*, l. 2.—The language is Old Kanarese, except for the opening Sanskrit verse. Initial *p* has become *h* in the name *Hermāḍi*^o (ll. 19, 23, 43) and in *hola-vēreyim* (l. 25; cf. above, Vol. XIV, p. 277). The *ḷ* does not appear: we find *irḍdu* (l. 21) for *īḷdu*, and elsewhere *ḷ*.

The document refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI (ll. 3-8), and mentions next the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Īśvarayya, a general and steward of the household, as administering the "Two Belvalas," (*sci*l Belvala and Puligere) (ll. 9-13), while the *Mahāsāmanta* Hermāḍiyarasa of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and Khachara family, was governing the *manneya* of the Basavura Hundred-and-forty (ll. 14-21). It then records a date (ll. 21-23) on which Hermāḍiyarasa made a grant of some lands to the temples of Tribhuvanēśvara (a title of Śiva derived from the name of the reigning king) and Bhairava, the trustee being Tribhuvanasiṅgi-Pandita (ll. 23-29). After formulæ of the usual type (ll. 29-39) comes a verse which tells us that Hermāḍiyarasa was the son of Kaliyammaraśa (see inscriptions B.-D.) by his wife Laḥḥaḷadēvi (ll. 40-44). After this the rest of the record is lost: only small fragments of nine lines survive.

The date is given on ll. 21-23 as the 46th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, Plava; the full-moon of Paushya-suddha, Sunday; the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*; the *vyatipāta*. The *tithi* quoted corresponded to Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1121; it began on that day at 12.24 A.M., and ended about 13 m. after midnight. The *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* occurred 15 h. 45 m. after

¹ The letter *gra* has been omitted and added at the end of l. 21, with crosses to mark the omission.
² Read *krimiḥ*.

mean sunrise, *i.e.*, at 9.45 P.M. on the previous Saturday, so it actually took place before the quoted *tithi* began, but the day to which it was attached, *viz.* from mean sunrise on Saturday to mean sunrise on Sunday, was still current when the *tithi* commenced, and hence the two dates might legitimately be connected. Mr Sewell informs me that according to the *Brahma-siddhānta* the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred on Friday, 23 December, a date which could not possibly be connected with the given *tithi*.

The only place-names mentioned are : the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (l. 12), the 'Six-hundred consisting of the two Belvalas', *i.e.* Belvala and Puligere (ll. 12-13), the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (l. 20), Dēvagēri (l. 25), Marayagere (l. 26), and the *tirthas* (l. 30).

TEXT.¹

[The metres are : verse 1, *Anuśtubh*; verse 2, *Śālinī*; verse 3, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 [Namas=īringa]-ś[i]raś-chuṁbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē [*] trail[ō]kya-
- 2 nagar-āratibha-māla-stambhāya Śambhavē . [|| 1*] ☉ Maṁga[la]
- 3 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśrayam Śri-Pri(Pṛi)thvi-[va]-
- 4 llabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara para-
- 5 mabhaṭṭarakam Satyāśraya-kula-tilakam Chālu-
- 6 ky-ābharanam śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanamalla-dēvara vija-
- 7 ya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi-pravarddhamā-
- 8 nam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram-baram saluttam=ire
- 9 ☉ Tat-pāda-padm-ōpajivi ☉ Svasti samadhigata-pañcha-
- 10 mahā-śabda-mahāsāmaṁtādhīpati mahāpra-
- 11 chaṇḍa-danḍanāyakam mane-verggaḍey=īśvarayya-
- 12 danḍanāyaka[m*] Banavāse-pannirchchāsīramumam Belvala-
- 13 v=eraḍ=arunūrumam sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadīnd=āluttam=ire
- 14 Svasti samadhigada²-pañcha-mahāśabda-mahāsāmaṁtam vijaya-
- 15 lakshmi-kāmaṁ samasta-vasmatītala³-khyāta-Jīmūtavāhan-[ā*]-
- 16 nvaya-prasātam bandhu-jana-kamahni-rāja-hamsam Khachara-va[ra]
- 17 ś-ōttamsam Padmāvati-labha-vara-prasādam tyāga-vinōdam b[i].
- 18 ruda-manneya-mada-ni(ni)vārana-nām-ādi-samasta-
- 19 prasa(śa)sti-sahita-śrīman-mahāsāmaṁtam Hermmādiyarasa-
- 20 ru Bāsavura-nūra-nālvattara manneyad=arasu-geyvutta-
- 21 m=irddu Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada 46nēya Plava-samva-
- 22 tsarada Paushya-śuddha puṇami Ādivārada[m*]d=uttarāja-
- 23 na-samkrānti vyatipātadalu Hermmādiya-
- 24 rasam māhēśvara-diksheyam kay-konḍu śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanē-
- 25 śvara-dēvara nivēdyakk[e] Dēvagēriya hola-vēreyim temka Ma-
- 26 rayagereyim baḍaga śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanasimgi-paṁditara kā-
- 27 lam kachchi dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍi dēvaigge bitṭa yere ma-
- 28 ttar=aydu alli Bhairava-dēvargge yere mattar=omdu
- 29 antu mattar=āru [*] Yi dharmmamam pratipālisi-
- 30 davargge Vāram(n)nāsi Kurukshētra Prayāgey=Argghya-
- 31 tirthadalu sahasra-kavileya kōḍum kolagu-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read -vasumatīśala-.

³ Read samadhigata-.

- 32 maṁ pañcha-ratnadalu khachiyisi chatur-vvêda-pāragar=appa
 33 sa[hasra*] brāhmaṇargg=ubhayamukhigotṭa phalam=akku [*] Yi dha-
 34 rmmamañ(n)=ār=orvvar=alidar=alidavargge Vāraṇāsi Ku-
 35 rukshêtra Prayāgey=Argghyatīrtthadal=sāyira kavile-
 36 yumam sāsīrvva[*] brāhmaṇaruman=alida pañcha-mahā-pā-
 37 takan=akku ☉ Sāmānyō=yam sētu-dharmma¹ nri(nṛi)pāṇām kālē
 38 kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [*] sarvvān=ētām(n) bhāg(v)ina[h*] pārtthi-
 39 [v]ēmdrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadra[h || 2*] ☉
 40 [Ksh]īr-āmbhōdhi-tanūjegaṁ Vanaruhākshaṁgaṁ maṇḍ-rāgadi[m*]
 41 [Kāmañ(?) pu]ṭṭ[ṭ]uva volu Viyachchara-kuḷa-prāchī-ṇag-ārkkam [m☉]-
 42 [— — —]m Lachchaladēvigam Kaliyam-ōrvvipālakam-
 43 [gaṁ ☉ — — —]māpati puṭṭidam nri(nṛi)pa-varam Hermāḍi-bhū-
 44 [— ☉ — || 3*] prasūta-nri(nṛi)-putra-
 kar=ār=mmige (?)²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription B.)

(Line 2.) Happiness!

(Ll. 3-8.) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Sityāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 9-13.) While one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet,—hail!—the Mahāsā-mantādhīpati who has obtained the five great musical sounds, great august General, steward of the household, the General Īśvarayya, was governing the Banavāse Twelve-thousand and the Six-hundred consisting of the two Beḷval:s³ with enjoyment of pleasant conversations:—

(Ll. 14-21.) Hail! the Mahāsāmanta who has obtained the five great musical sounds, possessing all titles of honour such as “beloved of the Goddess of Victory, scion of the lineage of Jimūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool his kindred, chaplet of the Khachara race, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī, delighting in bounty, repressing the arrogance of titled seigniors,” the Mahāsāmanta Hermāḍiyarasa, was ruling as seignior the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty:—

(Ll. 21-29.) On Sunday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year Plava, the 46th (year) of the Chālukya-Vikrama(era) on the uttarāyana-saṁkrānti, in the vyatīpāta (yōga), Hermāḍiyarasa, having performed the Māhēśvara consecration, for the oblations of the god Tribhuvanēśvara, assigned, with laving of the feet of Tribhuvanasiṅgi-Paṇḍita and pouring of water for the benefit of the god, five mattar of black-loam land south of the dry-land bounds of Dēvagēri (and) north of Marayagere, (and) in the same place, for the benefit of the god Bhairava, one mattar of black-loam land, thus (making altogether) six mattar.

(Ll. 29-37: a prose formula of the usual type.)

(V. 2: a common Sanskrit verse.)

¹ Read dharmma-sētur-.

² Nine more lines of writing are visible, but very few words on them are legible.

³ That is, the Beḷvala Three-hundred and the Puligere Three-hundred: see above, Vol. XIII, p. 178.

(V. 3.) As to the daughter of the Milk-Ocean (Lakshmi) and to the Lotus-eyed (Vishnu) of their souls' love was born [Kāma]—a Sun on the eastern mountain of the Vīyachchārā¹ race . . . to Lachchaladēvi and to king Kaliyama was born a lord . . . the excellent king Hermmaḍi the [ruler] of the earth.

F.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SINGHANA.

This is written on a slab found in the temple of Mārtaṇḍa-dēva or Holapa at Kōlūr. The inscribed area is about 2 ft. 10 in. high and 1 ft. 9½ in. wide, lines 1-5 occupying a compartment about 4 in. high, and the rest of the inscription being about 2 ft. 6 in. high. The character is a rather irregular Kanarese of the period; the letters generally vary in height from ⅔ in. to ⅞ in. The cursive *m* occurs about 24 times, the cursive *v* about 27 times. The language, except in the second verse, which is Sanskrit, is Kanarese, a mixture of the ancient and the medieval dialects. The *upadhmanīya* appears wrongly in *Puḥpa*², l. 16; *l* is not found. Initial *p* has become *h* in *Huligere*, l. 13, *haṁneraḍu*, l. 33, *hiṭu* (*hiṭṭu* ?), l. 33, beside *paḍuva* l. 35, *paḍedaṁ* and *paḍeda*, l. 40. The first verse is of some lexical interest.

The record refers itself in ll. 6-8 to the reign of Siṁgaḷadēva, i.e. the Yādava Siṁghana (circa A.D. 1210-46), who here bears the chief of the Chālukyan titles, together with those of 'a Nārāyaṇa of kings' and 'majestic Emperor' (cf. *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 523). It then mentions the high minister Vaṅkuva-Rāvuta, with various titles, as governing the Beḷvala Three-hundred, the Huligere Three-hundred, and the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (ll. 9-14), while Kēśava-Nāyaka was administering the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll. 14-23), and the *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Mallidēvarasa, of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and Khachara family, was governing the *manneya* of the same Hundred-and-forty (ll. 24-30); and under the auspices of this Mallidēvarasa the representatives of Dēvagēri made a grant to the sanctuary of the Kṣhētrapāla of Kōlūr (ll. 30 ff.). The change in the status of Malli-dēvarasa's family is noteworthy. He bears the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara*, and is said to be 'reigning in the chieftainship of the *manneya*' (*arasu-rājyaṁ-geyyuttam*), whereas his ancestors were only *Mahāsāmantas* and were described as 'exercising the chieftainship' (*arasu-geyyuttam*). But on the other hand, the previous records make no mention of a government of the Bāsavūr Hundred-and-forty distinct from that of the *manneya*, and it would, therefore, seem that in earlier times the former was included in the general administration of the whole province, and that later a special commissioner was appointed for it, perhaps as a counterpoise to the rising power of the Lord of the *manneya*. The distinction between the two administrations is not clear.

The place-names mentioned are: the Beḷvala Three-hundred (ll. 12-13); the Huligere Three-hundred (l. 13); the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (l. 13); the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll. 22, 28); Dēvaṁgēri (l. 31); Kōlūr (l. 33); Karage (l. 35; see above on inscr. A.); Māvina-chavuḍa-kārve (l. 36); and Nidugere (l. 37).

TEXT.³

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Tarala*³; verse 2, *Anuṣṭubh* verse 3, apparently a *Tripadī*.]

- 1 ॐ Nosala kaṁṇu kuḍu-dāḍe talu-vaḷe pāvu kayya kapāḷamuṁ [mi]-
2 supa bālu niri-gōḍa kem-jeḍe kālal-iṭṭa ba(kaḷa)lgaḷim [i*] misuni-jamnapa-
dē(vē)-

¹ A poetical synonym for *Khachara*.

² From the ink-impression.

Read *misuni-baṇṇada* (or *-vaṇṇada*).

³ See Nāgavarma's *Kannada Cihṇadarsu*, ed. Kittel, p. 56, l. 186.

- 3 tramam piḍid=aksha-sūtradha(da) māleyim̐d=eseva gejjeyi Bhē(Bhai)ravam namag-
igai(ge) [bē]-
- 4 lpa varamgalaṁ || [1*] Namas=tunga-sirastumbi¹-cha[m*]dra-chāmara-ch[ā*]ravē
trailōkya²-nagar-[ā*]ram-
- 5 bha-mulastabavasabavē³ || [2*]
- 6  Svasti samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitam Śrī-hṛitvivalabham⁴ mahārājādi(dhi)-
rājam
- 7 paramēśvaram paramabhaṭṭārakam Rāya-Nārāyaṇa pratāpa-chakravartti
- 8 śrī-Singala-dēvaru sukha-samkathā-vinōdadin rājyam-geyyuttam=ire ||
- 9  Svasti śrīman-mahāpradhānam sarb-ādhipati mahā-pasāyitam
- 10 bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipatiy=anēka-dhē(dē)ś-ādhipati sakala-lakshmi(kshmi)-pati-ni-
- 11 yōga-Yōgamdharam pati-kārya-dhuramdharam ni(ni)ti-Chāpā(ṇa)kyam svāmi-vam-
- 12 chakara-gaṁḍam śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-paṁjaranum=appa Vamkuva-Rāvutaru Be-
- 13 beluvala⁵-mūnūru Huligere-mūnūru Banavāse-pannirchchāsiramam
- 14 sukha-samkathā-vinōdadin̐d=āuttam=ire ||  Svasti samasta-prasasti-sa-
- 15 hitam śrīman(n)-mahāpradhānam Dvija-kula-kamala-M[ā*]rttanḍam kāmīni-manō-
- 16 nayana-Puḥpnakōdhamḍanum⁶ śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-paṁjaranum yu-
- 17 dhi dik-ku[m*]jaranum yativiśama⁷-hay-ārūḍa(ḍha)-prauḍa(ḍha)-rēkhā-Rēvamtanum
svā-
- 18 mi-bhakta-Hanūma[m*]tanum satya-śauch-āchāra-chāritranum Bhāra-
- 19 dhvā(dvā)ja-gōtra-pavitranum sakala-sāhitya-vidhy(dy)-ādy-ā(a)nēka-sāstra-
- 20 pārāṇa⁸ mūrti-Nārāyaṇanu[m*] vairi-sēnā-nātha-jiv-ōchchā-
- 21 ṭana-mamtra-sidhdh(ddh)anum sakala-lōk-ē(ai)ka-prasidhdh(ddh)anum yity-ādhy-
ānēka-gu-
- 22 ṇa-gaṇ-ōlāmkrītanum⁹=appa Kēśava-na(nāya)karu Bāsavūra nūṇa-
- 23 nālvattumam duṣṭa-nigraha-si(śi)ṣṭa-pratipālan-a(ā)gi¹⁰ a(ā)uttam=irdhdu(rddu)
- 24  Svasti [||*] samasta-vasumati(ti)-tala-khyātam(ta)-Jimūtavā-
- 25 han-ānvayam(ya)-prasūta[m*] bāndhu-jana-kamalini-rāja-hamsam Padmā-
- 26 vati(ti)-labdha-vara-prasādam Khachara-vamś-ōtta[m*]sam tyāga-vinōdam biruda-
- 27 mānneya-bēmṭekāram sarppa-dhvaja-śōbhitam māvana gaṁḍha-vāraṇam
- 28 śrīman-mahāmāṇḍalēśvaram Malli-dēvarasaru Bāsavūra nūṇa-nā-
- 29 lvattumam sukha-samkathā-vinōdadin mānneyad=arasu-rā-
- 30 jyam-geyyuttam=ire || Tatu-pāda-padma-ō[pa*]jivigaḷu || śrīmatu-sama-
- 31 sta-guṇa-sampāmnar=ap[p*]a Dēvaṁgēriya sāyira parivāram
- 32 14 aṇuvatt-u(o)kkalum Maṣaṇa-gāvumḍa Īcha-gāvumḍa mukhyav-āda
- 33 haṁneraḍu hiṭ[ṭ*]u sahita biṭṭa dharmma Kōlūra Kshētrapālam-

¹ Read -śīras-chumbi-.² The lō has been omitted, and added in smaller script.³ Read -mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē.⁴ The second be is superfluous.⁵ Read ativiśama-.⁶ Read ity-ādy-anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ōlāmkrītanum.⁷ Read -Prithvi-vallabham.⁸ Read -Puṣhpakōdamḍanum.⁹ Read -parāyaṇanum.¹⁰ Read -pratipālanadīn or -pratipālaneyin.

- 34 ge raṅga-bhōga-nivēdyā(dya)kke biṭṭa datti vāriṁ mūḍa yā(a)ḍḍa-dāriyim
 35 paḍuva yere Gaṅgana mattaru 1 vāriṁ temka Karageya dāri-
 36 yim baḍaga kem-gāḍu kamba 20 M[ā*]vina Chavuḍa-kārveyim¹ tem-
 37 ka Niḍugereya kelage kamba 10 sōṭige yenn[e*] || Śrī śrī [*]
 38 Yim=i(i) dharmmavaṁ pratipāṭiṣiḍa(da)ṁge mahāṁpū² yidha(da)n=a-
 39 ḷidaṁ paṁcha-mahā-pāṭakan=aku(kku) || Sthāna-pati³ maḍavari(m) saṁtati-
 40 paḍedaṁ sarvva-na[ma*]śe(sya)v=āgi dhā(dha)reyaṁ paḍeda ! atana⁴ satati(ta)
 biḍey=abaleya
 41 nichita [|| 3*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May Bhairava, with an eye in (*the centre of his*) forehead, crooked tusks, serpents as armlets, a skull in his hand, a glittering sword, red matted locks in a neat horn,⁵ and with anklets worn on his feet, holding a rod of golden hue, with loins adorned with a rosary of beads, give us the boons which we crave.⁶

(V. 2: identical with verse 1 of inscription B.)

(Lines 6-8.) While—hail!—the possessor of all titles of honour, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, a Nārāyaṇa of monarchs, the majestic Emperor king Siṅgaḷa was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations :—

(Ll. 9-14.) While—hail!—the High Minister, general controller, great favourite, administrator of seventy-two offices, administrator of many territories, holding the office of master of the whole treasury, a Yaṅgandharāyaṇa in offices of his lord, a Chāṇakya in polity, a man of might to traitors against his master, and an adamant chamber to seekers of his protection, Vaṅkuva-Rāvuta, was governing the Beḷvala Three-hundred, the Huligeṇe Three-hundred and the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, with enjoyment of pleasant conversations :—

(Ll. 14-23.) While—hail!—the possessor of all titles of honour, the High Minister, decorated with a series of many virtues (*denoted by the titles of*) 'Sun to the lotuses of the Brāhmaṇ race, a Love-god to the souls and eyes of amorous women, an adamant chamber to the seekers of his protection, an elephant of the sky-quarters in battle, a Rāvanta of magnificent type among those who ride most forward horses,⁷ a Hanūmān among those who are devoted to his lord, practising truth and purity of conduct, purifying the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, versed in all literature and much other lore, an incarnate Nārāyaṇa, adept in spells destroying the lives of hostile generals, uniquely renowned among all men,' Kēśava-Nāyaka, was governing the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured :—

(Ll. 24-30.) While—hail!—the scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana which is famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool his kindred, receiving the grace of boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī, a chaplet of the Khachara race, delighting in bounty, hunter of titled seigniors, adorned with the serpent-flag, a furious elephant of his uncle, the Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Mallidēvarasa, was reigning as seignior over the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr, with enjoyment of pleasant conversations :—

(Ll. 30-37.) They, who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, possessors of all virtues, the Thousand of Dēvaṁgēri, the fourteen parivāras, the sixty Households, and the twelve hiṭṭu,

¹ Apparently for *kālveyim*.

² Read *maḥā-puṇyāṁ*.

³ This verse is written in a very slovenly and inaccurate manner, and it is with the utmost diffidence that I offer my present attempts at emendation and translation.

⁴ Dare we read *paḍedaṁ=ava*?

⁵ [—neatly pointed like a horn.—Ed.]

⁶ On this description of Bhairava-Kaṣṭhāpāla see Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 2, p. 495, and Vastu's *Arch. Survey of Mayurabhanja*, p. cciv.

⁷ See above, Vol. V, p. 238n., and Vol. XIII, p. 313n.

headed by Masana-Gāvuṇḍa and Īcha-Gāvuṇḍa, jointly granted a pious endowment : for the theatrical entertainment and oblations of the Kshētrapāla¹ of Kōḷūr they granted a gift, 1 Gaṅga's *mittar* of black-loam land east of the town (*and*) west of the cross-road, 20 *kamba* of red forest-land south of the town (*and*) north of the road to Karage, 10 *kamba* south of the channel of Chauḍa of the Mango (*and*) below the Long Tank (Niḍugeṛe) and oil for lights. Fortune! Fortune!

(Ll. 38-39 : a prose formula of the usual type.)

(V 3.) The prior of the establishment has obtained the monastery as a pious gift,² he has got the land on *sarva-namasya* tenure, on condition that he shall certainly always avoid women.

No. 30.—SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTIONS, ONE APPARENTLY OF THE YEAR 60.

By STEN KONOW.

Shahdaur is a hamlet in the Oghi kanungo circle of the Mānsehra tahsil, Hazāra District, and is situated about two miles east of Shamdhara and about four miles due east of Oghi. It is shown as Shodaur on the one inch equal 2 mile sheet 43 F., N. W., at 34° 30' 36" N. and 73° 4' 20" E.

One mile south-east of the hamlet there is a narrow glen descending from the Tanglai hill, which gives its name to the Tanglai Forest, one of the reserved areas in the Hazāra District. In one of the small terraced fields of this glen, and overlooking a small spring in a contiguous gorge, is a firmly buried rock or large boulder of irregular shape, measuring 13' × 16', without any sign of dressing or design in position. The boulder marks the southern edge of a small field, and is of grey friable sandstone with a rough surface.

The rock bears two Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, one in two lines on the perpendicular side facing the north, and another on the top. The latter shows remnants of five lines, but must, according to Khan Bahadur Mian Wasi-ud-din, have extended further to the south, where the surface is said to be greatly disfigured from age and other causes.

The rock is said to have been brought to the notice of Mr. W. S. Davis, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Hazāra, in 1893, but no records have been traced about the matter.

In the hot weather of 1924 a villager of Shamdhara gave information about the existence of the inscriptions to Mr. T. C. Copeland, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Hazāra District, who informed the Director-General of Archaeology of the matter in a letter of the 24th October 1924 and forwarded some photographs and rough tracings. A further report was sent to the Director-General on the 20th November 1924 by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasi-ud-din, who had in the meantime examined the rock and exposed it by excavation for several feet and found out that there was no continuation of the inscription on the perpendicular side below the surface. He also stated that an examination of the neighbourhood did not bring to light any further evidence or coins, but only some glazed fragments of coarse pottery. Local inquiries about coins are also said to have been fruitless. Every patch of level space in all directions has been lately brought under cultivation, and no ancient walls are said to be in evidence anywhere, though mention is made of the existence of 'burjs' before Government occupied the valley

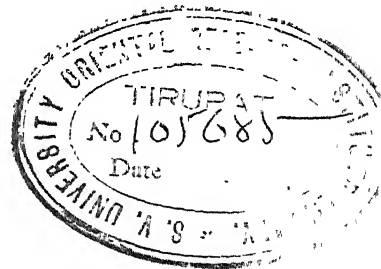
¹ On this deity, a form of Bhairava, see above.

² *Saṁtāna* or *saṁtati*, a pious work. The *sapta-saṁtāna* are enumerated in the verse:

Taṣākaṁ dhana-nikṣhēpaṁ brahma-sthāpyaṁ Śivālayaṁ

Vanāni saṁtatiḥ putrāḥ sapta-saṁtānam=ucchyatē ||

Cf. above, Vol. III, pp. 92 and 128.



The Khan Bahadur further states that the glen itself reminds one strongly of the locality and environs of Zaur Dheri across and beyond the Agror valley, where a *stūpa* of Kushān date is said to exist, which has been referred to in the *Annual Report of the Frontier Circle for 1922-23*.¹ The inscriptions have also been noticed in the Epigraphical Summary in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, 1924-25*, but I have not seen this notice².

We do not know much about the history of the district in ancient times. It belonged to the kingdom of Urasā or Urasā, which is mentioned in the *ganās* to Pāṇini IV-ii-82 and IV-iii-93, and in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (V. 217 etc.) and has been identified with Ἀρσα or Οὐαρσα, the name given by Ptolemy VII-i-45 to the country between the Vitastā and the Indus. Hsüan Tsang mentions the country under the name of Wu-la-shi. In his days it was tributary to Kashmir.

Ptolemy mentions Ἰσάγυρος as one of the cities of the Ἀρσα territory, and Sir Aurel Stein has shown that Ἰσάγυρος can very well be a rendering of a Prākṛit form Aityugura, which he identifies with Atyugrapura, mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī* VIII. 3402 as conquered by the Kashmirian King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-49) in a war against Dvitiya, the Urasā. Atyugrapura, Sir Aurel further identifies with the present Agror.³

We may infer from this that the Agror valley has played some rôle in the history of Hazāra, and that some centre existed in the neighbourhood of Shahdaur. In later times Oghi was the residence of the Khan of Agror.

A.

The inscription on the northern side of the rock consists of two lines. The first extends over 6' 2" and contains *aksharas* varying in size from 3" to 4", the second is 1' 9" long and the size of the *aksharas* is 2" to 3½".

Of individual letters we may note the *cha* at the end of l. 1, which has almost the same shape as in the Sihla vase inscription; the well-shaped and angular *ḍh* in *vaḍha*, l. 1, and the distinct prolongation of the lower vertical of *sa*, upwards and towards the left, at the point of juncture with the upper portion of the *akshara*, just as in the Patika plate. On the whole there cannot be any doubt that the inscription belongs, palæographically, to the Śaka period.

The first *akshara* is evidently *ra*, though the upper portion is somewhat damaged. The second seems to be *ja*. There is an apparent cross-bar, which is, however, so thin that I take it to be a crack in the stone. There are, further, two apparent strokes protruding from the bottom, which might be taken to be remnants of an *u*-loop. But I do not think that they are anything else than fissures in the stone. The third letter is *na*, and I think that I can see traces of an *o-mātrā*. I therefore read *rajanā*, Skr. *rājñāḥ*.

Then comes a word which I read *namijadasa* and explain as the genitive of a name *Namijada*. There is apparently a curve above the vertical which I take to be the *i-mātrā*, in the second *akshara*, and one might think of *ga*. The top of the vertical is, however, straight, and the reading *mi* seems to be preferable.

The next three *aksharas* seem to be *sakasa*. The top of *ka* is damaged, and the unevenness of the stone has resulted in an apparent bar between the two legs of the *akshara*, but the reading seems to be certain. Then follows an *akshara* which may be *la* or a blurred *ba*. With every reserve I read *ba*.

The following letter is certainly *śa*, but it is placed much lower than the surrounding *aksharas*, and the left vertical is prolonged upwards. There are, moreover, traces of lines above the horizontal, and it seems possible that we have before us the compound *tśa*, of the same shape as in

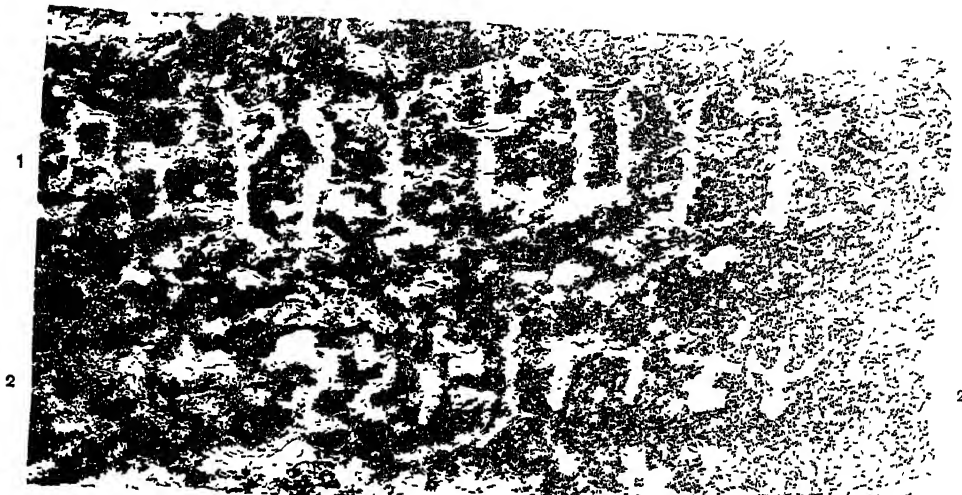
¹ *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1922-23*, p. 96.

² [See *ibid.*, 1924-25, pp. 116 and 119. Ed.]

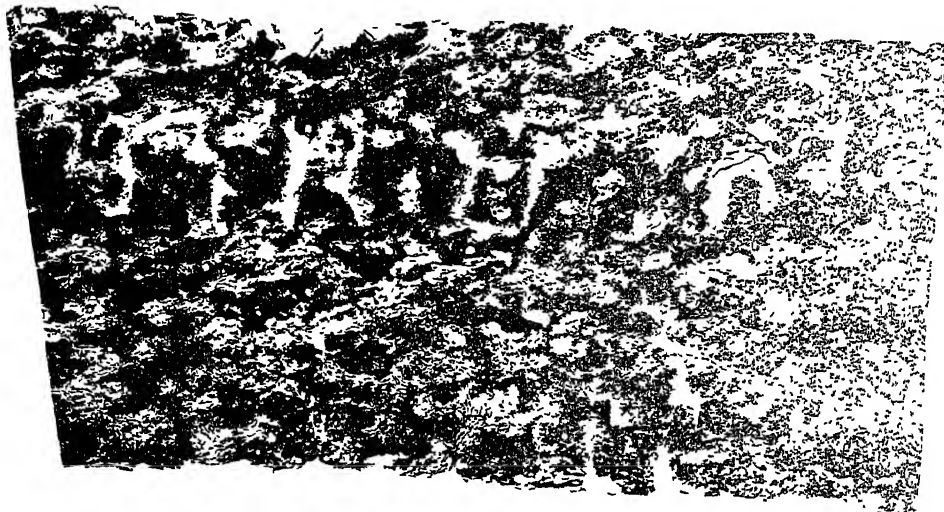
³ See his translation of the *Rājatarāṅginī* II, pp. 267 and 434.

Shahdaur Inscription A, of the year 60.

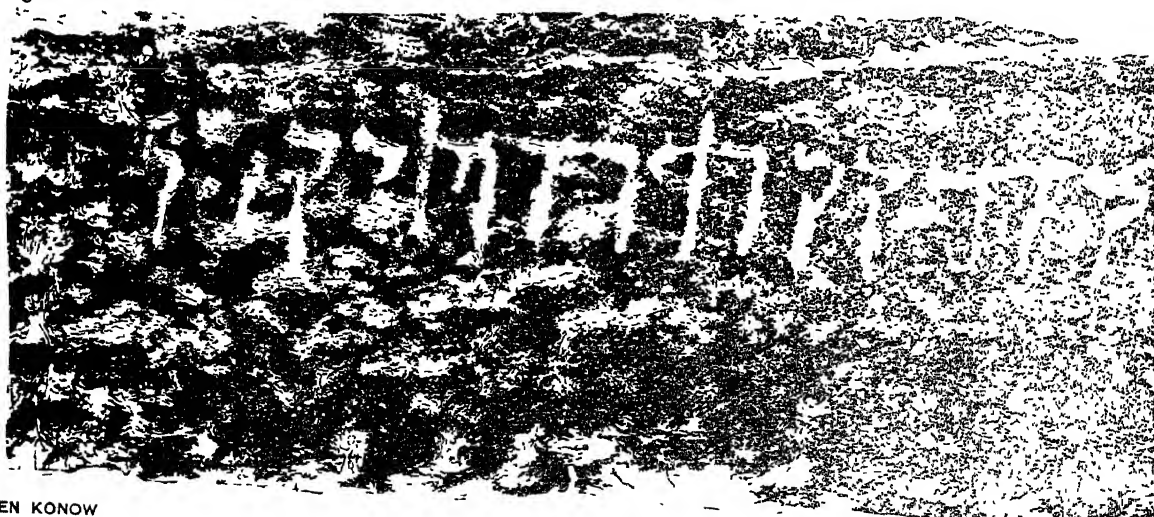
1st third



2nd third



3rd third



the Patika plate. The ensuing *akshara* may perhaps be *ra* or *re*. I therefore tentatively read *bat̥sare*. But then the preceding *sa* must be drawn to this word, and we must read *saka sabat̥sare*, or rather *sakasabat̥sare*.

With regard to the interpretation of *saka* there may be some doubt. It may correspond to Skr. *svaka*, but a dating in "the own year" of a ruler is without any parallel in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions.

So far as I can see, the most probable explanation is to take *saka* as corresponding to Skr. *śaka* and explain *sakasabat̥sare* as meaning 'in the Śaka-year,' 'in the year of the Śakas, or the Śaka king,' i.e., as almost synonymous with the later *śakaṇṇipati-rājyābhishēka-kālē*.¹ It should be borne in mind that the Śakas were Iranians and that the name under which they are known was not coined in India. The Persian, Greek and Chinese renderings point to a form *saka* and not *śaka*, and if the name is Iranian, as we have every reason for assuming that it is, since it signifies an Iranian people, an initial *ś* is not possible. Moreover, the word occurs in the form *sakra*, where *kr* points to a spirantic pronunciation of the intervocalic *k*, on the Mathurā lion capital, where Professors Thomas² and Lüders³ are certainly right in explaining the sentence *sarvasa Sakrastanasa puyae* as 'in honor of all Sakastāna.'

After *sabat̥sare* I think that we may read *shashṭīammi*, though every *akshara* is uncertain. The head of *sha* is indistinct but probable. The ensuing compound is without any parallel and my reading is only conjectural. Then follows what looks like the head of an *a* with a bend, which I take to be the beginning of an *anusvāra*, and, finally, an irregular *a* or *mi*.

Then follow three signs which I take to be the numerical symbol for 20, thrice repeated.

The ensuing word might be read *sabharusa* or *sabhaḍusa*. The latter seems to be the most likely reading because the vertical is distinctly projecting above the top line. *Bhaḍu* might stand for *bhaṇḍu*, which occurs in the *gana* to Pāṇini IV-ii-77 after the names *Surāstu* and *Varṇu* and may be the name of a country. *Sabhaḍusa* would then mean 'together with the Bhaṇḍu-ruler.'

The next word is perfectly clear: *savalavaḍhapit[u]sa*. The *tu* is perhaps uncertain and might be *ta*. A comparison of the *ta* of inscription B will show that our *akshara* differs in showing a forward bend of the leg, wherefore I think that *tu* is intended. I am in doubt about the explanation of this word. It may stand for *svabalavardhāptasya*, 'elevated by his own strength' or for *sa-Balavardha-pituh*, 'together with his father Balavardha.'

The ensuing *akshara* is apparently *ña*, and the next one is certainly *cha*. I take *ñacha* to correspond to Skr. *jñāti*, though the *a*-suffix is strange. L. 2 opens with *mitravaḍha*, followed by a vertical, which apparently rises above the line and which I take to be *ne*. *Nachamitravaḍhane* I take to mean 'for the increase of relatives and friends.'

The last *aksharas* of the line I read *putrahitae*, and so far as I can see there can only be some doubt about the last letter.

Though I am considerably diffident about several details in the analysis I have attempted above, yet I give the following reading and explanation:—

TEXT.

- 1 [Rajano] Na[mi]jadasa sakasa[bat̥sare] sha[shṭīammi] 20 20 20 saBhaḍusa
saValavaḍhapit[u]sa [ña]cha-
2 mitravaḍha[ne] putrahita[e]

¹ Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 3.

² *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 147.

³ *S. B. A. W.*, 1912 pp. 414 ff.

TRANSLATION.

Of the Rājan Namijada, in the sixtieth, 60, Śaka-year, together with Bhaḍu (or, the Bhaṇḍu-king) and his father Balavardha, for the increase of relatives and friends, (and) for the welfare of his son.

B.

The second inscription, on the top of the rock, is much more damaged and, according to Mr. Wasi-ud-din, incomplete. There are remains of five lines.

L. 1. The beginning has apparently disappeared altogether. There seems to be exactly room for four letters, and with great reserve I restore *maharayasa*. Then comes an almost certain *a*, where the only uncertainty is caused by an apparent stroke projecting upwards and towards the right from the lower half of the vertical; a fairly distinct *ya*, and traces of a *sa*. I therefore read *Ayasa*, which is probably the genitive of the well-known name *Aya*, *Azes*. In my edition of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, above Vol. XVIII, pp. 273 f, I have tried to show that Azes founded a new era in the old Śaka year 77. We should therefore expect the inscription B to be somewhat later.

Then follows *saṁ*, i.e., *saṁvatsare* or *sambatsare*, and afterwards traces of some signs which can be interpreted as 20 20 20 20 . . . The year may accordingly be eighty and something or even ninety.

L. 2. The first *aksharas* which remain are clearly *Śivarakshitasa*. Then comes a blurred *akshara* which might be *tsa* or *shu*, followed by *tasa*. *Shutasa* would regularly correspond to Skr. *śrutasya*, while *tsūtasa* reminds us of Khotanī *tsūti*, 'rick'.

L. 3. The first remaining *akshara* is quite uncertain, but looks like *a*. The second may be *ḍha*, and the third is certainly *sa*.

The next *akshara* is quite uncertain. It may be *va*, *ra* or *ksha*. The second may be *a* or *na*, the third *va*, *ra* or *ṭhi*, and the fourth and fifth are certainly *tasa*. With great diffidence I tentatively read *vanatḥitasa*. Then follows what looks like *cha i* . . .

L. 4. The first *akshara* is perhaps *da*. The second and third ones are certainly *sahi*, and with some confidence the first word can therefore be restored as *daśahi*.

Then comes *kahapa* followed by some *aksharas* which I cannot make out, but which may perhaps be *nasahas[re][hṛ*]*. The form *kahapana* seems to be common to all Prākṛits.

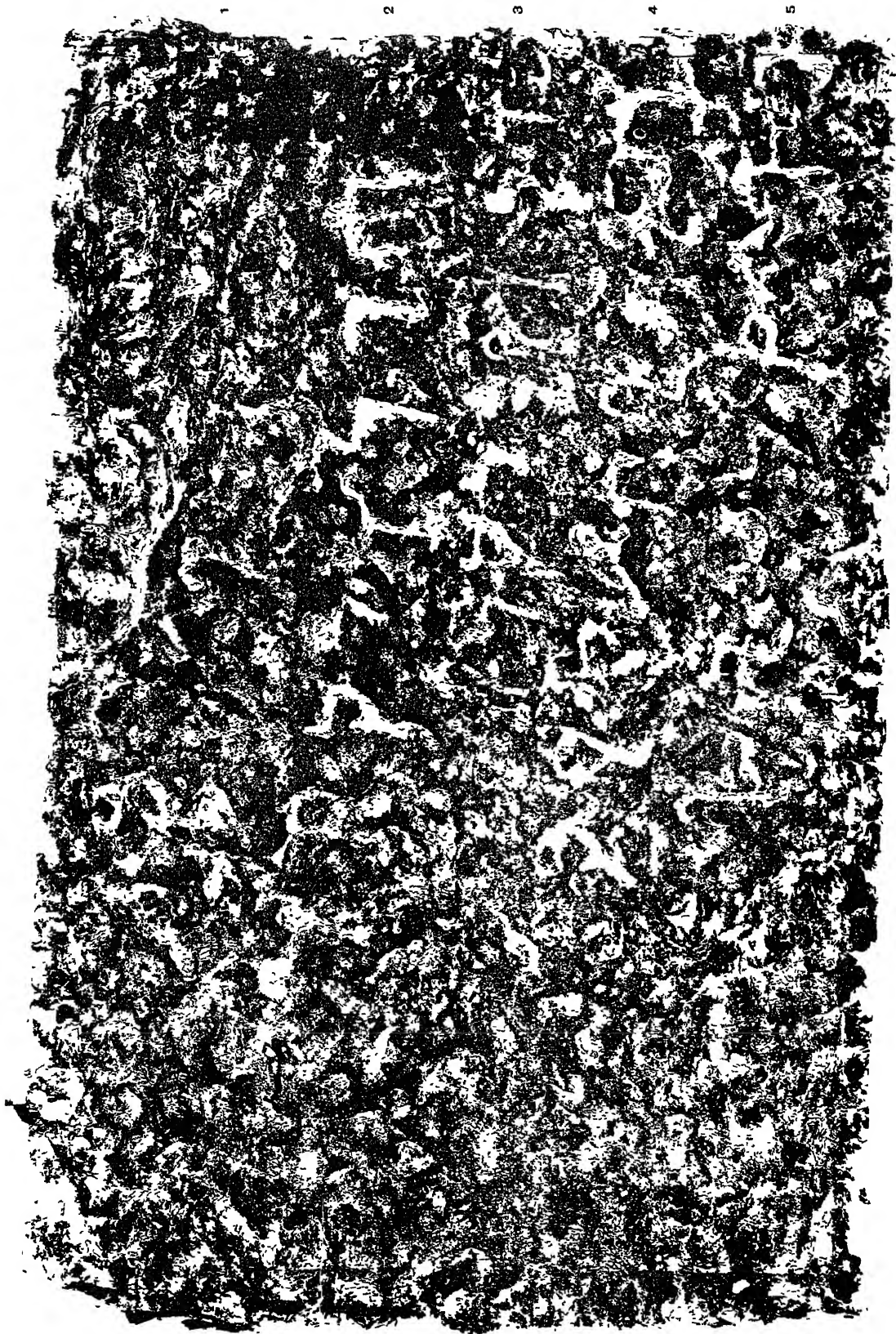
L. 5. The beginning of this line seems to run *abhu yo Gotama*. The last remaining word may be *stalao*, possibly corresponding to Skr. *sthālakakṣ*, 'a certain bone on the back', in which case a bone-relic of the Buddha would be meant.

In such circumstances I am unable to give more than a fragmentary text, and even the fragments which I attempt to restore are uncertain.

TEXT.

- 1 [Maharayasa] *Ayasa saṁ* [20 20 20 20]
- 2 *Śivarakshitasa* [shu]tasa
- 3 [aḍha]sa [vanatḥi]tasa cha i
- 4 [da]śahi kahapa[na]-sa[hasre] . . .
- 5 abhu yo Gotama-[stalao] . . .

Shahdaur Inscription B.



TRANSLATION.

Of the [*mahārāja*?] Aya, anno....of Śivarakshita, the famous (?), wealthy (?), and staying in the wood (?), here (?)... for ten thousand *kārshāpanas*... was, which the backbone (?) of Gōtama...

The chief importance of the Shahdaur inscriptions rests with the fact that the era in which they are dated seems to be designated as a Śaka reckoning. Their palæography shows that there cannot be any question of the well-known Śaka era, which began 78-79 A.D. The characters being of the same kind as these of the Patika plate, there can hardly be any doubt that both records are dated in one and the same era, and we now learn that this era was instituted by Śaka rulers.

It therefore becomes impossible to follow those scholars who think that the Patika plate is dated in an unknown era instituted by Mithradates I after the incorporation of Seistān in the Parthian empire, or in the Parthian era of 248 B.C., with omitted hundred. We have to do with a Śaka era.

Professor Thomas has long ago¹ maintained that the reckoning used in the inscriptions of Patika, Guduvhara, etc., was a Śaka institution, and in a paper contributed to the *Acta Orientalia*² I have tried to show that it commemorated the establishment of an independent kingdom in Seistān or a Śaka conquest of India. The Shahdaur inscriptions show that the era was still known to be a Śaka era in the year 60, i.e., if the initial point was, as maintained by me in the paper just quoted, 84 B.C., about 24 B.C.

It can of course, *a priori*, be maintained that the era which is usually known as the Vikrama era was originally instituted in commemoration of the Śaka conquest of India, and identical with the Śaka-reckoning of the Shahdaur inscription and, as maintained by the late Dr. Fleet, with the era used in the Patika plate. But then we should have to state the use of another unknown era in the Śodāsa inscription of the year 72. For, as explained in my edition of the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription,³ Śodāsa, who was Mahākshatrapa when the record of Sam. 72 was executed, must be identified with the Kshatrapa Śuḍaśa of the Mathurā lion capital, who as such, was contemporary with the Mahākshatrapa Patika, whom most scholars rightly identify with the chief mentioned in the Patika plate of the (Śaka) year 78, at which date his father was Kshatrapa.

I may now add that Patika himself seems then to have been designated as *jaīva*. The last words of the record are certainly, as read by Bühler, *mahadanapati Patikasa jaīvañae*, and we have no right, as suggested by Professor Lüders,⁴ to read *jaīvaraye* or some other equivalent of Śkr. *yaivarājye*, for *y* is never changed to *j* in the dialect of the Kharōshthī inscriptions. On the other hand we know from the coin legends of Zeionises that an initial voiced *s* was sometimes written *j*. There is not, therefore, so far as I can see, any objection to identifying *jaīva* with the title which we find later on, in the coin legends of Kadphises I, in the forms *yaūa*, *yavuga*, ζαοο. If I am right, we here have another example of the close connexion between the old Śaka conquerors and the Kushānas.

If my tentative restoration of the beginning of l. 3 of inscription B is correct, we further seem to be justified in inferring that the Parthian dynasty of Azes had replaced the Śakas in the Hazāra district at an unknown date, perhaps about the year 80 of the old era.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 635 ff.

² Above Vol. XVIII, p. 272.

³ III, pp. 57 ff.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 664 j.

In addition to the Rājan Namijada we are introduced to a certain Śivarakshita, whose name seems to show that he was an Indian, who may have been employed as a Kshatrapa by the Śakas or Parthians, presumably in or near Shahdaur, or perhaps in Taxila.¹

No. 31.—PESHAWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 168.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

In February 1924, while studying the antiquities kept in a store-room of the Peshāwar Museum, I chanced upon an inscribed stone marked as "No. 20" and labelled "Presented by Sir Aurel Stein on 4th July 1916." But there was no record in the office of the Peshāwar Museum to show whence the inscription came. On my return to Calcutta I wrote to Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, requesting him to kindly refer the matter to Sir Aurel Stein and ascertain whether the latter could throw any light on the point. As a result of the enquiry I came to know that the stone was presented to Sir Aurel Stein, in April 1906, by Sir Harold Deane, to whom it had been brought by some Paṭhān visitors, and that later on in 1916, when the former returned to Peshāwar from his Third Central Asian Expedition, it was presented by him to the Peshāwar Museum. I edit the record from the excellent photographs kindly supplied to me by Khan Bahadur M. Wasi-ud-din.

The inscribed surface of the stone is about 11" by 4½"; and the letters vary in size between 1" and ½". The inscription consists of 3 lines and is in a good state of preservation. Below it there is engraved a *Śvastika* symbol.

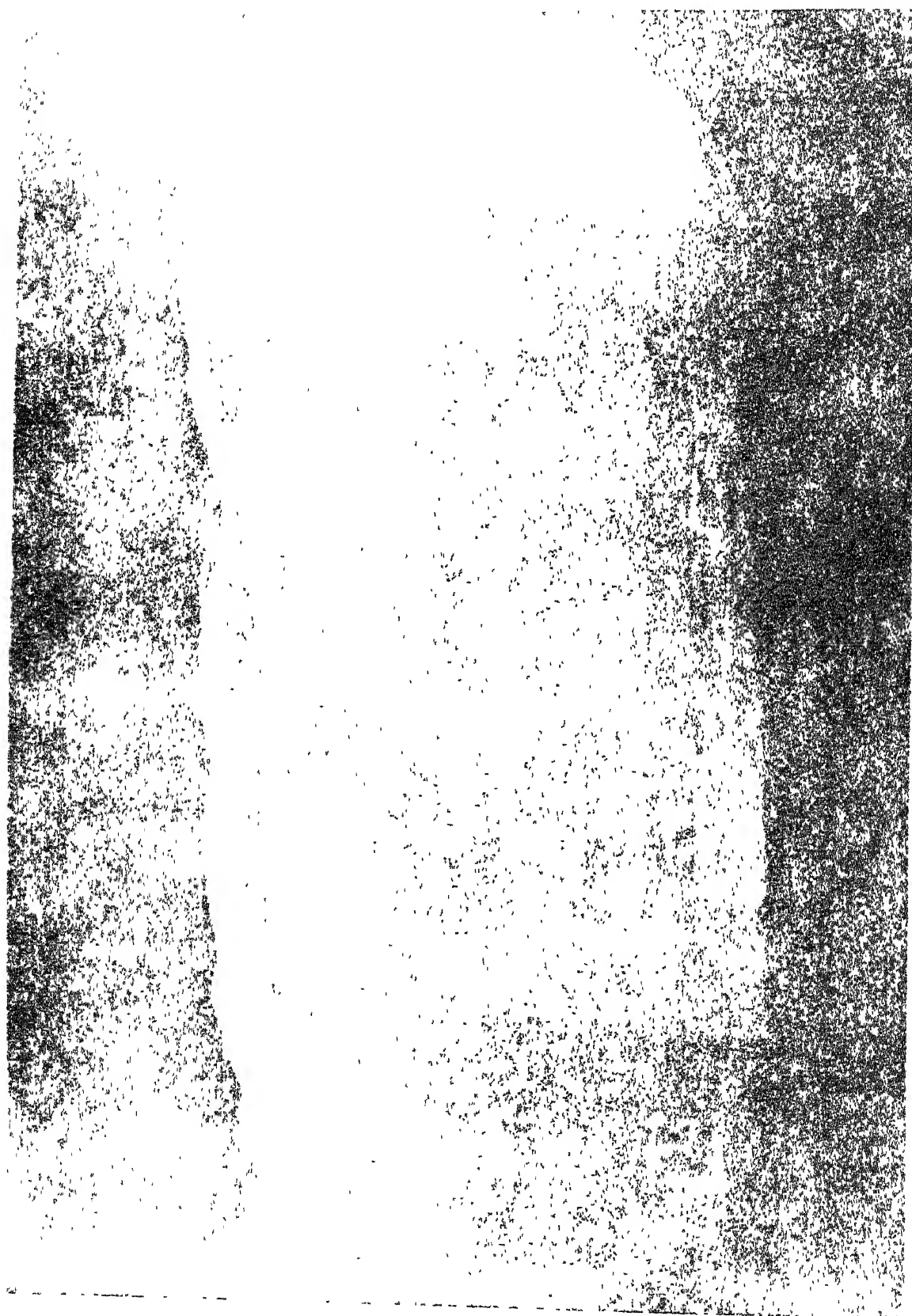
The characters are Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna period. Specially to be noted are the curvively written *pa* with *anuvāra* and *cha* in *paṃchadaśa* (l. 1), and *ka* in *kue* (l. 3). The first two might be compared with almost similar forms in Stein's Kharōṣṭhī documents from Niya in Chinese Turkestan, and the third one with the form occurring in them as well as in the inscription on the Wardak vase. The letter *sa* shows no projection of the lower vertical line in two out of four instances (*saṃ* and *divase* l. 1); but in the other two, there is just a trace of a projected lower vertical (*ma'e*, l. 1, and *-sahayana*, l. 2). The *e*-stroke does not touch the top of letters in *Jeṭha* and *divase* (l. 1). Similarly in the sign for 100 the upper slanting stroke is not joined to the lower portion of the letter. Some letters again are not fully incised, e.g., *ga*, the *u*-stroke attached to *śh* in l. 2 and the letter *e* immediately before the word *viḥarami* in l. 3.

The language is the typical north-western Prākṛit as found generally in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions coming from the Peshāwar region. The form of the word *śashura* (*śvaśura*) calls for special notice, being comparable to such forms as *khakhorni* (= *śaśurāṇi*) and *khakhorna* employed in the third century Niya documents.² The latter forms are obviously later, because both the palatal *śa*-s have been lingualised, and the lingualisation has necessitated the orthographic substitution of *kha*. These were probably derived from Iranian *χrasura*.³ Whether the same Iranian influence is responsible for the lingualisation of *ś* in *śashura* in the present instance is doubtful.

¹ The name *Śivarakshita* is found on a copper seal from Sirkap, where the shape of the Kharōṣṭhī letters is of the same kind as in our inscription; see *Annual Report*, A.S.I., 1914-15, p. 35 and Plate XXIV, 51.

² *Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions* (ed. Rapson, Senart and Boyét), No. 53, reverse, l. 1 and No. 248, l. 4. Cf. F. W. Thomas, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1921, p. 280.

³ See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), col. 1874.



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FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

It is probably due to the peculiar pronunciation of the word as prevalent on the North-Western Frontier of India.¹ Clear instances² of lingualisation of the palatal sibilant occur in the word *shamana* (*śramaṇa*) in the two Chārsadda earthen jar inscriptions³ and the Hashtnagar pedestal inscription in the Lahore Museum,⁴ in the name *Shamaṇamitra* (*Śramaṇamitra*) in a Taxila image inscription,⁵ in the word *shavaa* (*śrāvaka*) in the Jamālgarhī inscription of the year 359, published below, and in the word *Kashyavia* (*Kāśyapīya*) in a Bedadī copper ladle inscription.⁶ In the majority of cases, it appears, that the change of *ś* into *sha* is the result of the proximity of the letter *ra*. This characteristic is very well represented by the Khotanese dialect in which Aryan *śr* is regularly converted into Khotanese *sh*.⁷ This old linguistic feature has survived in some of the modern dialects of the North-West as, e.g., the Bashgali⁸ and the Gilgit dialect of Shina.⁹

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well inside a certain monastery. *Trava* is probably a Prākṛit equivalent of Sanskrit *trapā* meaning 'bashfulness,' which would be a good Indian personal name befitting a lady. It is very likely that she was the actual donor. Her father-in-law Agasahaya (Agrasahāya), who calls himself 'humble' (*kshudra*), excavated the well probably to carry out her pious wish, namely, to provide for drinking water, specially during the hottest part of the year. The record is dated the 15th day of Jyaishṭha, the year 168 of an unspecified era. The mode of reckoning is, however, the same as in other Kharōṣṭhī documents such as the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, which are now generally assigned to the era of 57 B.C. Referring the year 168 to that era the corresponding English date becomes 110 A.D.

TEXT.

- 1 Sam 1 100 20 20 20 4 4 Jetha-mase divase parichadaśa(śe)
2 khudana Agasahayana Trava-śashurana daṇa-mu-
3 khe kue khaṇavi[e] viharani

TRANSLATION.

(In) the year 168, on the 15th day of the month of Jyaishṭha, a well (*which is*) a gift, is caused to be dug, within the Monastery, by the humble Agasahaya (Agrasahāya), the father-in-law of Trava (Trapā).

No. 32.—A KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTION FROM JAMALGARHĪ OF THE YEAR 359. BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Hargreaves in December 1920, from the debris of Court No. VII adjoining the Stūpa at Jamālgarhī in the District of Peshāwar. It was afterwards removed to the Peshāwar Museum where it is at present deposited. A short

¹ Cf. Luders, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 290 and *Sitz. Kön. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1913, p. 421, n. 1; also Vogel, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 252.

² If Prof. Luders is right the feature would also occur in the word *shavaehi* (*śrāvaka*) in the Mānikāla inscription of the year 18 (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 645). The reading of *sha* in *Dashalatha* in the inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson at Barābar in Gayā District, and in all cases where one would expect other sibilants, in the Kālsī edicts of Aśoka is probably unwarrantable.

³ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 289.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵ *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 7, p. 9.

⁶ See my edition in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, N. S., Vol. XIX (1923), p. 345.

⁷ Konow, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1914, p. 353.

⁸ Konow, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1911, pp. 30, 31.

⁹ Cf. Gilgit *śash* (= *śrāvā*). Lommer, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1924, p. 178.

notice of the record has already appeared in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Frontier Circle, 1920-21, pp. 5-6. I now edit it from a set of excellent photographs and estampages which Mr. Hargreaves had very kindly sent to me.

It is incised on a slab of stone which is slightly damaged. Excepting a few letters which have peeled off, it is in a sound state of preservation. The writing consists of only 2 lines covering a space of 21" x 3", and is neatly done. It is divided by a horizontal line drawn across the blank space between lines 1 and 2. The letters vary in size from 1½" to ½".

The characters are Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna variety. According to Bühler¹, this variety is "represented by the strongly cursive script of the first and second centuries A.D. (?), which begins with the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondophores and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kuṣāna kings Kanīṣka and Huviṣka and occurs also in the MS. of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan." But the present record contains scarcely any cursive forms at all, a feature in its palaeography that is specially to be noted. The evidence of this inscription partially repudiates Bühler's statement and shows that cursiveness need not be necessarily associated with the Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna period. Of greater palaeographic significance are, in the present case, the superscript *r* expressed by a loop at the base of a letter² (in *sarve*, l. 2), and the form of the letter *s* which is open to the left, without the least upward projection of the lower vertical line (e.g., in *Aśparasa*, l. 1).³ That the inscription cannot be earlier than the Kushāna period follows at once from the presence of these two characteristics. Two conjunct forms deserve to be noted, viz., *dn* and *śp*. Of these, *śp* (*Aśparasa*, l. 1) is already well known from coins and inscriptions. But the ligature *dn* (*radne*, l. 2) is new. It is composed of the signs for *d* and *n* simply joined together without any modification of their individual forms.

The language is north-western Prakṛit, called 'Gandhārian' by Bühler. The nominative singular ends in *e* (e.g., *parigrahe*). The letter *t* is changed into *d* (*radne*), *th* into *dh* (*puḍhamammi*), *p* and *m* into *v* (*prethavide*, *ve*) and *v* conjointly with *ś* into *p* (*Aśparasa*). The conjunct *śr* becomes *sh* (*shavaena*). The *r* is often retained in groups, both as a posterior (e.g., *parigrahe*) and a prior member (e.g., *sarva*). Cases of consonantal elision are rather abundant. The letter *y* is invariably elided, e.g., in *Aśparasa* (*Aśvayujasya*), *sa(?)haeha* (*sahāyairi*), *dhamante* (*dharma-yuktairi*), and *Oḍihakehi*. The letter *k* is elided, e.g., in *shavaena* (*śrāvakēna*) and *Podue* (*na?*) (*Potakēna*), and *j*, in *Aśparasa*. Elision of medial consonants is very rare in the Prakṛit of the earliest Kharōṣṭhī documents, namely, those of Aśōka from Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehra. Again, the Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions, which belong to circa 1st century A.D., contain fewer instances of consonantal elision,⁴ when compared to the present record. From this point of view, the language of the record would seem to represent a much more advanced stage of development like the Prakṛit of Indian dramas and of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS. of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan which has been assigned to the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription records the establishment of the 'jewel' (*ratna*), i.e., an image of the Buddha, by the disciple (*śrāvaka*) Potaka, together with his companions, the Oḍihakas, the sons of Śīda. It is dated the first day of the month of Aśvayuja, the year 359.

It is by no means easy to decide the era in which this record is dated. The Lariyān Tangai inscription of the year 318⁵ and the Hashtnagar inscription of the year 384,⁶ have

¹ *India: Palaeography* (trans.), p. 25.

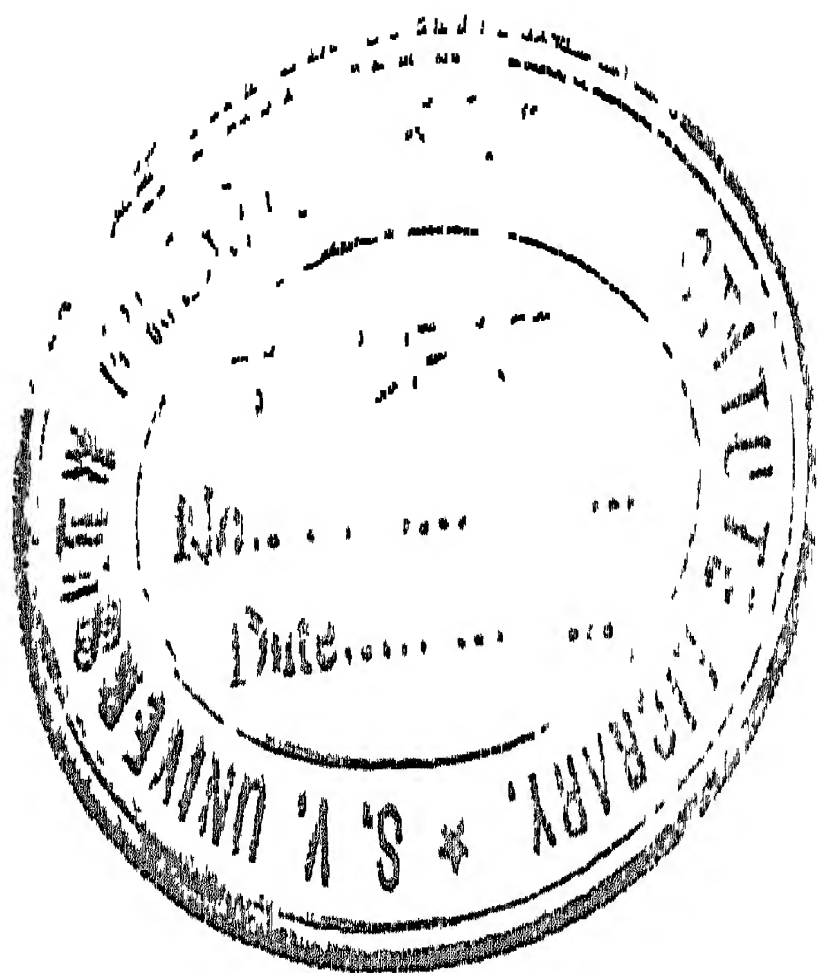
² Majumdar, *So. A. Mon., p. Sacer Jap. Vols.*, Orientalia, Part I, pp. 461-62.

³ Barerji, *JRAS.*, 1920, pp. 203-9.

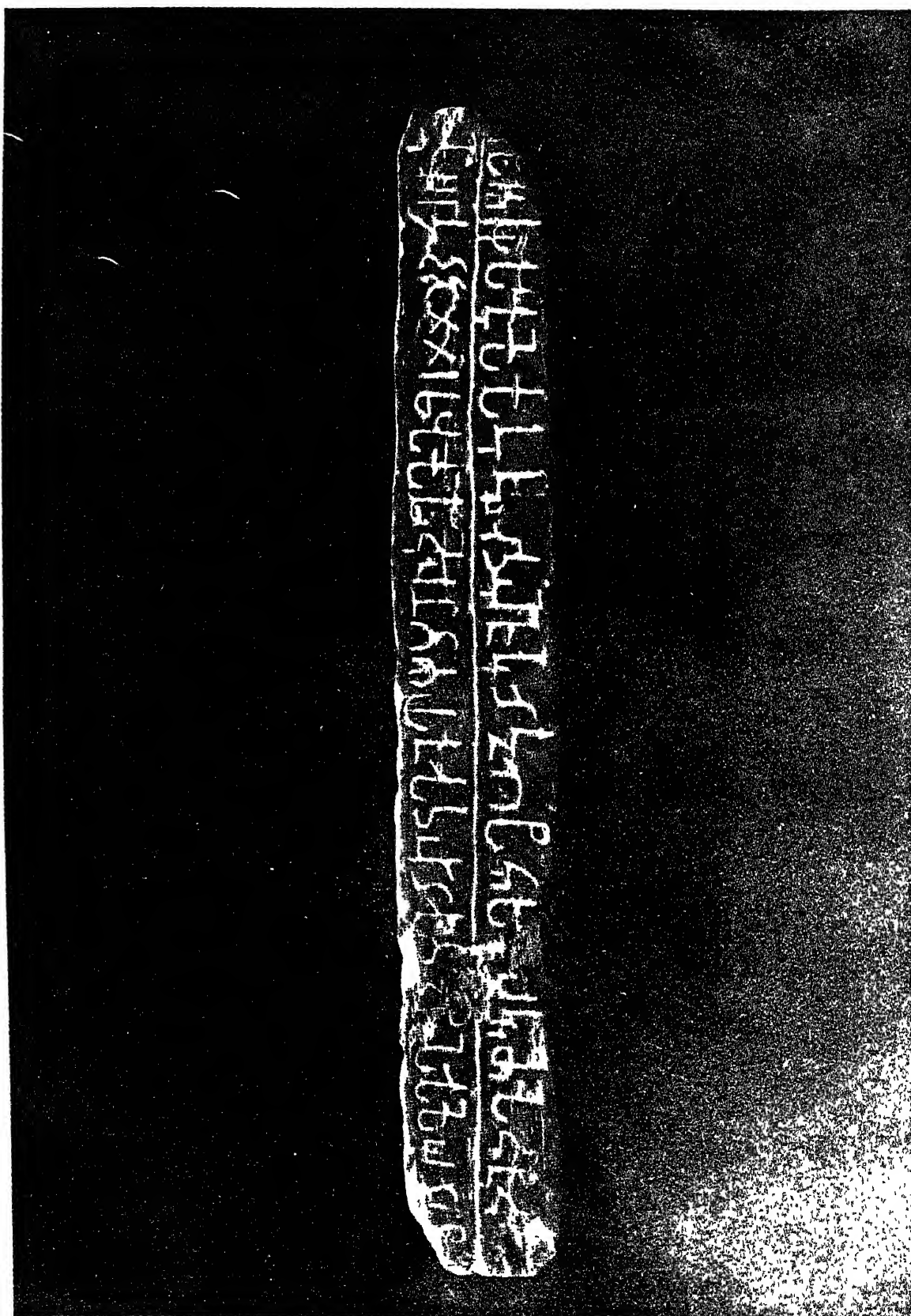
⁴ Thomas, *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 128.

⁵ *JASB.*, 1922, p. 63.

⁶ Targui, *Ante*, Vol. XII, p. 302.



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to be brought in a line with the present record. Palæographically it cannot be placed earlier than the Kushāṇas and linguistic grounds would seem also to favour the conclusion that it has to be assigned to a period not prior to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The numismatic finds, which Mr. Hargreaves made near the spot where the inscription was discovered, comprise issues of the Early and the Later Kushāṇa dynasties. The latter have been generally assigned to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., which may be regarded as the latest limit of the date of the inscription. Under the circumstances I am inclined to refer the year 359, as also the two other years 318 and 384, to the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. The date of our record would, accordingly, be 301 A.D.

TEXT.

1 Sam 111 100 20 20 10(a) 4 4 1 Aśpaśasa paḍhamammi shavaena Podae[na;]
..(b) haehi Sida-[p]u(c).

2 [O]ḍiliakehi(d) ive radne(e) preṭhavide dhamaute a.(f) parigrahe sarva-sa...(g)

REMARKS.

(a) Through the carelessness of the engraver this sign and the previous one have been jumbled up. (b) There is space for about two letters here. *Podaena sahaehi* was perhaps intended. (c) Probably two letters are missing. Read *putchi*. (d) The lower portion of the first letter is broken. (e) The *e-kāra* in *radne* is placed on the top of *d*. (f) Read *aye*. After *a* there is just space for only one letter which was probably *ye*. I have to offer a few remarks on this restoration. The word *aye* = Sanskrit *ayam*. There is evidence to show that, so far as the North-western Prākṛits are concerned, *aya* is sometimes used as a base by itself. The Shāhbūzgarhī and Mānsehra versions of the edicts of Aśoka have *ayi dhrama-nipi* and *ayo dhrama-npi*. An unpublished Kharoshṭhi inscription in the Lahore Museum has *aye pukarani*. The Prākṛits of a later period, also, sometimes use the form *aya* as a base, e.g., *aammi* and *ayamsi* = *asmin* (Pischel, *Prākṛit—Sprachen*, § 429-30). Quite in keeping with this system of declension, the Taxila silver-scroll inscription of the year 136 contains: *sam 136 ayasa asnaṇasa masasa divase 15*. This portion of the record has been interpreted in a variety of ways; and scholars do not seem to be agreed as to the exact meaning conveyed by the word *ayasa* in this expression. Those, who propose to take it in the sense 'of Azes,' cannot satisfactorily explain the anomalous position of a king without titles; and further, they make dependent on *ayasa* the preceding 'sam 136' (i.e. 'the year 136 of Azes'), which, to judge from similar analogies, is not probable. Similarly, to interpret *ayasa* as *ādyasya* and say that it means 'the first Ashāḍha' is not quite convincing. If, on the other hand we take *ayasa* = *asya*,¹ as *aye* or *ayi* = *ayam*, or *ayamsi* = *asmin*, no such difficulty would arise: *ayasa* might mean 'of this,' and when it is preceded by *sam 136*, it might stand for 'of this (year)' i.e. 'of the year 136.' The dated portion of the Taxila inscription may thus be translated as: 'The year 136. On the 15th day of the month of Ashāḍha of this (year).' (g) There is space for two letters here. Read *satvana* or *sapana* on the analogy of similar votive inscriptions.

¹ It was so taken first by Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 317-18. Cf. Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 288.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 359, on the first (day) of *Aśvayuja*, this Jewel (*ratna*)(a) has been installed(b) by the lay-hearer Potaka, together with his companions, the *Oḍīliyakas*, (who are) the sons of *Śida*. (May) this gift, endowed with merits, (c) belong to all living creatures.

NOTES.

(a) I.e., Buddha who is one of the *Tri-ratna* : Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, however, the term *ratna* denotes a Bodhisattva (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXI, p.66). The word *ratnagṛīha* which occurs in a Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti (Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* No. 125), and two Sāñchī inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32 and p. 261), probably means 'the sanctuary containing the Buddha's image.' (b) *Prasthāpita* ; cf. *preṭhavatiye* in another Kharōṣṭhī inscription (Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 283). (c) *dhamaūte*=*dharma-yukta* as Dr. Thomas suggests.

No. 33.—RAWAL SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40.

By STEN KONOW.

At the village of Rawal near Mathurā an inscribed stone has been dug out of a mound. The stone is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The information which has been supplied by the Honorary Curator is to the effect that there is nothing suspicious about the find. The stone is stated to be, to all appearances, old.

To judge from the photographs and estampages, the stone is square, about 4" high, 11½" long and 6" broad. It is inscribed with four lines in Kharōṣṭhī of a very peculiar type, one line on the front edge of the upper surface, and three lines on the vertical face of the front. The inscribed portion measures about 4" by 8", and the size of individual letters varies between ½" and 1¼".

When the impressions reached me, I was hardly able to recognize a single *akshara*, and I was for some time in doubt whether I had before me a Kharōṣṭhī inscription or a record in some 'unknown' script. It was only when I chanced to think of the Shakardarra inscription of the year 40 that I realized that the Rawal record is nothing else than a clumsy copy of the former, evidently executed by a person who cannot have had but a very imperfect idea of the contents of his original. The only way of 'editing' the Rawal inscription is, therefore, to compare it, line by line, with the Shakardarra record, and to show how far the writer has been able to reproduce his draft.

The various attempts at reading the Shakardarra inscription have been registered by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the last editor of the record, in his valuable *List of Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions*,¹ and I need not repeat what he has said.

L. 1 does not present any serious difficulty. It runs : *saṃ 20 20 Proṭharadasa masasa divas.*, where we can only be in doubt whether the last word should be restored as *divase* or as *divasam*. The edge is broken, and there seems to have been room for a *mī* after the mutilated *s* at the end. We may note the shape which the letter *da* has in this inscription. It looks like *ta*.

It will be seen that the initial *saṃ* rises above the line. The copyist has exaggerated this feature and, besides, separated the *akshara* in an upper and a lower part.

The ensuing numeral figures have come out fairly well.

¹ *J. & P. A. S. B.*, XX, 1924, p. 20.

The next word in the Shakardarra inscription is damaged in the beginning. The *o-mātrā* has caused a peeling off of the stone, the result being an apparent narrow semi-circle. The head of *pa* looks as if it were curved back, and a horizontal seems to connect the limb of this letter with the ensuing *akshara*. All these features have been faithfully reproduced on the Rawal stone, and the consequence is that *Proṭha* looks like a Nāgarī *ṇ* followed by a broken line, which might be taken to be Kharōṣṭhī *va*, but is in reality a misread *ṭha*. The ensuing letters *vadasa* can be recognized, though the final *sa* is quite distorted.

If we abstract from the distorted shape of the *sa*'s, the ensuing *masasa* is well recognizable, but the next word, *divas.*, has not been properly reproduced, *vas.* having become something like a Kharōṣṭhī *ḍa*, though it is possible that the last *akshara* is meant to reproduce the initial *vi* of 1.2.

L. 2 of the Shakardarra record is clear, if we abstract from the last *akshara*, which has usually been read as *ka*, but which seems to me to be *la*. With this reading it runs : *viśami di 20 atra divasakāle śala*. We may note the distinct difference between *t* in *atra* and the *ḍa* of this record, and also the sign of the long *ā* in *kāle*.

The copyist begins with an *akshara* which seems to correspond to the second one of the Shakardarra record, *viz.*, *śa*, and then adds a figure which evidently reproduces the somewhat peculiar 20. Here we have the impression that he has felt that *divasa[mi] viśami di 20* is redundant and has tried to write *di viśa 20*.

Then comes a recognizable copy of *atra divasakāle*, though the *aksharas* of the latter word are all misshaped

The last two *aksharas* of the line have not been clearly visible in the original inscription and the copyist has simply tried to reproduce what he saw. The *śa* looks like an *a*, and the last *akshara* has been drawn as an upright and a broken line. Only a comparison of the original can explain how he arrived at his reading.

L. 3. The first three *aksharas* have usually been read as *nikame*, which has been explained as representing Skr. *niḡamē*. Mr. Banerji read *ekame*. The first *akshara*, however, seems to be *no*, with the *o*-stroke added towards the top, and the *ka* is provided with a sloping bottom stroke which, I think, is the *r*-stroke. It, therefore, seems to me that we must read *nokrame*, Skr. *naukrāmē*. This word, which occurs in the *Divyāvadāna*, has been translated as 'bridge of boats,' but may also mean a 'boat-crossing,' 'ferry-station.'

If we take *Salanokrame* as one word, its meaning must be 'at the Śala ferry-station,' and it is of interest to remember that we have a similar name, *Śalātura*, on the other side of the Indus. It is probable that those two places were the starting points for those who wanted to cross the river.

After *nokrame*, I think, we must read *kuvo khadao droṇivādṛaṇa sa.* The *u* of *kuro* has got its *u*-loop blurred, because the stone has peeled off where the rounding is most pronounced. There is not, however, any reason for reading *kovo*. The *d* of *droṇi* is of the same shape as in *Proṭhavadasa*, *divasa[mi]*, etc., and quite different from the *t* of *atra*. The *r*-stroke of *ḍra* is of the same kind as in *kra*. I take *droṇi* to be Skr. *drōṇī*, Pāli *dōṇī*, which latter word also means 'a trough-shaped canoe', a doney. In *vaḍra* I see Skr. *paḍra*, village, and *droṇivādṛa* I take to be an adjective meaning 'belonging to the doney-village,' *v.e.*, the village providing ferries for the crossing.

The last letter of the line has a forward bend at the bottom, which seems to be due to a desire of avoiding its running into the picture below and not to be a vowel-*mātrā*. I connect it with the first *aksharas* of l. 4, which I read as *harana*, and explain *saharana* as the genitive plural of

sahara, i.e., *sahayara*, *sahachara*, companion. The well is accordingly the gift of the companions of the ferry-village, i.e., of the boatman-association at the Śālā crossing.

We shall now see what the imitator has made out of this. *No* has become *o*, and *kra* and *me* would hardly be intelligible without the guidance of the original. Of *kuvo khadao* only one *akshara* remains. It looks like *o*. Then we can, with some modifications, recognize *droṇivadrāṇa sa*. Then follow three signs which have nothing to correspond to them in the original. The first one is repeated in l. 4, below the final *sa* of l. 3, and the last one looks like an attempt at reproducing the top of the picture shown in the Shakardarra inscription.

L. 4. It will be seen that the first *aksharas* of the Shakardarra record are a little misshaped, the head of *ha* having become closed, the top of the *na* running into the preceding *ra* and being, besides, continued in a short stroke to the left, the latter being evidently due to peeling off. It also seems necessary to read the final *na* as a dental, the same sign as in *nokrame*, though we should certainly expect *ṇa*, as usually between vowels in this record. Thus the last word is clearly *daṇamukho*.

The writer of the Rawal record has drawn the *ha* with a hook protruding from the upper part of the vertical; the *ra* has become something looking like *da*, and the *na* has been read with the forward protrusion and looks like *va*.

The ensuing *daṇa* is well imitated, but the remainder of the inscription has turned out very badly. The two first *aksharas* may be copied from *mukho*, with a reversion of the *mu*, or they may be an attempt at supplying the word *kuvo* omitted in l. 3. Then follows the same sign which we found after the final *sa* of l. 3, and, finally, three signs which may represent an attempt at reproducing parts of the picture of the original. It is not, however, of any use to speculate on their meaning.

In order to illustrate how the copyist went to work I shall give a transliteration of the Shakardarra record, adding, (in *italics*), the corresponding words or letters of the Rawal text where they have come out with something like the original.

TEXT.

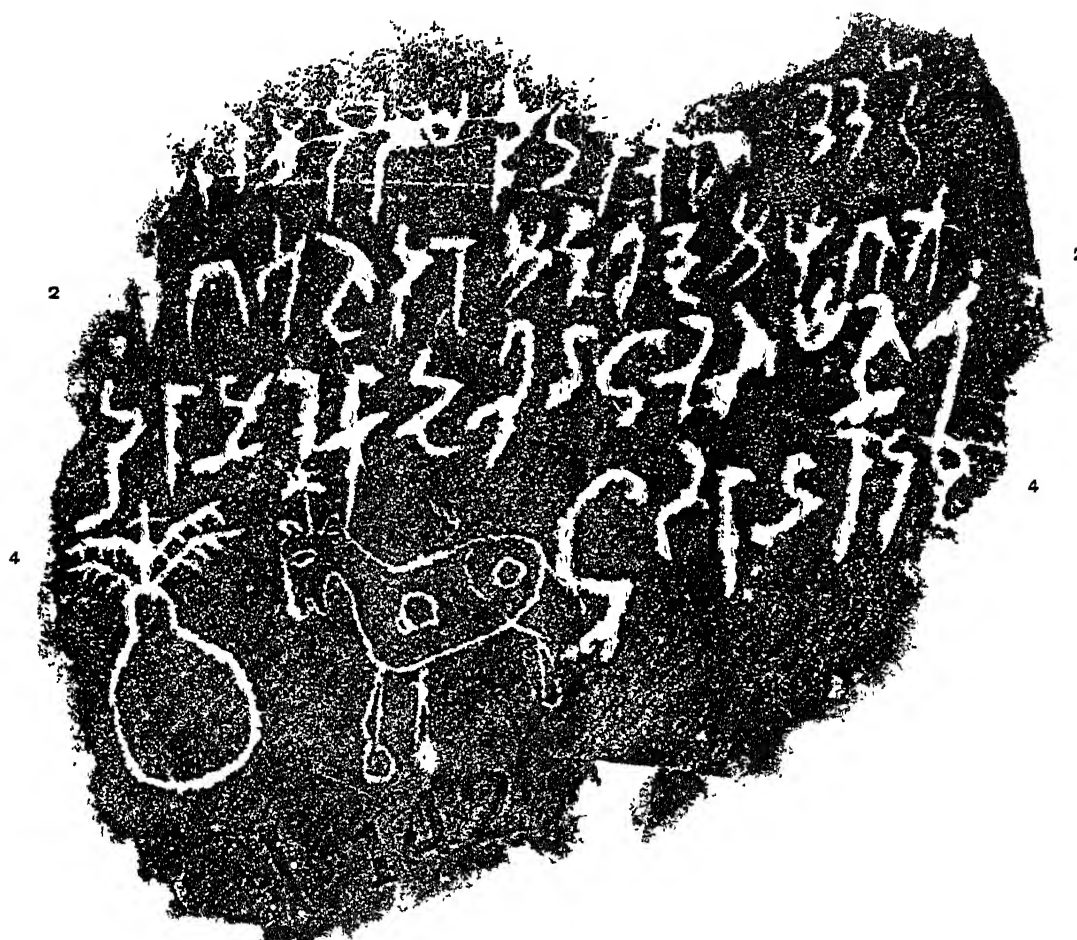
L. 1	sarñ	20	20	Proṭhavadasa	masasa	divas[ami]
	<i>sarñ</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>. . . vadasa</i>	<i>masasa</i>	<i>diva</i>
L. 2	viśami	di	20	atra	divasakāle	Śa[la]-
	<i>śa</i>		<i>20</i>	<i>atra</i>	<i>divasakāle</i>	<i>a . . .</i>
L. 3	nokrame	kuvo	khadao	droṇivadrāṇa	sa-	
	<i>okrame</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>droṇivadrāṇa</i>	<i>sa . . .</i>	
L. 4	[ha]ra[na]		daṇamukho			
	<i>hadava</i>		<i>daṇa</i>			

TRANSLATION.

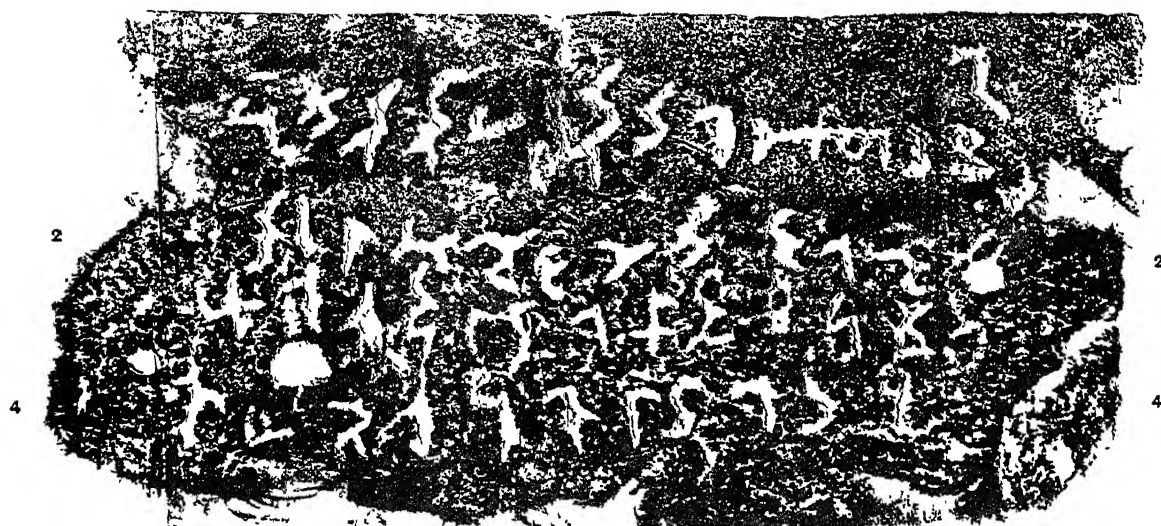
Anno 40, on the twentieth day, d. 20, of the month Praushṭhapada, at this time and day, at the Śālā-ferry, this well was dug as the gift of the ferry-village associates.

The Rawal inscription has not, it will be seen, any value as an independent record. It is nevertheless of interest as throwing light on the way in which such inscriptions were looked on.

Shakardarra Inscription, the year 40.



Rawal Inscription, the year 40.



It is a well-known fact that several inscriptions were never destined to be read. They were buried and hidden from view in stūpas or temples. They cannot, accordingly, have been intended to convey information to other persons. M. Barth¹ has spoken of such records as aiming at a certain amount of publicity, no doubt, but a publicity intended especially for the next world. And we seem indeed justified in looking on many of the ancient inscriptions not as notifications but as a kind of charms or powerful formulas, intended to ensure good results from some pious act.

Numerous examples might be quoted, but I do not know of any which is so clear as the Rawal record. The person who put it up in a well he had dug or in some other place endowed by him, evidently brought it to Mathurā from Shakardarra, where he had seen the inscription and drawn the inference that it was a powerful charm, either for conferring merit on pious donors or for making the water of the well fresh and abundant. And he copied the inscription for the benefit of his own donation in Mathurā.

The Rawal record does not, accordingly, hail from Mathurā, though the person who executed it may have been a native of that place, who had seen the inscription on the occasion of some travel. But it cannot, no more than the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion capital or the Mathurā elephant, be taken to show that Kharōṣṭhī was ever used by the native population of Mathurā in the natural course of things. It is a distinctly north-western alphabet, while Brāhmī was the usual script in and about Mathurā.

No. 34.—AMODA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING JAJALLADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 912.

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

Amodā is a village in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces, where eight copper plates recording four different charters² by three different kings were found while digging for the foundation of a temple in May 1924. They are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The two plates in hand were issued by the **Haihaya king Jājalladēva II**. These are massive plates each weighing 150½ tolas and measuring 13" × 10". Each plate has a hole for being strung with the seal of the king, which is lost. The engraver commenced with letters as big as half an inch in size, but on completing the first line he apparently calculated or felt that the whole record would not come in, even within those two big plates. So with the second line he reduced the size to ¼" which he continued almost to the end, with a very slight diminution in the closing eight lines. There are altogether 37 lines of which 18 are engraved in the first and the remaining on the second plate. The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī of the well-known Kalachuri type. The whole of the record is written in **Sanskrit** verses numbering 26 in all, except the initial salutation and the date and the names of the donees at the end, which are in prose. Many of the verses are taken from the ancestral eulogy composed once for all and added to later on according to the requirements of the generations coming into power, and sometimes improved upon by the Court Paṇḍit dealing with the charters. The old verses are really beautiful. The new ones appear to be rather crude. Spelling and grammatical mistakes are not wanting, but comparatively speaking, the charter in

¹ *Comptes Rendus*, 1907, p. 387; *Ind. Ant.* 37, 1908, p. 246.

² Two of these have been published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. 1, pp. 405 ff., and another in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff.

hand is written better than others found along with it. As regards **orthography**, *ba* is not distinguished from *va*, which stands for both. *Śa* and *Sa* have been confused. The sign for *i* resembles an arrow-head with a parallel stroke below it.

Ordinarily, grants on copper-plates are made for increasing the religious merits of the donors and their parents, but this is an exception. It was made by way of **thanksgiving** on an escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one **Dhīrū**, who is described as a huge alligator clutching his victim. Dhīrū is a non-Āryan name and it appears that a local aboriginal chief rebelled against Jājalladēva and put him into a precarious position. In fact it is stated that on regaining his kingdom he made the gift, which indicates that it was merely by a turn of fortune that he became the king of his country once more.

The **genealogy** of Jājalladēva is given as follows:—From Kārtavīrya were born the Haihayas, among whom was born **Kōkalla**, who had 18 sons. The eldest of these became the king of Tripurī and he made his brothers the lords of the *Maṇḍalas* or districts which lay close by. One of these younger brothers had a son named **Kaliṅgarāja**, who was very powerful. His son was **Kamalarāja**, from whom was born **Ratnadēva I.** His wife was **Nōnallā** and from them was born **Prithvidēva I.** He had for his queen **Rājalladēvī**, from whose union was born **Jājalladēva I.** The latter's son was **Prithvidēva II**, whose son was **Jājalladēva II**, the donor. By this charter a village named **Bundērā** was granted to two Brāhmins **Rāghava** and **Nāmadēva**, the former being the astrologer and the latter the royal priest. Their genealogies are also given. Rāghava belonged to *agōtra* having five *pravaras*, viz., Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna and Aurvva. His father was Dāmōdara, who was very learned. He was a great astrologer and was loved by the people and worshipped by kings.¹ Dāmōdara's father was Prithvidhara. Nāmadēva belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* having three *pravaras*, to wit, Bhāradvāja, Aṅgiras and Bārhaspatya. His father's name was Parāśara and grandfather's Mahādhana. At the end of the record Nāmadēva has a *Ṭha* before his name, which apparently stands for *Ṭhakkura* and would indicate the military tendencies of the royal priest.

The charter was written by a Vāstavya Kāyastha named **Chitrabhānu**, son of Vatsarāja, master of **Jadēra** (village), on **Friday the 5th of the dark fortnight** of a month which reads as **Agrāṇa**, apparently a mistake for either Śrāvaṇa or Āgrahāyaṇa, in **Samvat 91[2]**. Although the era is not specifically stated, it cannot but be the **Kalachuri** one, as the king belonged to its founder's dynasty. The last figure of the year is corroded, but the bottom bend indicates that it could not but be 2 or 3. With the aid of the week-day we find that in 912, the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight fell on a Friday in Śrāvaṇa and not in Āgrahāyaṇa. Friday did not fall on that *tithi* in either month in 913. In the text there are only three letters for the month, which suit **श्रावण** better than **आग्रहायण** which has five letters. So it is pretty certain that the reference is to the Śrāvaṇa month, and as such, the date is equivalent to Friday, the 14th July 1161 A.D.

¹ This Dāmōdara appears to be identical with one whose stone image was found in **Kharod**, a village in the Jānjgir tahsil of Bilāspur District. He was being worshipped as a *Dēvī*, with the blood of hundreds of cocks and goats, until the writer's visit to that locality about 20 years ago, when he proved to the satisfaction of the local people that the statue represented neither a *dēvī* nor a *dēva*, but an ordinary male worshipper, as the figure and the pose clearly showed. The people then informed the writer that it bore an inscription at the bottom which on digging up confirmed this guess. It read as follows:—**पंडितदामोदरस्य मूर्तिरियं ब्रह्मोक्तुः(कु)ले**. At Kharod there is an old temple of Siva known as **Lakhnēśvara-mandira**. It has two Kalachuri stone records affixed to the wall. Apparently the *Sāmbhu kōṭa* referred to that temple with which Paṇḍit Dāmōdara might have been connected as a priest or worshipper. His merits given in our record qualify him for being honoured with a statue, which was restored at the writer's instance to the Lakhnēśvara temple, some 20 years before this inscription was discovered. (See Miralal's *C. P. and Berar Inscriptions*, pp. 117 and 118.)

There are only two geographical names mentioned, viz., Bundērā, the village granted and Jaḍōra, the village to which the writer of the gift belonged. Bundērā may be identical with Bundelā in the Janjgir *tahsīl*, situated about 13 miles from Amodā where the plates were found. Jaḍōra is not traceable.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ओम् ओम्² नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे । निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परस(म)-
कारणं । भावग्राह्यं पद(र)यो(ज्यो)ति-
- 2 स्तुतौ सद्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणः।(णे) नमः [।]³ १[॥] यदेतदग्रेसरमंवरं स्य ज्योतिः स पूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य
- 3 पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यैः ॥२॥⁴ तद्वंशप्रभव(वा) नरेन्द्रपतयः
ख्याता[.]*]
- 4 क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्द्यस्ततापानलः । धर्मःध्यानध-
नावुशं चि-
- 5 जयाः⁵ शश्वत्सतां सौख्यलभेयान्सर्वगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमान्(न)शौ(सौ)
कोकिलः ॥३॥⁷
- 6 अष्टादशारिः(रि)करिकुम्भविभङ्गसिंहाः पुत्र(त्राः) प(ब)भूवुरतिशौर्यपराश्च तस्य ।
तत्राग्रजो नृप-
- 7 वरस्त्रिपुरोश्च आसीत्पार्श्वे च मण्डलपतोन्म चकार व(ब)न्धून् ॥४॥⁸ तेषाम-
नूजस्य⁹ कलि-
- 8 कुराजः प्रतापवज्जिह्वपितारिराजः । जातोऽन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियागनाभो-
रहपा-
- 9 वर्णेन्दुः ॥५॥¹⁰ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्गलकोर्त्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कामसराज
इति प्रसिद्ध[.]*]

¹ From the original plates and impressions kindly taken by Mr. F. F. Pike, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

² This is expressed by the letter ञ with a dot over it, while the first one is expressed by a peculiar sign [which stands for *Siddham* or *Siddhi-astu* (see above, Vol. XVII, p. 352). I think this affords another strong support in favour of Mr. Bhattachali's view, because *Om* is written here in quite a different way and just after this very symbol. See also the facsimile of the plates of Prithvidēva II published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. I, between pp. 406-407.—Ed.]

³ Metre *A nushpūh*.

⁴ Metre *Upajāti*.

⁵ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Apparently नू is made long for the sake of metre.

⁷ Read ऐसरमवरस.

⁸ Read धर्मध्यानधनानुसहितधमा.

⁹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ Metre *Upajāti*.

- 10 यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंक(पङ्क)जवनानि विकासभान्जि-
(ञ्जि) ॥६॥¹ तेनाथ चन्द्र-
- 11 वदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो विश्वोपकारकरुणार्जितपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)ङ्ग-
युगं(ग)निर्मितवि-
- 12 क्रमेण नोतं यशस्विभुवने विनिहत्य शत्रून् ॥७॥² नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया
तस्य शूरस्येव दि(दि) शूरत(ता) [1*]
- 13 तयाः(योः) सुतो नृपश्रेष्ठः(ष्ठः) पृथ्वीदेवो प(व)भूव ह ॥८॥³ [पृ]थ्वी[दे]वस-
मुद्भवः समभवद्राजलक्ष्मदेवीशूत(सुतः)
- 14 शूरः सज्जनवांछितार्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्व्वेषामुचितोऽर्चने सुमन-
सा(सां) तीक्ष्णहि-
- 15 ष[त्क]टकः पश्यत्कान्ततराङ्गनाङ्गमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥९॥⁴ तस्यात्मजः सकल-
- 16 [को]शलमण्डनश्रोः श्रोमान्समाहृतसमल(स्त)नराधिपश्रोः । सर्व्वक्षितोश्वर-
[शि]रोविहितां-
- 17 क्षिपे(से)वः सेवाभृतान्निधिरसो भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥१०॥⁵ पृथ्वीदेवस्ततोजातः पीतः
कंठोरवादिव [1*]
- 18 मि(सिं)(ह)हं(सं)द(ह)ननो योऽरिकरियूथमपोथयत(त्) ॥११॥⁶ तस्मादजायत
जगंचयश्रीसः

Second Plate.

- 19 तस्मात्तुम्ब(म्ब)कपादपद्ममधुपो जाजल्लदेवोऽभवद्दीरारातिनितम्बि(स्त्रि)नो-
मुखपयोज-
- 20 न्मोषधीशोदयः । लोके यस्य यशस्यैर्हवन्ति र[म्यं] शसां(शां)कोदयं
मत्वा सप्तपयोधयो व-
- 21 हृदिरे प्रोत्फुल्लितं कैरवैः ॥१२॥⁷ यो वत्सभार्गववरच्यवनाप्रुवानौर्ब्भूषिते
मोत्रे तर्क्षस्य वरिष्ठे
- 22 जातः पृथ्वोधरो विप्रः ॥१३॥⁸ तस्याद्देवचूडामणिरखिलजनानंदसंदोहहे[तुः]
पुत्रो दामोदरोभूत्सक-

¹ & ² Metre Vasantatilakā.³ Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre Anuṣṭubh.⁵ Metre Anuṣṭubh.⁶ Metre Vasantatilakā.⁷ This portion to the end of the line is superfluous and must be omitted. Possibly the engraver left out the three pādas of this verse; the first could very well be तस्मादजायत जनचयगीतकीर्तिः⁸ Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre Arya.

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- 23 सगुणनिधिः पार्थिवाराधितांभिः ॥(1) यः सा(श)पाऽनुग्रहाभ्यामपर इव सदा
गोभिलः सामगाग्रस्त्रे(स्त)सुतो रा-
- 24 घवाख्यः कविकुमुदसुदे जातवान्विप्रराजः ॥१४॥¹ भारद्वाजांगि(जाङ्गि)रसवा-
(वा)हस्यत्य(त्वेति)तृतीयकप्रवरे ॥ भारद्वाजे
- 25 गोत्रे महा[धनो] नाम विप्रोभूत् ॥१५॥² महाधनेनाऽजनि पुन्य(ख्य)भाजा परा-
स(श)रः कैरवकुंदकोत्तिः ॥(1) धृते गृहं
- 26 यो यश्—७— सः सत्यास्यदं पुन्य(ख्य)निधानमासीत् ॥१६॥³ उदयगिरे-
रिव तरणिर्दुग्धाब्धेस्त्रमा यथा तद्व-
- 27 त् ॥(1) पुत्रः पाराशरतः(पराशरस्य च १) प्रख्यातो नामदेवाख्यः ॥१७॥⁴ ताभ्यां
द्विजाभ्यां नृपवैरिनारीसोमन्तहारी रणरङ्गम-
- 28 ऋः ॥(1) जाजस्रदेवो विधिवद्बु(द्)न्देरासंज्ञं ददौ ग्राममदीनसत्त्वः ॥१८॥⁵ धीरू-
महाग्राह्यहोतमूर्तिर्जाजस्रदेवो नृप-
- 29 तिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥(1) यच्चेण सुक्तः समवाप्य राद्यं(ज्यं) ग्रामं ददौ पुन्य-
(ख्य)दिने द्विजाभ्याम् ॥१९॥⁶ शंखं भद्रासनं दत्तं गजाश्व-
- 30 व(र)वाह[न]म् । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फल(लं) स्वर्गमनुत्तमं(मम्) ॥२०॥⁷
व(व)हुं(हु)भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 31 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥२१॥⁸ भूमिं यः
प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*]
- 32 उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतौ [स्वर्ग]गामिनौ ॥२२॥⁹ स्वदत्तां पर-
दत्तां वा योसरेद्वसुधरां(हरेत वसुधरां)। स विष्ठा-
- 33 यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२३॥¹⁰ हंति¹¹जातातुयातांश्च भृम्यथै
योऽनृतं वदेत् । स व(व)हो
- 34 वारुणेः पाशैः [ति]र्यग्योन्यां तु जायते ॥२४॥¹² द्विजाश्च [नाव]मन्तव्यास्त्रैलोक्य-
मितिहेतवः [1*]
- 35 देववत्पूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्चनादिभिः ॥२५॥¹³ वास्तव्यवंशकमलाकरचित्रभालुः
शत्रुप्रवी-

¹ Metre Sragdharā.

² Metre Upēndravajrā.

³ Metre Indravajrā.

⁴ Metre Anushṭubh.

⁵ Metre Anushṭubh.

¹¹ Read हन्ति जातानजातां°.

¹² Metre Anushṭubh.

³ Metre Aryā.

⁴ Metre Aryā.

⁶ Metre Indravajrā.

⁸ Metre Anushṭubh.

¹⁰ Metre Anushṭubh.

¹³ Metre Anushṭubh.

- 36 रविक[ले]भनचित्तमानुः । [श्रीवत्सराज]तनयः खलु धर्मराजो जडे(डु)रनाथ इह
तामनि(मि)दं लिलेख ॥
- 37 ¹॥२६॥ संवत् ८१[२] अग्रण(आवण) व(व)दि ५ सुक्र(शुक्र) ॥ ज्योतिषी(षी)
पंडितराघवा(वः) ॥ पुरोधाः ठ नामद(दे)व[*] ॥

No. 35.—A NOTE ON THE VELVIKUDI GRANT OF NEDUNJADAIYAN.

BY A. M. SATAKOPARAMANUJACHARYA, VIDYĀN.

In the interesting article on the Vēlvikuḍi grant of Neḍuñḍaiyaṇ, that was published in this journal² by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, I find that some corrections are absolutely necessary in the text and the translation as given by him. These I should like to put down below, together with a few suggestions in regard to one or two points raised by him in that article.

In text line 95, for *Āya*^o, I should like to read *Āy*, and in line 132 for *pōr*, *pōra*. Again, in line 120 of the text, instead of *Kuḷandaiyaṇ-Kūlvandai-śe[y*]kkun*, I would read *kuḷandai-vaṅḡḷ vanda-śaiikkum*, correcting *Kuḷandai* and *vandai-śe* of the text into *kuḷandai* and *vandaśai*. Accordingly, in the translation of this passage, instead of 'to the north of the field (called) Kūlvandai-śēy of Kuḷandēvaṇ', I would prefer to have 'waved (gently) by the tender breeze' (*kuḷandai*=tender, *vaṅḡḷ*=breeze, [*vandu*] *śaiikkum*=waving).

According to the Rao Bahadur, the Maṅgalapura of the inscription is identical with Mangalore, the district head-quarters of South Kanara. Mr. K. G. Sankara Ayyar also, I find, holds the same view.³ In my opinion, however, it should be looked for somewhere in the Tamil districts,⁴ north of the Kāvērī, where we find many villages called Mangalam or having names ending in 'Mangalam', because from the Udayēndiram plates⁵ we learn that Paramēśvaraśarman defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvaṇallūr, on the northern bank of the Kāvērī, and from the Gadval grant⁶, that Vikramāditya was encamping at "Uragapuram on the southern bank of the Kāvērī" in 674 A.D. The Kēndūr plates⁷ also say that Vikramāditya I fought with the Pāṇḍyas and other Tamil kings.⁸

¹ These strokes are unnecessary. Metre *Sragdharā*.

² Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 214.

⁴ [The plates do not say where Maṅgalapura was situated. As such, it is not possible to definitely locate it. The identification of it with Mangalore or any place in the Tamil districts is only a conjecture.—K. V. S. Ayyar.]

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 371.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p. 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 205.

⁸ For further details see Dubreuil's *The Pallavas*, p. 63.

No. 36.—KUMBAKONAM INSCRIPTION OF SEVVAPPA-NAYAKA.

By G. VENKOBIA RAO.

The subjoined Tamil record¹ is engraved on the door-jamb of the entrance into the inner *prākāra* of the Kumbhēśvara temple at Kumbakonam. It is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama during the reign of *Śevvappa-Nāyaka*, who was the first ruler of the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore. The stone inscription (No. 145 of 1924) which is dated in the same cyclic year and in the reign of *Kṛishṇadēvarāya* (corresponding to A.D. 1520) calls *Śevvappa*, a *Daḷavāy* (commander) only. Possibly, therefore, the present record has to be assigned to A.D. 1580, especially, because a copperplate record belonging to him and dated in Śaka 1502 (=A.D. 1580) was also issued from Kumbakonam².

The history of the Nāyakas of Tanjore remains yet to be written in detail,³ although an excellent preliminary attempt has been made in *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayakas* in Tamil by Mr. T. S. Kuppusvami Sastri of Tanjore. How and when the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore arose is obscure. An unpublished Sanskrit poem *Sāhityaratnākara* by the eldest son of Gōvinda-Dikshita, the Brahman prime-minister of the second and third Nāyaka kings, says that *Śevvappa* obtained the Tanjore kingdom by his own valour. The Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* by Chēmakūra Vēṅkaṭa-Kavi would show that *Śevvappa* married the sister of the queen of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya, and got the Tanjore principality, perhaps, as a dowry.

Like other old kings, *Śevvappa* was a tolerant ruler, though his leaning was specially towards Vaishṇavism. Inscription No. 425 of 1924 relates to some gifts of land made by *Śevvappa* to the mosque at Tanjore in the year *Sādhārana* corresponding to A.D. 1549, and the record under publication is interesting in that it mentions a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandurai. It registers the gift of 2½ (*vēli* ?) of land as the charity of the king *Śevvappa-Nāyaka* in the Brahman village (*agaram*) of Tirumalairājapuram for the repairs or the worshipping service in the temple (?), when a channel was dug through the lands belonging to a certain individual (name not very clearly made out) attached to the Buddha⁴ temple. The two villages Tiruvilandurai and Tirumalairājapuram cannot be definitely identified. Tiruvallaṅḡuli, which is 4 miles away from Kumbakonam, and was one of its wards⁵, has a standing image of Buddha placed near the *gōpura* of its Śiva temple. Tiruvilandurai of this inscription has, perhaps, to be identified with Elandurai, a village about 9 miles distant from Kumbakonam which has a Śiva temple with an inscription dated in Śaka 1493 (A.D. 1571) of the time of Achyutappa-Nāyaka (No. 239 of 1927). It may also be noted that Ilanturai has been mentioned in No. 222 of 1927 as one of the *saptasthānas* or seven sacred places round about Kumbakonam. I cannot say whether the Tirumalairājapuram of this record has to be identified with Tirumalairājapuram *alias* Śūṅgam-tavirttaśōḷanallūr which is mentioned in an inscription published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 119, as adjacent to Karuntiṭṭaikkudi in Tañjāvūr-paṇṇu. There is one seated image in the temple at Paṭṭiśvaram near Kumbakonam, and another, now popularly called Bhagavarishi, lying outside the Gaṇēśa shrine in the Āṇaiyaḍi street at Kumbakonam, both of which appear to be Buddhist. From these facts, it appears that Buddhism continued to survive in the Tanjore district till the 16th century. This would be natural when Negapatam in the Tanjore district was a stronghold of Buddhism. The large Leyden plates record the grant of the village

¹ No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927.

² *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1917, p. 55, para. 135.

³ A paper on the detailed history of the Tanjore Nāyakas by the author is almost ready, and will appear very soon in this journal.

⁴ In Tamil it is sometimes loosely applied to a Jaina temple also.

⁵ Nos. 629 and 633 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902.

of Āṇaimaṅgalam to a Buddha temple at Negapatam during the time of the Chōla king Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1010). The smaller Leyden grant dated in the 20th year of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1090) records gifts to two Buddhist temples. An ancient tower known as 'Puduveḷigōpuram' or 'Jaina Pagoda' was demolished by the Jesuits when they built the St. Joseph's College at Negapatam.¹ This tower might have belonged to one of these two Buddha temples. It is interesting to note that a number of metallic Buddhist images were unearthed at this place recently.

Though Jain families are living in Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi even now, and we see Jain temples at Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi, yet traces of Buddhism are no longer visible there.

The record bears at the end the expression "(the) Gurukkaḷ, (i.e., teachers) of the Convention", perhaps of Buddha.

TEXT.²

1 Vikkiṛa-	15 ndā-Nāyakar-
2 ma-varusham	16 nilatti[l]ē
3 [Ā]ḍi-mādam ³ 2-	17 Tirumalai-
4 2 ⁴ ௨ ⁵	18 rāsapura[tta]
5 Śevuvap- ⁶	19 'asēsham- ā-
6 pa-Nāyak-	20 ga śaṇaṅgaḷ
7 kar-ayya-	21 vākkāl ve-
8 ṇ-damma-	22 [tṭi] pōgaiyil Ti-
9 m-āga Ti-	23 rumalairāsapurattil-
10 ruvilan-	24 agarattil tirup-
11 duṛai-	25 paṇi-śērvai-
12 Buddar-	26 āga vi[tṭa] nilam ⁸ 2 ⁹
13 kōyil-	27 [sa]mayattār Guru-
14 Titta-Mā[ma]ru-	28 kkaḷ ௨

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 26) (On) the 22nd day of the month of Āḍi in the year Vikrama, all the people of Tirumalairāṅapuram assigned 2½ (vēḷi of) land in the brahman village (agaram) of Tirumalairāṅja-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 224-27 and *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 2.

² From an inked estampage.

³ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁴ The figure 22 is expressed in the Tamil text by three digits, the numerical figure for ten intervening between the two figures.

⁵ This symbol stands for the word *tēdi* meaning day.

⁶ Read *Śevuvap°*.

⁷ It may be read also as *asēsha-māgaśaṇaṅgaḷ* (*mahājananagaḷ*).

⁸ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁹ Expressed by a Tamil numeral.

puram for repairs¹ as a charity² of Śevvappa-Nāyakkar-ayyan as the channel was dug and passed through the land³ belonging to ⁴Titta Māmarundā-Nāyakar of the Buddha temple at Tiruvilandurai.

(Ll. 27 and 28) (*This is under the protection of*) the Gurukkaḷ of the Faith (*samayam*).

No. 37.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA II : SAKA 959.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

This inscription was found in the wall of the yard of the Vira-nārāyaṇa temple at Gadag.⁵ An attempt at a transcript is given in the Elliot Collection, Vol. I, f. 37b. of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy; and good ink-impressions were prepared for the late Dr. Fleet, which are now in the British Museum. The stone is very dilapidated. On the ink-impression there seem to be some faint vestiges of effaced sculptures; but Elliot's pandit found no sculptures surviving in his day. The record itself is but a fragment. The ink-impressions record 64 lines; but the stone has been broken off on the proper right, the break beginning on line 13 and increasing as it runs down, while the left side also is damaged below. I have therefore given only the text as far as the eleventh verse, near the end of l. 38, the rest being altogether fragmentary. The width of the slab is 2 ft. 5½ in.; the height is somewhat uncertain, as there seems to be a gap in the ink-impressions between ll. 43 and 44, but it must be something over 6 ft. 8 in. The writing is a fine archaic hand of the period; the letters vary in height from ¾ in. to ⅙ in., becoming smaller and more crabbed at line 61. The guttural nasal is used in *sataṅga*, l. 4. The language in the portion edited below is Old Kanarese prose and verse, with two formal Sanskrit stanzas (vv. 1 & 2). The *ḷ* is preserved in *negalḍa* (l. 26), *negalḍam* (l. 27), and falsely written for *ḷ* in *Chāḷukya*- (l. 2); it is changed to *ḷ* in *aḷida* (l. 15), *pēḷ* (l. 24), *pogalvar* (l. 25). The *upadhmanīya* appears in *bhāvinaḥ*=*p*^o (l. 17). The instrumental case in *-e* occurs in *Lokki[guṇḍi]ye* (l. 19 f.); cf. above, Vol. XIV, p. 277, n. 9. Lexically *aḍagu[nṭi]* (l. 21) may be noted.

The record begins by referring itself in ll. 1-4 to the reign of Jagadēkamalla-Jayasimha [II],⁶ and then in ll. 4-11 relates that on a given date Maddimayya-Nāyaka, mayor (*ūr-oḍeya*) of Lokkiguṇḍi, made over⁷ an estate to one Dāmōdara-Setṭi, who a few months later assigned the same for the benefit of the cult of the Traipurusha gods and the Twelve Nārāyaṇas. After formal clauses of commonition (ll. 11-18), the record bursts into poetry, expatiating, in a long series of verses, upon the excellences of Dāmōdara (also named Dāma and Dāvala) and his family. First it mentions Dhōyipayya of Lokkiguṇḍi, who built the temple of the Twelve Nārāyaṇas and the Traipurushas and set up a Garuḍa-column (v. 3, ll. 19-21), and Dhōyipayya's wife Guṇābbe (v. 4, ll. 21-23). Next appears Māhuva-Setṭi, apparently their son, who is coupled with his sons Dāma or Dāvala (Dāmōdara) and Dhōyipayya (vv. 5-6, ll. 24-

¹ *Tiruppaṇ-śērvai* may also be translated into "worshipping service."

² It is generally translated as "for the merit of".

³ Tamil language will also allow of another construction. "The people of Tirumalairājapuram" may be taken as the subject of the predicate "dug and passed" and *veṭṭi pōgaiyil* will convey the same meaning as *veṭṭuḷaiyil* (while digging). In this case, there will be no subject for the verb *viṭṭa* (assigned). But then we will have to translate "2½ was the land assigned."

⁴ *Titta* stands for *tīrtha* (a preceptor) and Māmarundā means Amṛita.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XV, p. 348.

⁶ See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 435-7.

⁷ See however note on l. 7.

27). The rest of the poetry seems to be devoted to the praise of Dāma, and continues as far as l. 61. Then begins a section in prose, written in a smaller hand, and specifying an endowment made by the latter in the presence of the local *Mahājanas* for the benefit of the Traipurushas and some other god ; in the midst of this the stone breaks off.

It is perhaps worth noting that the poet compares Māhuva to the legendary Dadhīchi, Gutta, Chārudatta, and Karṇa, and Dama to Karṇa, Vikramāditya, Hariśchandra, Nala, Chārudatta, Dadhīchi, Śibi, and Gutta. The comparison with Karṇa and Nala is of course a commonplace, and Hariśchandra is one of the most popular figures of legend. On Chārudatta and Dadhīchi I may refer to my remarks on the Sūḍi inscription E (2) above, Vol. XV, p. 83. The mention of **Vikramāditya**, which seldom occurs elsewhere in this period, shews that the legend of the mythical king of that name had firmly established itself at this time in the Dekkan. It may well be that the legend, as has been suggested, is based upon traditions of the Gupta dynasty of the 4th-5th centuries A.D. and later, some members of which bore the title of Vikramāditya ;¹ and if this be so, its appearance here by the side of that of Gutta is doubly interesting. For there seems to be little doubt that this legendary Gutta is to be connected with the Gutta dynasty of Guttavola or Guttal, probably as an eponymous ancestor ; and this family claimed to derive its name and origin from the Gupta emperors as well as from a more or less mythical Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.² Hence it would seem that the two legends of Vikramāditya and of Gutta are doublets, both having sprung from vague memories of the glories of the Gupta emperors.

Two dates are specified. The first is given on ll. 4-5 as Śaka 959, Īśvara ; Āshāḍha śu. 5 ; Sunday. This apparently refers to Śaka 959 expired, which by the Southern Cycle was coupled with Īśvara ; according to this, the *tithi* Āshāḍha śu. 5 was connected with **Monday, June 20, A.D. 1037**, ending about 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise for Ujjain. Thus the date is slightly irregular, the Sunday being named probably to lend auspiciousness, although the *tithi* was current only for a short time at the end of it (cf. Mr. Venkatasubbiah's *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 69). The late lamented Mr. R. Sewell, who with his wonted kindness examined the dates in this inscription, informed me that by the *Ārya-siddhānta* very similar results are obtained ; śu. 5 was connected with Monday, June 20, and was current only for about 1 h. 55 m. before mean sunrise on that day. He added that by the mean system, in Śaka 959 expired, śu. 5 began 3 h. 50 m. before mean sunrise on Monday. The Northern Cycle may be excluded from consideration, as it coupled Īśvara with Śaka 957 expired and 958 current.

The second date is given on l. 11 as the *amāvāsya* (kṛi. 15) of Āsvayuja, evidently of the same year as the preceding date, coupled with an eclipse of the sun and the *yōga* Vyatpāta. This is fairly satisfactory. The *tithi* was connected with **Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1037**, on which it ended about 15 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise ; and on the same Tuesday there was an eclipse of the sun, which, however, was not visible in India (Oppolzer, *Kanon der Finsternisse*, p. 214). Mr. Sewell has pointed out that by the mean system this Tuesday was coupled with kṛi. 14 and the following Wednesday with the *amāvāsya*, which tends to shew that the calculations here were made by true *tithis*.

The only names of places mentioned are **Lokkiguṇḍi**, ll. 5, 19 f., the *tīrthas*, l. 13 f., the **Himāchala**, i.e. Himālaya, l. 32, and **Malaya**, ibid. Lokkiguṇḍi is Lakkuṇḍi ('Lūkoondē' of the Indian Atlas), in lat. 15° 23' and long. 75° 45½', some 6 miles south-east from Gadag. **Indrakila** (l. 30) is probably meant to be purely mythical ; but there is a hill of the name at Bezvada.

¹ See especially Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum*, p. xlix, n. 1.

² See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 578-80.

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—v. 1, *Śālinī*; v. 2, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 12, *Utpalāmālā*; vv. 5, 11, *Champakamālā*; v. 6, *Kanda*; vv. 8, 10, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; v. 9, *Mahā-sragdharā*.]

- 1 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
paramēśvara
- 2 paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tīlakam Chālu(lu)ky-ābharaṇam Jagadēka-
mallam
- 3 śrīmaj-Jayasimghadēvara rājyam=uttarōttar-ābhi[vṛiddhi*]-pravarddhamānam-ā-
chandr-ārkkā-t[ā]-
- 4 raṁ saluttam-ire Sa(Śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsara-sa(śa)taṅga[!]*
959neya Īśvara-samvatsarada
- 5 Aśhāḍa(ḍha)-su(śu)ddha 5 Āditya-vāradandu śrīmal-Lokkiguṇḍiya ūr-oḍe-volada
per-vvasugeya
- 6 Sa(Śa)mkarayyam(yya)-Nāyakara magam ūr-oḍeya Maddimayya-Nāyakam
artthamam koṇḍu Dāmōdara-
- 7 Setṭiyargge sāsirvvara sannidhānadāl kāl-garchch=āgi dānam-goṇḍam² keyi mattar-
ayvatt-āṇu a[m]-
- 8 kadoḷam matta[r*] 56 ā keyge benn=irkkey=illa benn=irkkey=endavam svāna
gārdnebhā³ chāṇḍāḷa[m*] I-
- 9 daṇa vyavasthe intuṭu [!]* Int=ā bhūmiyam koṇḍu Traipurusha-dēvarggaṁ hāraha-
Nārāyaṇa-dēvar=u-
- 10 pachārādīm mikkudam brāhmaṇar=unba[r*] [!]* Int=i(i) s[th]itiyal Dāmōdara-Setṭi
bhūmi-dānam-go-
- 11 tṭa tithi Āśva(śva)yujad=amavāsyē sūryya-grahaṇa-vyatipātam Antu koṭṭa
dharmmavam sāsī-
- 12 rv[v]arum rakshisuvar [!]* Int=idaṇ=āśrama-guru-dharmma-pratī(ti)pālanum sva(sa)d-
āchāranum=olḷitta[m]ge⁴
- 13 [vya]bhichāriyum bhakshakan=ād=ātam⁵ Prayāge Vāraṇāsi Argghyatīrtham
Kurukshētra[m]
- 14 [Pu]shkaram Śrīparvvatam=emba mahā-tīrthamgaḷoḷ chatur-vvēda-pāragarumam
pannirchchāsira kavi-
- 15 [le]yuman=aḷida pātakam sva-dharmmadoḷ rakshisidan⁵=i tīrthamgu[uma[m]] i(i)y-
āyadha(ta)namumam
- 16 [rakshi]sida⁵ mahā-puṇy-ādhiḥkan=akkum || Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētu[r*]-
nnri(nnṛi)pāṇām kālē kā[lē]
- 17 [pā]aṇiyō bhavadbhiḥ [!]* ssa(sa)rvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ=pārthivē[m*]drān bhūyō
bhūyō yāchatē [Rā]-


¹ From the ink-impression.

² Apparently an error for -goffi.

³ Read *śvana garḍaḥḥa*

⁴ The *ge* is added, in smaller script, under the *no*.

⁵ The *si* has been omitted, and added in small script under the line.

- 18 [macha]mdra[h*] || [1*] Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēta vasun-
dharām shashṭir=varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatā¹ krimi² [[* 2*]
Maṁ[ga]a]
- 19 Śrīmat-perggaḍe **Dhōyipayyan**=adhikaṁ dhārmikaṁ=udyan-mahāgrāmaṁ neṭṭane
Lokki[gu]-
- 20 [pḍi]ye nutaṁ kīrtti-dhvajaṁ sad-guṇ-ōddāmaṁ dvādasa(sa)- Viśṇuvaṁ Garuḍa-
māna-stambhamāṁ sthāpi[s-]
- 21 [—]maṁ Traipurusharkaḷaṁ nilisidaṁ³ puṇy-ādhiḱaṁ dhātṛiyo || [3*] Ā
mahimā-viṣṭasādaḱagu[nti]-
- 22 [ya ?]⁴ perggaḍe **Dhōyipayyan**=uddāma-kuḷakke takka sati mikka patibrate Jaina-
dāna-dharm-āmrite-⁵
- 23 [? vṛi]ddhi-ohamdrīke **Guṇābbe** guṇ-ādhiḱe sanda Rugmiṇi⁶-rāmege Rāma-rāmeg-
eṇey=endode mattaran=ēnan=ēmbenō || [4*]
- 24 [—] Dadhichi puṭṭidano Guttane bandano Chārudattanō [n]iratisay-Ārka-
nandanano pē[=]ene **Māhuvan**=artthig=artthama[m]
- 25 [kara]m=osed=ittan=ātana magam vibudh-āgrāṇiy=endu **Dāmaṁ**(ma)naṁ karam=atirā-
gaḍim pogaḷvar=ēn=esav-antano pu-
- 26 [? nya]m-antanō || [5*] **Māhuva-Setṭiya** magan=atisāhasikaṁ negaḷda **Dhōyipayyan**=
amarmmaṁ māhātma[y*]-ārjjita-guṇa-[saṁ]-
- 27 [dōha]m dhareg=eseye **Dāvalaṁ** sale negaḷdam [[6*]  Śrī-kāntā-kamanīyam=ādudu
viśā[=]ōra[s*]-sthaḷaṁ tanna vāk śrī-kā[ntā-ka].
- 28 [ma]nīyam=ādudu mukh-āmbhōjātam=udyaj-jaya-śrī-kāntā-ramanīyam=ādudu bhuja-
daṇḱam dig-ant[am ?]
- 29 [ya]śa[s*]-śrī-kāntā-kamanīyam=ādud=adaṇḱind=ēn=**Dāman**=uddāmanō || [7*] Sura-
rājendra-mad-ēbha-mastakado[—]
- 30 [dig-da]nti-dantaṁgaḷo[=]Haran=ugr-āsiyo[=]Imdraḱiḷa-taṭado[=]Nirējaputr-āṇḱado[=]vara-nāg-
ālayado[=]Murāri-
- 31 [ya ?] gri(gri)h-ōdya[d*]-dvāra-bandhamgaḷo[=]bareda[=]Vāg-vadhu **Dāvalaṁ** su(su)chi
mahā-dān-āḱya(ḱhya)n=ēmb-amkamaṁ || [8*] Sura-rāj-ādr[i]-
- 32 [ndra-Hi]māchaḷa-Maḷe(la)ya-nag-ōpānta-valli - van - ābhyantarado[=]nānā - vinōdarṁgaḷoḷe
nelasi vidyādhara-stri-
- 33 [—] — — — — — kānt-ānikamuṁ pannaga-yuvatiyaṁ pāḍuvar=kkūḍe **Dāmōdara**-
kīrtti-śrīyan=ēn=end=adaṇḱa
- 34 [—] — — — — — baṇ[ṇ]isalk=ārppan-āvaṁ || [9*] **Moḷe-voyt**=Ārkkajaniṁ pasurppu
vaḱedatt=ā Vikramāditya-bhūtaḷa-nāth-ā[ḱ]r[āṇi]-
- 35 [yim — — — — —]tt=ettaṁ Hariśchandraṁ Nalaṁ pūtudu Chārudatta-
vibhuvindaṁ kāytud=ī bhūri-bhūtaḷadoḷ **Dāma**[—]

¹ The *ya* has been added below the line.

² The *si* has been omitted, and added below.

³ This is the common Southern spelling for the Sanskrit *Rukmiṇi*.

⁴ Read *krimiḥ*.

⁵ Or possibly *-ys*.

⁶ Read *-āmrita*.

[Reference to inscription No. 30 of the Nagamangala Taluq (line 55) *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Pt. ii, and its translation by Rice (p. 120, l. 1) to which Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao has drawn my attention, would suggest that the reading is '*Dhōyipayyana marmmaṁ* or possibly *mammaṁ*. If that is so, *Dāvala* would be the son of *Māhuvasetṭi* and grandson of *Dhōyipayya*. See p. 217 above, last para. Kittel, however, gives *momma* but not *mamma* (or *marmma*) in the sense of grandson.—Ed.]

- 36 [○ — ○ ○ ○ —]dāra-ka[pa-drumaṃ || [10*] Kali-yugam=ettam=ottarisi lōba(bha)-
guṇaṃ jagam=ellamaṃ p[○ —]
37 [○ ○ ○ ○ — ○ —]vi[shama-kāladolaṃ budha-saṃkuḷakk=anākuḷam=osed=īva
Dāman=iha-lōkada mānasa-r[—]
38 [○ — ○ — ○ ○ ○] Dadhīchiyō Si(Śi)biyo Kaṇṇano Guttano Chārudattanō || [11*]¹

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4.) While the reign of—hail!—the refuge of the whole world, darling of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Jagadēkamalla-Jayasiṅha, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 4-5.) On Sunday, the 5th (day) of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the cyclic year Īvara, the 959th (year) of the centuries of years elapsed since the time of the Śaka king:—

(Ll. 5-8.) Śaṅkarayya Nāyaka's son, the mayor Maddimayya Nāyaka, having received money, laved the feet of Dāmōdara Seṭṭi in the presence of the Thousand, and (?) made over (to him) in gift a field of fifty-six *mattar*, in numbers 56 *mattar*, (forming part) of the large section of the mayoral lands of Lokkiguṇḍi. Of this field there is to be no resumption: he that claims resumption (*shall be reborn as*) a dog, an ass, (or) a Chāṇḍāla.

(Ll. 8-16.) Thus is its constitution. Having so obtained this land, what remains from the service of the Twelve Nārāyaṇa gods for the Traipurusha gods² the Brāhmaṇs shall consume. The lunar day on which Dāmōdara Seṭṭi thus granted the land on this condition was the last of the dark fortnight of Āsvayuja, (during) an eclipse of the sun and a *vyatīpāta* (*yōgā*). The Thousand shall preserve the pious endowment thus granted. So he who devours it, in disobedience to the worthy man who preserves the holy law of the masters of his order and acts righteously, incurs the guilt of slaying (Brāhmaṇs) versed in the Four Vēdas and twelve thousand kine at the great sanctuaries of Prayāga, Benares, Arghyatīrtha, Kurukshētra, Pushkara, and Śrīparvata; he who preserves it according to its proper rule shall abound in the same great merit as if he preserved those esanctuaris and those temples.

(Verses 1-2: two common Sanskrit formulæ.)

(V. 3.) The fortunate officer Dhōyipayya, peculiarly righteous, praised fitly by the exalted great town Lokkiguṇḍi, having a banner of glory, eminent in virtue, extraordinary in merit on earth, erected (a temple of) the twelve Viṣṇus (and) a column of honour for Garuḍa and . . . established (a sanctuary of) the Traipurushas.

(V. 4.) The good wife worthy of the eminent race of the officer Dhōyipayya, that perfection of the display of dignity, uniquely devoted to her lord, moonlight for the increase (?) of the ambrosia of pious bounty to Jains, singular in virtue, Guṇābbe, is peer to the excellent dame Rukmiṇī, (and) to Rāma's dame: when this is said, what other shall I name?

(V. 5.) "Say, . . . has a Dadhīchi been born? has a Gutta come, (or) a Chārudatta, (or) the unsurpassed child of the Sun [Kārṇa]?"—with men speaking thus, Māhuva gladly indeed bestowed wealth on suitors; as his son, a leader among the sages, men extol Dāma indeed with extreme affection; who is his like in distinction, who is his like in righteousness?

(V. 6.) While Māhuva-Seṭṭi's son, the exceedingly valiant (and) eminent Dhōyipayya free from weaknesses, possessing a multitude of virtues won by nobility of soul, was flourishing on earth³ Dāvala verily became eminent.

¹ The rest of the inscription, which is continued on this and the remaining lines, is here omitted, as it is ve. y fragmentary.

² Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

³ [See footnote 7 on page 220 above.—Ed.]

(V. 7.) His broad breast was worthy of being desired by the lady Fortune ; his speech was worthy of [being desired by the lady] Fortune ; the lotus of his face¹ was worthy of the love of that lady the Fortune of high Victory ; his rod-like arm, extending through the regions of space, was worthy of being desired by that lady the Fortune of Glory ; thus how splendid is **Dāma** !

(V. 8.) On the head of the rutting elephant of the great King of Gods, on the tusks of the elephants of the regions of space, on Hara's awful sword, on the slope of Indrakīla, on the cosmic egg of the Lotus-born [Brahman], on the home of the great Serpents [Pātāla], on the high door-posts of Murāri's house, the lady Speech has written the title : "**Dāvala** is pure, rich in great bounty."

(V. 9.) Standing in divers sports amidst the groves of creeping plants on the skirts of the great mountain of the King of the Gods, of Himālaya, and of Mount Malaya, do not the wives of the Vidyādharas and the company of ladies of . . . and the Serpent damsels sing in concert the splendour of **Dāmōdara's** glory ? hence who is able to praise (*fittingly*) its [greatness] ?

(V. 10.) The noble tree of desire . . . , throwing out its sprouts through the child of the Sun [Karṇa], attained to greenness through Vikramāditya chief of monarchs, . . . everywhere from Hariśchandra, flowered through Nala, put forth green fruit through the lord Chārudatta, [and ripened into perfect fruit] through **Dāma** . . . on this vast earth.

(V. 11.) Is not **Dāma**, who makes gifts with calm delight to the company of sages even in [this] troublous time, [when] the Kali Age is rife everywhere and the quality of greed [pervades ?] the whole universe . . . to this world, a Dadhichi, a Śibi, a Karṇa, a Gutta, a Chārudatta ?

No. 38.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM RON, OF SAKA 944 AND 1102.

BY LIONEL D. BARNETT.

Rōṇ (the word is spelt "Roan" in the Indian Atlas sheet 41) is the chief town of the Rōṇ *tāluka* in Dhārwar District, Bombay Presidency, and lies in lat. 15° 42' and long. 75° 47'. Both the present epigraphs, which are now edited from ink-impressions bequeathed by the late Dr. Fleet to the British Museum, come from the local temple of Īśvara. From notes on the ink-impressions it appears that at the time when the impressions were taken both the stones were on the outside of the temple ; the introductory note to the imperfect transcript of B. in the Elliot Collection (Vol. II, fol. 93b. in the Royal Asiatic Society's copy) states that Elliot's agent found it "in the stone temple standing in front of the Redḍiyavar's house in Rōṇ".

A —OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA II : SAKA 944.

This record is imperfect ; the latter part of the stone is missing, and it is moreover cracked across the middle. The inscribed area is about 2 ft. 7 in. wide, and the maximum height of what remains is about 3 ft. 1 in. There seems to be no trace of any sculptures.—The character is Kanarese : lines 1-28 are written in a fair sloping hand typical of the eleventh century, with letters of an average height of $\frac{5}{8}$ in., and underneath them are portions of three more lines

¹ We may construe the sentence as :—*tanna viśāl-śraṣṭhalaṃ Śrīkāntā-kamaṇīyam=ādudu, tanna mukh-ām-bhōjātaṃ Vāk-śrīkāntā-kamaṇīyam=ādudu tanna bhuj-ādaṇḍaṃ udyaj-Jayaśrīkāntā-kamaṇīyam=ādudu, etc., and translate it accordingly.*—Ed.]

written in a slightly smaller and more cramped hand; perhaps a later addition. As very little can be made out of the latter, I give only the text of ll. 1-28. The language is Old Kānarese, with two formal Sanskrit stanzas (vv. 10 and 11): The *ḷ* is preserved in *neṇṇāḍ* (ll. 6, 21 f.), *aḷiḍon* and *aḷiḍa* (l. 20); it appears as *ḷ* in *pogaḷaḍar* (l. 10) and *pogaḷal* (l. 21): *Nirmūḍahyam* (l. 18) is a rare but classical Sanskrit word. In *tandeya māḷiḍa bhūmā-dānamān* (l. 24) we have an example of the use of the genitive for nominative to which I have called attention in *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, 1918, p. 105.

The record opens by referring itself to the reign of the Chāḷukya Jagadēkamtalladēva (Jayasīṃha II) (ll. 1-3). It then describes in verse the town of Rōṇa, the modern Rōṇ (ll. 3-5), and the virtues of an eminent local Brāhman named Āytavarma and his son Saṅkimiāyā, the latter of whom constructed a temple to the Mūlāsthāna god in Rōṇ (ll. 5-10). Saṅkimiāyā had an elder brother named Māchimaṇya, whose younger brother was Chāndimaṇya; and Māchimaṇya granted land for a rest-house for Brāhmanas (ll. 10-14). Next follow prose details of Māchimaṇya's gift of some lands and three oil-mills, etc., for the maintenance of the temple of Śiva, the trustees being the Hundred-and-four burgesses of Rōṇ (ll. 14-20). Next come three verses (ll. 20-25), from which we learn that he also constructed a well, and that his three sons Āytavarma, Rudrāmaṇya, and Dēchimaṇya made over their father's land-endowment to the custody of the Hundred-and-four; apparently there had been some delay in the formal transfer of the estates granted by Māchimaṇya, and probably he died in the interim. After this come two concluding Sanskrit stanzas (ll. 25-27), and then begins a new section, of which the first verse (ll. 27-28) speaks of a certain Ravikiya-Bhaṭṭa as possessing some estate. From this point the stone becomes more and more dilapidated: there remain only fragments of three more lines, which I have not thought worth while to print, as they give no consecutive sense. It is noteworthy that these three lines are in a slightly smaller and more cramped hand than the rest of the record, as I have remarked above. The rest of the stone has been lost, and hence it is impossible to determine the exact date when the epigraph in its present form was set up. Apparently it was intended as a composite record of the various charities of the family. The reference to the reigning king in ll. 1-3 and the character of the script shew that it cannot be later than about Śaka 964, and we have Śaka 944 as a *terminus ad quo*; hence it may be reasonably assigned to a date about midway between these limits.

The date of the first donation is given on ll. 14-15 as: Śaka 944, Dundubhi; Pushya ba. 14; Monday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is not perfectly regular, but may be accepted. The *tithi* specified corresponded to Tuesday, 25 December, A.D. 1022, whereas the *samkrānti* occurred 1 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December; but as the *tithi* ba. 14 began 3 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the Monday and ended 2 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, thus being current for 20 h. 45 m. on the Monday, the confusion is pardonable.¹

Only two places are mentioned, viz: Rōṇa, the modern Rōṇ (ll. 4, 9, 16, 21); and a spot of which the name began with Pushpa- (l. 16).

TEXT.²

[Metres:—vv. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, *Kandā*; vv. 2, 8, *Champakamālā*; v. 5, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 6, *Mattebhavikrīḍita*; vv. 10, 11, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

1 [Om] Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabha-

¹ I have again to thank Mr. R. Sewell, who unhappily has died since this paper was written, for his kindness in checking my calculations in this paper.

² From the ink-impression.

- 2 [ṭṭāraka]m Satyāśraya-kula-tilakaṁ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ śrīmaḥ-Jagadēkamalla-
dēvara vijaya-rāja-
- 3 [m=utta]r-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chandr-ārka-tāraṁ saluttam-ire |
Kandaṁ | Śrī-ramaṇi-pr[i*]yan=i—
- 4 [∪∪] Dvā[rāvatigaṁ Surēndran=Amarāvatigaṁ sāraṁ dharaṇi-vaniteya hāra[m]
śrī-Rōṇam=oppugurū
- 5 [vasu]matiyo | (||) [i*] Vṛittaṁ [i*] Enipa mah-āgrahāram=adaṇo[Vana-
jōdbhava-varṇśajarka]o[Manu-charita-pra-
- 6 [—∪]r=ene kottaḷivan=nega[d-o]gulakke mikk=anupama-dāni śiṣṭa-jana-vatsalaṁ=
Ivara dēvan=Aytava[r*]mmāne
- 7 [pa]ram-ārttham=endu dhare baṇṇisugurū vibudh-āgraganyan(n)aṁ | (||) [2*]
Kandaṁ | Ātaṁge sujana-jana-vikhyātaṁge jagaj-ja-
- 8 [n]-aika-nuta-charitaṁ nirdbhdūt-āgha-nichayam=urvvi-khyātaṁ śrī-Saṁkimayyan=ādaṁ
tanayaṁ | (||) [3*] Kshiti-valayaṁ
- 9 [ba]ṇṇisal=unnatiyaṁ māḍisidan=esevināṁ Rōṇado[unnatam-ene Mūla-sthān-āyatana-
man=ā Saṁkimayyan=e-
- 10 ne pogaḷadar-ār | (||) [4*] Vṛittaṁ | Ātaṁge=unna[t]a-kīrttig=agrajan=
udagraṁ Māchimagayyan jagat-khyātaṁ¹ nirmmaḷa-dharmman=ātan=a-
- 11 nujam śrī-Chandimagayy-āṁkan=uddhūt-āgh-aughan=enippan=irvvar-oḷag=ā śrī-Māchi-
magayyan dvija-vrātakk=unnata-satra-
- 12 bhūmiyan=idam biṭṭam mah-ōtsāhadim | (||) [5*] Oḷalam tāṁ sucharitrado[
dhanaman=udyad-dānado[nan[n]iyaṁ nuḍi-
- 13 yo[=bhaktiyan=eyde tandeyo[udagraṁ chittamaṁ santataṁ Mṛiḍa-pād-ābjado[=
āvagaṁ basanamam sad-dharmmadō[tā-
- 14 [didam gaḍad=ē vaṇṇipen=appa sach-charitamam śrī-Māchimagayy-āṁkanam | (||)
[6*] Ad=ent=e[ndode] | Śaka-varsha 944neya Durh-
- 15 dubhi=sarivatsarada Pushya=bahula 14 Sōmavāram=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇadandu
pannirvvar=brāhmaṇarge sa-
- 16 traṁ māḍi baṁd=ā Rōṇa-māḷado[50 mattar=ddanada keyyu[m*] dēvargge
Pushpa . . teṁkalurū 2 mattaram 335 kammada tōm-
- 17 tamurū soḍar-eṇṇege 3 ghāṇamumam sarvva-bādhā-parihāraṁ mānyaṁ māḍi
śrīman-nūra-nālvargge pāda-pūje[ge*] 50
- 18 gadyāṇa[m] ponnaṁ koṭṭa dharmmamam rakshisuvud=endu nirmmadhyam=
oppisidar-i dharmmamam rakshisidavargge Prayāge-Vāraṇāsi-
- 19 Kurukshētrado[=sāsira kavileya kōḍum kuḷagumam suvarṇṇado[khachiyisi sā-
survvar=vvēda-pāragar=appa brāhmaṇa-
- 20 rgge sūryya-grahāṇado[=koṭṭa puṇyam=ak[k*]um=idan=aḷidon=initunidevaruman²=aḷida
mahā-pātakan=ak[k*]um | Ka-
- 21 ndam | Jagatī-jana-hitamaṁ vibudha-gaṇ-āgrāṇi Māchimagayyan=urvvi-valayaṁ
pogaḷal Rōṇada maṇiyara nega-
- 22 [d=āramey-oḷage bāviyaṁ tōḍisidam | (||) [7*] Enisida Māchimagayya-vibu-
pa(dha)ṁg=eseyalke tanūjar=urvvarā-jana-
- 23 nutan=Aytavarimma-vibhu sach-charitaṁ sale Rudramayyan=atyanavarat-ēṣṭa-
dāni vibudh-āgrāṇi dhātrige Dēchima-

¹ Written as separate words, jagat khyātam.

² Apparently corrupt; we should expect something like initum=inivaruman.

- 24 [yyan]=atyanupamar=int=ivar=kramade tandeya māḍida bhūmi-dānamam [|| 8*]
 Parirakshisi vipra-kalēbara-bhānu-ga-
 25 [bhasti nūṛa]-nālvargg=atyādaradinde samarppisidar=paripālisim=endu chandra-
 tāra[m*]-baregam [|| 9*] Ślōkam [1*] Sva-dattām
 26 [para-dattām vā yō har]ēta vasundharām | shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām
 jāyatē kṛimiḥ | (||*) [10*] Akarasya karam(rī)-
 27 [karaṇam gō-sahasra-vadhaḥ smṛi]taḥ | kara-pravṛitti-vichchhēdād=gō-kōṭi-phalam=
 āsnutē | (||*) [11*] Kandaṁ | Neṭṭane shaṇ-māsam mugī-
 28 [] kaṭ[t]-ā=en[d]um
 Ravikiya-bhaṭṭam Nirguḍiyan=uṇṇa neleyan=tinnam | (||) [12*]¹

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3.) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the refuge of the whole world, darling of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chālukyas**, king **Jagadēkamalla**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) for as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Verse 1.) More excellent than the **Dvārāvati** of Lady Fortune's lover [**Kṛishṇa**] or than the **Amarāvati** of **Indra**, a pearl-necklace for the Lady Earth, the blest **Rōṇa** is conspicuous on earth.

(V. 2.) The great **Brāhmaṇic** fief so named—in it are men perfect (?) in the conduct (*prescribed*) by **Manu** among the scions of the race of the Lotus-born [**Brahman**]: one of this company, a man of peerless charities excelling in that illustrious good family, kindly to cultured men, a god of givers (*of bounty*), is **Āytavarma** in supreme truth: in such terms does the world laud that most eminent of sages.

(V. 3.) To him, who was renowned among good men, there was a son, the blest **Saṅkimayya**, whose conduct was uniquely praised by the people of the world, who dispelled the mass of sin, famed on the earth.

(V. 4.) With the circle of earth lauding (*his*) eminence, this **Saṅkimayya** constructed a **Mūla-sthāna** sanctuary such as to be conspicuous for magnificence in **Rōṇa**; for this who are there that do not praise (*him*)?

(V. 5.) He, exalted of fame, had an elder brother, the stately **Māchimayya**, world-renowned, stainless in religion; his younger brother, named the blest **Chandimayya**, is known as having dispelled the flood of sin. Of the two, this blest **Māchimayya** with great generosity granted to the company of **Brāhmaṇs** the land for a magnificent rest-house.

(V. 6.) He kept his body in righteousness, his wealth in noble charity, truth in speech, devotion fittingly towards his father, an eager spirit ever towards **Mṛiḍa's** lotus-feet, passion ever for the good Law: verily, O brother, how can I (*worthily*) extol the righteous man bearing the name of the blest **Māchimayya**?

(Ll. 14-20.) As regards the manner thereof:—On Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of **Pushya**, in the cyclic year **Dundubhi**, the 944th year of the **Śaka** (*era*), at the **uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti**, having made a rest-house for twelve **Brāhmaṇs**, and having come and made into an honorary estate for the god with immunity from all conflicting claims a corn-field

¹ The stone contains portions of three more lines, possibly by a later hand, on which see above (p 223).

of 50 *mattar* in the meadows of Rōṇa and south of Pushpa . . . 2 *mattar* and a garden of 335 *kanma* and 3 oil-mills to supply oil for lamps, he granted 50 *gadyāṇa* of gold for adoration of the feet to the Hundred-and-four, which pious endowment they undertook directly to maintain. To those who maintain this pious endowment will accrue the merit of decorating with gold the horns and hoofs of a thousand kine at Prayāga, Benares, or Kurukshētra and giving them, during an eclipse of the sun, to a thousand Brāhmaṇs learned in the Vēdas; he who destroys it will bear the same deadly sin as if he destroyed the same number of them.

(V. 7.) **Māchimayya**, leader of the company of sages, with the applause of the circle of earth caused to be dug in the splendid park of the intendants of Rōṇa a well, beneficial to the people of the world.

(Vv. 8 & 9.) As this sage **Māchimayya's** sons became distinguished, the lord **Āytavarma** praised by the people of the earth, the truly righteous **Rudramayya**, and **Dēchimayya**, a most unceasing dispenser of boons, a leader of sages in the world, were quite without peer: these four, in order preserving the land-endowment founded by (*their*) father, with the utmost respect transferred it to the [Hundred and] four, who are [rays] of the sun in the bodies of Brāhmaṇs, bidding them guard it for as long as moon and stars endure.

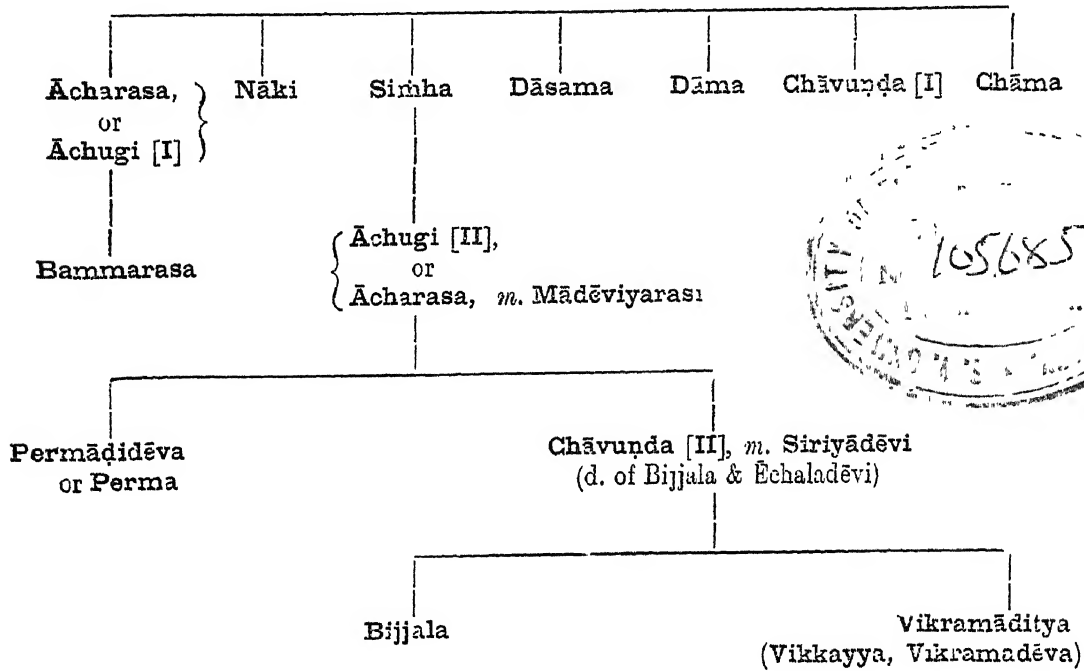
(Vv. 10, 11: two common Sanskrit formulæ.)

(V. 12.) . . . everywhere **Ravikiya—Bhaṭṭa** has enjoyed the estate that . . . possessed.

B.—OF THE REIGN OF SANKAMA AND THE SINDA VIKRAMADITYA : SAKA 1102.

The inscribed area of this epigraph is in width about 2 ft. 3 in. and in height nearly 5 ft. There is no record of any sculptures being attached to it. The character is Kanarese of the period, a generally well-formed ornate hand, decorated at the beginning with arabesque designs similar to those of the Kurgōḍ inscriptions published above, Vol. XIV, p. 265 ff. The height of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The cursive forms of *y* and *m* noted above, Vol. XII, p. 335, are found here: that for *m* occurs in ll. 38, 53, 75 (twice), and 77, and that for *y* in l. 19. The language is Kanarese, the metrical part being in the ancient language and the prose medieval; two formal stanzas (vv. 1 and 26) and a quotation from Manu (v. 25) are in Sanskrit. Sporadically *ay* is changed to *ey*, in °*vaḷeya*° (ll. 2, 19), *taneyam* (l. 28), and *abheyan* (l. 28). The prothesis of *y* in *yaupāsan-āgni* (l. 62) is noteworthy; so is the spelling *Āsvayija* (l. 66), which is the first step to the modern vernacular pronunciation *Āśvīja*. The ancient *ḷ* has not been preserved: it has been changed to *ḷ* in *negal*° (*passim*), *kṛṭ*= (l. 18), *eḷvnam* (l. 30), and to *r* in *ērvarum* (l. 26), ? *arvru* (l. 30), *negardda* (l. 39, prose), *negarda* (l. 43, prose), with loss in *eppattuman* (l. 56). *V* is changed to *b* in -*brāta*°, ll. 4, 14, -*braja*°, l. 47, -*byūha*°, l. 50, -*bratiy*, l. 51, -*svayambaram*, l. 57. The change of *p* to *h* occurs in the verse portion only in *Hoysalana* (l. 32) and *Torahanam* (l. 33; but *Torapa*° in the prose titles, l. 63), and in the prose in *Huriya* (ll. 67, 71, 73), *hamneradu* (l. 70), and *hola*° (ll. 71-72, 78-79), by the side of *paḍuva* (l. 71) and *paḍuvatu* (l. 78), both in prose. The *upadhmānīya* appears in *amītaḥpura*° (l. 40). On the lexical side we may note *prōjjrīmḥita* (l. 9), *ānamna* (l. 12), the list of technical names of towns and villages (*paṭṭana*, l. 14; *saṁvāḥuna*, l. 14; *khēḍa*, l. 14; *khārvaḍa*, l. 14 f.; *maḍamba*, l. 15; *drōṇā-mukha*, l. 15), and *kāmbi* (ll. 71 f., 78 f.; also found in the Ālūr inscr. of Śaka 933, above, Vol. XVI, p. 27). Part of the text, viz. the passages from *Anu sogayisuva* on l. 6 to *Kumtaḷ-ōrvvi-vilāsum* on l. 13 and from *Vilāsum* on l. 21 to *emdaḍe* on l. 24, together with vv. 14, 16, 19, 20, and 21, occur also in No. L. of the inscriptions of Sūḍi published above, Vol. XV, pp. 109 ff.

The record, after the opening verse, proceeds to extol the ocean (ll. 2-6), Jambū-dvīpa (ll. 6-8), Mount Mēru (ll. 8-10), Kuntala (ll. 11-16), and the king of Kuntala, the **Kaṭachurya Saṅkama**, to whose reign it formally refers itself (ll. 16-21). It then mentions the province of Kisukāḍu (ll. 21-22) and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara ruling it, the **Sinda Vikramādēva**, also known as **Vikkayya** or **Vikramāditya** (ll. 22-23),¹ giving the pedigree of the latter as follows (ll. 23-49) :—



This differs in some slight details from the pedigree given in the Sūḍi record above, Vol. XV, p. 109. It moreover supplements it by adding the mention of Bammarasa and by stating that Āchugi II conquered the Male or Highlands of the Ghāts, defeated the king of **Ḍāhaḷa** (Chēdi), sacked **Uppina-kaṭṭe**, and killed the **Gaṅga** of **Kaḍāra** (on which see below), and that Permāḍidēva captured the **Hoysala** king's elephants and treasure-waggon as well as the **Torapa**² himself (vv. 13, 15). Next, we are introduced to **Bāhaya-Sāhaṇi**, a distinguished Master of the Horse, general, and *bhūṭana-niyōgi* or 'holder of seventy-two offices' in the service of the Sinda Vikramāditya (ll. 49-55); it was on his petition that the present grant was made. The occasion of it was when Vikramāditya, having been moved by hearing a sermon on the text Manu VIII. 15, was making a number of charitable endowments and gifts in honour of his late father (ll. 55-70), and the trustee was **Gurubhaktadēva**, a Śaiva divine of the **Parvata**³ school of the Kālāmukha church, the beneficiaries being the local sanctuaries of **Chāmēśvara** and **Māḷēśvara**. A specification of the boundaries of the land then follows (ll. 70-74), with a concluding verse (ll. 74-75) and some supplementary endowments by Vikramāditya and his brother Bijjala or Bijjala (ll. 75-80).

¹ On the Sinda dynasty see above, Vol. XIV, pp. 268-270, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 572 ff.

² Apparently the head of some hostile tribe of that name; cf. the title *Torapa-kuṭ-āmtakar*, "slayers of the Torapa race," applied in the present record, l. 63, to the burgesses of Rōṇ, and the reference in the Hūli inscription above, Vol. XVIII, p. 200.

³ As this name shows, the school was derived from Kashmir. Cf. *Ep. Carn.* VII. i. Sk. 114, etc.

The date is given in l. 66 as : Śaka 1102 (current), Vikāri; the new-moon day of Āsvayuja, Monday. This is not perfectly regular. The *tithi* mentioned corresponded to Tuesday, 2 October, A.D. 1179, on which day it ended 13 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain).¹

The places mentioned are Kuntala (ll. 13 f., 16, 21 f.), Kisukāḍu (ll. 22, 67) and the Kisukāḍu Seventy (l. 56), Dāhaḷa (l. 29), Uppina-kaṭṭe (l. 29), Kaḍāra (l. 30), Erambarage or Yerambarage (ll. 57 f., 61), Rōṇa (ll. 63, 68, 71, 78), Hiriya Maṇiyūr (ll. 67, 71, 73, 78 f.) Chikka Maṇiyūr (l. 72), Mudiyanūr (ll. 72, 77, 79), and Maṇiyūr (l. 76). On Kisukāḍu see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX (1901), p. 259 ff. Dāhaḷa is the kingdom of Chēdi. Kaḍāra, evidently the same as the Kiḍāram or Kaḍāram of several other records, is rather difficult to locate. Mr. Venkayya (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 109) and Dr. Hultsch (above, Vol. IX, p. 231) seem to be right in placing it on the western coast of Burma or thereabouts in regard to other records; but here it is rather hard to believe that the arms of the Sindas could reach so far. The words *Kaḍāra-Gaṅga* in l. 30 must mean a Gaṅga prince ruling in Kaḍāra, and suggest that there was a place of that name in or near the territory of the Gaṅgas in India, from which a colonial Kaḍāra on the other side of the Bay of Bengal might have taken its name. Erambarage is Yelburga, situate in Lingsugur District of the Nizam's Dominions, in lat. 15° 37' and long. 76° 3'; we here learn (l. 57) that it bore the title of *Lakṣmī-svayamvara*. Rōṇa is the modern town of Rōṇ. Hiriya Maṇiyūr, given as "Hire-Manur" on the Bombay Survey sheet No. 332 and as "Heereh Munnoor" on the Indian Atlas sheet 41, is in long. 75° 42' and lat. 15° 42½'. Chikka Maṇiyūr, the "Chik-Manur" of the Survey and "Chika Munnoor" of the Atlas, lies in long. 75° 42½' and lat. 15° 40½'. Maṇiyūr may possibly denote these two towns collectively. Mudiyanūr may perhaps have some connection with the modern village of Mudengudi ("Moodiangoodee" on the Indian Atlas), which lies in long. 75° 43' and lat. 15° 44½'; the former name is to be analysed as *Mudiyana ūr*, "the elder's village," and the latter as *Mudiyana kuḍi*, "the elder's homestead" (or perhaps *guḍi*, "temple").

TEXT.²


[Metres:—vv. 1, 25, 26, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 24, *Utpalāmālā*; vv. 3, 5, 6, 8, *Mahāśragdharā*; vv. 4, 13, 15, 17-21, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; vv. 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 22, 23, *Kanda*; v. 10, *Champakamālā*.]



- Śrī [1*] Namas-tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē [*] trailōkya-nagar-
 ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*] Vṛitta ||
- 2 Svasti samasta-bhū-vaḷe(la)ya-vēṣṭitam=uj[j*]vaḷa-mauktik-ādi-sad-vastu-vī(vi)kīrṇa-v=
 uchchaḷi(i)ta-tuṅga-taraṅga-sa-
- 3 hasra-mālikā-nyasta-viyat-taḷam sogayis-irppudu bhāvisi nōḍe nāḍe lōka-stutam-āgi
 ma-

¹ Mr. R. Sewell has informed me that practically the same result is reached if we follow the *Siddhānta-śirōmaṇi*, which gives as *tithi*-index 9809, as against the 9810 of the *Ārya-siddhānta*. He also points out an interesting fact in this connection. As the *amāvāsyā-tithi* (ba. 15) ended shortly after sunset on Tuesday, the preceding Monday night was the Dipāvali festival; see Kielhorn's list of "Festal Days" in *J. A.*, Vol. XXVI, 1907, p. 184. Kielhorn there says that the "principal day" of the festival was the one in which the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Svāti. Mr. Sewell's new table XLVIII A however shews that the moon entered Svāti, according to the equal space system, 17 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday; hence Tuesday was the "principal day" of the Dipāvali in A.D. 1179, though apparently the festival at any rate began on Monday night while the *amāvāsyā-tithi* was current. The *Siddhānta-śirōmaṇi* also given a similar result.

² From the ink-impression.

- 4 tsya-makar-ōtkara-saṁsthita-ghūrṇṇit-ārṇṇavaṁ || [2*] Jaḷa-hasti-brāta-hast-āhatiyin-
ogedu nuṇ-muttugaḷu sūṣe tira-sthaḷiyoḷu
- 5 mey-verchchi mēgaṁṇg=ogedu teraḷe nūṁkutte śubhr-ābhramaṁ nirmmaḷa-
kallōḷ-aughadiṁdaṁ gagana-taḷake tūṁ-
- 6 t-iṭṭa vōl=ikshisalu kaṇ-golikum bhūgōḷamaṁ sutt=iṇid=atulaṭara-dhvānav=ambhōṇi(ni)-
dhānaṁ || [3*] Vachana || Antu sogayi-
- 7 suva muṁṇire mērey=āgi nī(ni)khīḷa-dvipa-kuḷa-kudhara-kuhara-kumja-ramjitamūṁ
aśēsha-dōsh-āpaharaṇa-
- 8 paṛi(ri)ṇata-prabhāva-sukshētramum=enī(ni)si sogayisuva Jambū-dvipada naṭṭa-
naḍuve || Vṛi || Sura-kāntā-rata-kūjita-pra-
- 9 tirava-prōjirimbhitam¹ kiṁnari-vara-gīt-ārava-mōhita-dvipa-kuḷam sidhdh-āṁganā-pāda-
paṁkaruha-prāṁchita-kum-
- 10 kuma-sthagī(gi)ta-chaṁchach-chaṁdra-kānt-ōpaḷam karam=opp-ippudu ratna-kūṭa-
ramaṇiyam Mēru-dhātridharam || [4*] Ā Kām-
- 11 chan-āchaḷada dakshiṇa-dig-bhāgaḍoḷu Bharata-kshētram=embud=irppud=adaḷoḷu ||
Polan²=ellaṁ gaṁdha-śāḷi-prakara-pa-
- 12 rivri(vṛi)taṁ naṁdana-śrēṇiy=ellaṁ phaḷa-bhār-ō(ā)namna-chūt-āvanī(ni)ja-ḷaḷaḷayitam³
dirghhik-āṇikam=ellaṁ daḷi(i)t-āmbhōjāta-
- 13 rēṇu-sthagita-lalitam=ūr-ūrggaḷ=ellaṁ prajā-saṁkuḷa-gō-dhānya-prakīrṇṇ-āṁchitam=enal-
esegum Kumtaḷ-ōrvvī-viḷāsam || [5*]
- 14 Ā Kumtaḷa-dēsadoḷu || Palavum grāmaṁgaḷim paṭṭaṇa-nikaradi(de) saṁvāhana-
brātadiṁ pēsha(śā)ḷa-khēḍa-vyūhadim kha-
- 15 rvvaḍa-nagara-maḍamb-aughadiṁ kūḍe cheluvam taḷeda drōṇāmukha-śrēṇiyin=eseva
nadi-jāḷadiṁ bhūri-bhū-maṁḍa-
- 16 ḷadoḷu kaṇṇ-ēḍḍam=āg-irppudu ruchirateyim madhya-dēsam viśēsham || [6*]
Tatu-Kumtaḷ-ādhipati bhāsvat-kīrtti-viḷāsan=udhdhat-ārā-
- 17 ti-mahībhri(bhṛi)t-Kuḷīsa-daṁḍan=adaṭa chaṁatkāram śauryya-śāḷi Saṁkamadēvaṁ ||
[7*] Ā dēs-ādhiśvarana bhuja-
- 18 pratāpam=enṭ=enṭaḍe || Baḷavad-vidviṣṭa-bhūpāḷakaran=uṇade kīṭ=ikki tadd-rājya-
chihnaṁgaḷan=udyad-dēsa-kōśaṁgaḷan=a-
- 19 vayavadiṁ koṁḍu sal-lileyimdaṁ jaḷadhi-vyāvēshṭit-ōrvvī-vaḷe(ḷa)yav=anitumam
tāḷdidam taṁna dōr-mmaṁḍa-
- 20 ḷadoḷu niśsaṁka-Laṁkēsvaran=amaḷa-yaśam Saṁkama-kshōṇipāḷam || [8*] Ant-
enisida Kaḷachuryya-chakravartti(rtti) Saṁkama-dēvarasa-
- 21 ra rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vṛi)dhdhi-pravardhdhamānam-ā-chaṁdr-ārka-tāram
saluttam-ire ||  Viḷasitam=enipa Kum-
- 22 taḷa-dēsadoḷu bahu-phaḷa-dhānya-dhēnu-dhana-pūrṇṇav=enisuv=ūrggaḷa nele nāḍu
Kisukāḍu || Ā nāḍan=āḷvan=artthi-jan-ānam-

¹ Read *prōjirimbhitam*.² The first *ḷa* is superfluous.³ The *prēsa* is imperfect, *ḷ* rhyming with *l*, in verses 5-6.

- 23 dha(da)m **Sim̄da**-maṇḍalika-tilakam tējō-nidhi **Vikramadēvar̄** Śrī-nāṇḍanan-
eseye tamna lalit-ākāram || [9*] Ā jagadu-
- 24 vīran=anvay-āvatāram=em̄t=em̄daḍe || Para-nr̄i(nr̄i)pa-marddanam subhaṭan=**Ācharasam**
kali Nāki=bhūmipam suruchira-kīrtti **Sim̄ha**-
- 25 vi(vi)bhuv=aggada **Dāsama**-maṇḍalēśvaram narapati **Dāma**-bhūmipati śauryya-
dhanam vinutam **Chauvum̄da**¹-bhūvaran=ene mūrtti
- 26 **Chāma**-nr̄ipān=em̄ba sahōdha(da)r-ar=ādar=ērvvarum || [10*] Avar-oḷag=**Āchugi**-
bhūpaṅg=aviraḷa-śi(si)ta-kīrtti puṭṭidam **Bammarasam** bhuva-
- 27 na-jana-stutyam pārtthiva-Pārttham **Sim̄da**-vaṁśa-chūdāratnam || [11*] Ātanḍa-
vuṭṭidam vikhyāta-yaśam **Sim̄ha**-bhūmipā-
- 28 ḷana tane(na)yam pātī(ti)ta-ripu-nr̄i(nr̄i)pa-varggam bhūtaḷadoḷu negaḷdan
abhe(bha)yan=**Āchugi**=bhūpam || [12*] Maleyam
- 29 sādhiśi **Dāha**-ādhipatiyam beṁ-kom̄du mikk-irdda dōr-vvaladim̄=Uppina-
kaḍḍe(ṭṭe)yam kavardhdu(rdu) saṅgrēm-āgradol̄u sam-
- 30 ḍa mey-galiy=āg-irdda **Kaḍāra**-Gaṁḡanan=agurv=arvv=ēḷvinam kom̄du bhūtaḷa-
dol̄u tām=esedh(d)-irddan=**Āchugi**-nr̄i(nr̄i)pā-
- 31 ḷam **Sim̄da**-vaṁś-ōttamam || [13*] Ā negaḷd=**Ācharasam**gar̄m mānini² **Mā**-
dēviyarasigam puṭṭidan=urvvi-nuta-vibhavam satya-
- 32 nidhānam **Permmāḍi**-dēvan=apratima-yaśam || [14*] Ghana-bāhā-baḷadim̄de
Hoysaḷana matt-ēbhamgaḷam vastu-vāhanamam kom̄-
- 33 ḍ-atidhīranam **Toṛahanam** beṁ-kom̄du tūḷd-eydi muṭṭi neram-bārade kaṭṭi
tam̄du chaladhi(di)m **Chāḷukya**-rāyaṁge koṭṭan=anūna-pra-
- 34 baḷa-pratāpa-vibhavam **Permmāḍi**-bhūpālakam || [15*] Ene negaḷda **Permma**-
bhūbhujan=anujam vidviṣṭa-maṇḍalēśvara-kāmtā-
- 35 jana-karṇa-patra-vichchēdanan=apratima-pratāpi **Chavum̄da**-nr̄i(nr̄i)paṁ || [16*]
Vara-hōm-āgnita(ya) vāji-māṁsaman=alaṁpim̄ melva mātaṁga-bhī-
- 36 kara-kumbha-sthita-rakta-pānaman=arutt=ānāmdadim̄ pīrvva nishṭhura-nī(ni)strim̄sa-
nī(ni)j-āsiyoḷu neredu Dēvi-saṅgaram sādhipar=dh̄dhurado-
- 37 ḷu chitram=id=alte śatru-mahipar=**Chēhāvum̄da**-bhūpālaniṁ || [17*] Kuḷa-śaiḷam
rajaṭ-ādriyam jaḷadhi dugdh-āmbhōdhiyam vāhinī-
- 38 kuḷam=Im̄dhr(dr)-āpageyam tamāḷa-taru kaḷp-ōrvvijamam Vishṇu nī(ni)rmmaḷe
Gaṁgādharanam ḍaman³ nereye pōlt-irpp=a[m̄]negam parvvitt(t)=u-
- 39 j[j*]vaḷa-kīrtti dyuti-līeyi[m̄*] trijagamam **Chāvum̄da**-bhūpālaniṁ(na) || [18*]
Ant=enisī negaḷda śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram sāhas-ō-
- 40 ttum̄ga-Vīra-**Chāvum̄darasa**-dēvan=arddh-āṁga-Lakshmi paṭṭa-mahādēviy=am̄taḥpura-
mukha-darppane **Siriyādēvi**-
- 41 yarasiy=anvay-āvatāram=em̄t=em̄daḍe || Naranāth-āgraṇi **Bijjalām** **Kaḷachuri**-
ksh̄māpālan=ayyam guṇ-ākare-
- 42 y=ād=**Ēchaladēvi** tāyi nr̄i(nr̄i)pa-varam śrī-Vajradēvam sahōdaran=atyumnata-
Sim̄da-vaṁśyan=adhipam **Chāvum̄dan**=em̄dam̄de
- 43 dalu **Siriyādēviy**-ol=ār=eraḷ-kuladol̄am sampūjeyaru rāṇiyaru || [19*] Ant=enisī
negaḷda **Siriyādēviyara**-

¹ To be scanned *Chavum̄da*.² Read *mānini*.³ Perhaps an error for *diṭṭa* or something of the kind.

- 44 **sigam** Chāvumḍa-maṇḍaḷēśvaramgam puṭṭidar=ad=em̐t=em̐daḍe || Dhareyam
pālisal=em̐de Gaurige Gajāsyam Shanmukham Sīteg=u-
- 45 dhdhura-tējam Lava-bhūbhujam Kuśa-nri(nṛi)paṁ śrī-Dēvakī-dēvig=ādaradim̐dam
Bala-Kri(Kṛi)shṇar=udbhavipa volu lō-
- 46 k-ōttamar=pputṭidar=Ssiriyādēvig[e*] Vīra-Bijjala-nri(nṛi)paṁ Vikkayyan=em̐ba-
ātmajaru || [20*] Avar-oḷage || Prajeyam pāli(li)-
- 47 si dharmmamam̐ nī(ni)lisi si(śi)shṭa-vrātamaṁ kād=ari-brajamaṁ sōdu niraṁtaram
vipuḷa-lakshmi-dhāman=ādam mahībhu-
- 48 ja-chūdāmaṇi Sirm̐da-vam̐syam=ajitam̐ śrī-Vikkramādityan=āpta-jan-ōdyam̐-nidhi maṁ-
ḍaḷēsa-tīlakam̐ Chāvum̐ḍadēv-ātmajam̐ || [21*] Khyātam̐ bālyadoḷam̐ Mām̐.
- 49 dhātam̐ tām̐=enī(ni)si maṁḍaḷika-Mām̐dhātam̐ bhūtaḷamaṁ pālisidam̐ nūtana-Baliy=
enisī Vikkramāditya-nri(nṛi)paṁ || [22*] Tatu-pāda-padm-ōpa-
- 50 jīvi¹ || Āhava-dhīrana vidyu(dvi)ḍ-byūha-bhayam̐karana Vī(Vi)kkramādityana
saṁnāham̐ tām̐=ene Bācheya-Sāhaṇi śaraṇ-āgat-aika-rakshāmaṇi-
- 51 yam̐ || [23*] Satya-parākramam̐ para-hita-bratiy=em̐t=Erakāṭi Vikkramādityana
biḍinoḷu negaḷdan=am̐te jagam̐-nuta-vīra-Vikkramāditya-
- 52 na biḍinoḷu negaḷdan=i śu(su)bhaṭ-āgrāṇiy=em̐du baṇṇikūṁ bhri(bhṛi)tya-nidhāna-
nam̐ negaḷda Bācheya-Sāhaṇiyam̐ jagaj-janam̐ || [24*] Ant-akham̐ḍi-
- 53 ta-dōr-ddam̐ḍa-pratāpanum̐²=avam̐dhye(m̐dhya)-kōpanum̐ raṇa-raṁga-simhanum̐
vimaḷa-kīrtti-latā-kam̐danum̐ vijaya-lakshmi-kāṁtanum̐=enī-
- 54 sida mahā-pradhānam̐ sēnādhipati bāhattara-niyōgi maṁḍaḷika-sāhaṇi-śīrōmaṇi
śrīmatu-Bāchayā-Sāhaṇi-
- 55 ya bīrnapadim̐ || Svasti Samadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda-mahāmaṁḍaḷēśvaram̐
uddam̐ḍa-maṁḍaḷika-ripu-Madana-Mahēśvaram̐ Sirm̐da-Gōvim̐dam̐nuv³=udātta-Rā-
- 56 manum̐ vairi-maṁḍaḷika-śīrō-Vajra-dam̐danum̐=enisida śrīmanu-mahāmaṁḍaḷēśvaram̐
Vīra-Vikkramādityadēva-rasam̐ Kisukāḍ=eppattu-
- 57 man=āḷdu dushṭa-nigraha-śisṭa-paripālanadim̐ tribhōg-ābhyam̐tara-sidhdhiyim̐d=āḷdu
Lakshmi-svayam̐baram̐=enisida nija-rājadhāniy=app=E-
- 58 rambarageya nele-viḍinoḷu sukha-sam̐kathā-vinōdadim̐ rājyam̐-geyyuttam̐-irddu
dharmma-prasaṁgadoḷu ||
- 59 Dharmma ēva hatō ham̐ti dharm̐mō rakshati rakshitaḥ [1*] tasmād=dharm̐mō na
ham̐tavya[s*]=sarvv-aśvarya-phaḷ⁴-ēpsubhiḥ || [25*] em̐ba subhāśi(śi)ta-
vachanam̐gaḷam̐ kēḷdu tām̐
- 60 sājadim̐ dharmma-budhdhiy=appudaṇim̐dam̐ tamma bappam̐ śrīman-
mahāmaṁḍaḷēśvaram̐ Chāvum̐ḍarasa-dēvargge parōksha-vinayam̐(ya)-prā-
- 61 yaśchitta-nimittam̐ Yerambarageyalu bhū-dāna-gri(gṛi)ha-dāna-gō-dāna-suvārṇa-
dānam̐gaḷam̐ māḍuttam̐-irdda tat-kāladoḷu || Svasti Ya-
- 62 ma-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa - mō(mau)n - ānushṭhāna - parāyaṇa - japa - samādhi-
śi(śi)la-sam̐pannam̐ yau(au)pāsan-āgai-hōtra-
- 63 dvija-guru-dēva-pūjā-tatpararum̐ mārttam̐ḍ-ō[j*]vaḷa-kīrtti-yutaram̐ Torapa-kul-
āntakarum̐=appa śrīman-mah-āgrāhāram̐ Rōṇaḍa

¹ Read -*opajivi*.² Read -*Gōvim̐danuv*.³ Read -*pratāpanum*=.⁴ The scribe seems to have actually written -*aśvarya phaḷa*.

- 64 nūṛa-nālvar-aśēśa(sha)-mahājanamgaḷa saṁnidhānadāl-alliya Kalla-maṭṭhad-
āchāryya-Gurubhaktadēvargge || Avara guru-kuḷam=em̐t=em̐daḍe Kāḷā-
- 65 mukha-Parvvat-āvaḷi-tapō-nī(ni)shṭhā-parar=enisi negaḷda Koppina Vakhkhāṇadēvar=
avara śishyam Rudraśaktidēvaru avara śishya[m*] Jñānaśaktidēvar=ava-
- 66 ra śishyam Gurubhaktadēvargge Sa(Sa)ka-varsha 1102neya Vikāri-
samvatsarada Āsvayi(yu)jad=amavāse Sōmavāradam̐du tamma
- 67 Kisukāḍa nāḍa baḷiya bāḍam̐ Hiriya Maṇiyūra samasta-guṇa-viśēś(sh)-ōmnatar=
app-ūr-[o*]ḍeya-mukhyam̐¹=al[l*]iy-aṇuvatt[t*]=okka-
- 68 lum̐ samasta-prajegaḷu sahitaṁ Rōṇada Kalla-maṭṭa(ṭha)da Chāmēśvara-dēvara
nitya-pūjā-naivēdya-gaṁdha-dhūpa-dīpa-Chaitra-pavitram̐ naḍev-am̐t=ā-
- 69 giy=alliy=āchāryya Gurubhaktadēvara pāda-prakṣhālanam̐-geydu dhārā-pūrvvakam̐
māḍi rāja-dattiy=āgi sarvva-na-
- 70 masyam̐ māḍi koṭṭa keyi mattaru haṁneraḍu alliya Māḷēśvara-dēvara
naivēdyakke koṭṭa keyi mattar=eraḍu || Am̐t=ā vri(vri)ttige stha-
- 71 ḷav=āvud=em̐daḍe Hiriya Maṇiyūra mūḍaṇa holadiṁ kaḍeyalu Rōṇada
paḍuva-volada kam̐bi-
- 72 vodduge tem̐kalu Chikka Maṇiyūra holadiṁ baḍagalu kam̐bi-vodduge baḍagalu
Mudiyanūra holadiṁ tem̐kalu kam̐bi-vodduge am̐-
- 73 tu nālkuṁ deseyalu kavileya kallam̐ naṭṭu koṭṭaru || Im̐t=ī dharmmamam̐
Hiriya Maṇiyūra vūr-oḍeyanum̐ samasta-
- 74 prajegaḷum̐ sadharmmadim̐ pratipālisuvaru || Dānam̐ vā pālanam̐ v=āpi dānāch=
chhrēyō=nupālanam̐ [i*] dānāt=svarggam̐=avāpnōti pā-
- 75 lanād=achyutam̐ padaṁ || [26*] Vira-Bijjaṇadēvanum̐ Vikkarasanum̐ kerege
mattar=eraḍu aṇavat[i*]gege mattar=eraḍu am̐tu
- 76 biṭṭa mattaru 4 Maṇiyūra ūr-oḍeyarum̐ aṇuvatt=okkalum̐ pratipālisu-
varu || ©
- 77 Mattam̐ Vira-Bijjaṇadēvarasanum̐ Vikkara[sa*]num̐ Kalla-maṭṭhada
Chāmēśva(śva)ra-dēvarige biṭṭa keyi Mudiyanūra
- 78 he(ho)ḷad=olage mattaru 6 Rōṇada he(ho)ḷada kam̐biy-oddugey=āgi paḍuvalu
Hiriya Ma-
- 79 niyūra he(ho)ḷada kam̐biy-oddugey=āgi baḍagalu Mudiyanūra ūr-oḍeyarum̐
aṇ[u*]va-
- 80 tt=okkalum̐ pratipālisuvaru ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu lovely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the construction of the city of the Threefold World.

(Verse 2.) Hail! surrounded by the ring of the whole earth, abounding in goodly treasures of brilliant pearls and the like, decking the face of the sky with garlands of thousands of upspringing lofty waves, the tossing Ocean tenanted by crowds of fishes and dolphins, when one gazes in meditation, is fair to the sight, being exceedingly praised by the world.

¹ Read -mukhyam̐.

(V. 3.) When, swelling up on its shores, rising aloft, beating against the bright sky, it rocks about so that fine pearls arising from the blows of the trunks of troops of water-elephants are showered around, the Ocean, most incomparable in its thunders, surrounding the globe of the world, attracts the eye as one gazes, as though it were driving holes in the face of the heavens with its floods of stainless billows.

(Ll. 6-8.) In the very middle of Jambū-dvīpa, which, with the ocean thus resplendent as its bound, is brilliant in being adorned with grotto-bowers in the principal mountains of all the continents and in being a blessed land richly endowed with power to remove all guilt—

(V. 4.) Conspicuous indeed is Mount Mēru, charming with jewelled peaks, which is full of echoes of the murmurs of celestial damsels' amorous dalliance, where the tribes of birds¹ are fascinated by the sounds of Kinnaris' sweet songs, and where brilliant moonstones are besmeared with lustrous saffron from the lotus-feet of Siddhas' wives.

(Ll. 10-11.) On the south of this Golden Mountain is the land of Bharata : in it—

(V. 5.) All the fields are encompassed by lines of fragrant rice-crops; all the series of parks encircled by mango-trees bending with the weight of fruit; all the multitudes of pools charmingly powdered with pollen of bursting lotuses; all the towns splendidly abounding in crowds of people, kine, and grain : thus appears the bright aspect of the land of Kuntala.

(L. 14.) In this land of Kuntala—

(V. 6.) With many villages, with numbers of market-towns, with crowds of store-places, with multitudes of elegant hamlets, with abundance of *kharvaḍa*-villages, towns, and *maḍamba*-villages, together, with a series of beautiful *drōṇā-mukha*-towns,² with the multitude of rivers, the central province is unique amidst the realms of the vast earth in charming the eye with its loveliness.

(V. 7.) The lord of this Kuntala is the heroic king *Saṅkama*, brilliant with lustrous glory, a Thunderbolt-wielder [Indra] to the mountains, haughty foes, a miracle of valour.

(Ll. 17-18.) As regards the splendour of the arm of the lord of this land :—

(V. 8.) King *Saṅkama*, an intrepid Lord of *Laṅkā*,³ stainless of glory, unceasingly tearing up and destroying puissant hostile monarchs, winning, member by member, their emblems of royalty (and) the treasures of their noble lands, in fine sport has supported on the circle of his arm the whole ring of the ocean-encompassed earth.

(Ll. 20-21.) While the reign of the *Kaṭachurya* emperor thus described, *Saṅkama-dēvarasa*, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Ll. 21-22.) In the bright land of Kuntala is *Kisukāḍu*, a province containing towns that are full of abundant fruit, grain, kine, and money.

(V. 9.) The ruler of this province is a delight to the needy, an ornament of *Sinda Maṇḍalikas*, a treasure of splendour, *Vikramadēva*, a child of Fortune,⁴ whose own charming form is conspicuous.

(Ll. 23-24.) As regards the lineage of this world-hero :—

(V. 10.) There were seven brethren, to wit, the warrior *Ācharasa*, who crushed hostile monarchs, the valiant king *Nāki*, prince *Simha* most brilliant of fame, the excellent baron *Dāsama*, king *Dāma*, lord of men, the famed person, rich in valour, known as king *Chāvuṇḍa*, (and) king *Chāma*.

¹ [The text (p. 229, l. 9 above) has *dvīpa* which means 'elephant'. Perhaps *dvīja* is meant.—Ed.]

² Definitions of the terms *grāma*, *paṭṭaṇa*, *saṁvāhana*, *khēḍa*, *kharvaḍa*, *ṇagara*, *maḍamba*, and *drōṇa-mukha* are to be found in the *Kāṁikāgama* XX. 4-10 and *Yugādi-dēśanā* V. 50; cf. my translation of *Anugāḍa-dasāo*, p. 45 n.

³ A variation of the commoner title *nīśaṅka-Rāma*.

⁴ *Śrī-nandana*, a play on the name of his mother *Siriyādēvi* (see below).

(V. 11.) Among these, there was born to king **Āchugi, Bammarasa**, possessing abundant bright fame, lauded by the folk of the world, a **Prithā's** son (**Arjuna**) among monarchs, a crest jewel of the **Sinda** race.

(V. 12.) The son of his (**Āchugi's**) full-brother the renowned king **Simha**, the fearless king **Āchugi (II)**, who laid low troops of hostile sovereigns, was illustrious on earth.

(V. 13.) Overcoming the **Highlands**, driving into flight the lord of **Ḍāhala**, with exceeding strength of arm sacking **Uppina-katte**, slaying in the forefront of battle that worthy man of true valour the **Gaṅga** of **Kaḍāra** when his awful power of destruction was at its height, king **Āchugi**, best of the **Sinda** race, was in turn illustrious on the earth.

(V. 14.) To this distinguished **Ācharasa** and his high-spirited consort **Mādēviyarasi** was born **Permāḍidēva** of world-renowned majesty, a treasure of truthfulness, incomparable in glory.

(V. 15.) By the strength of his robust arm winning the **Hoysala's** fiery elephants (*and*) treasure-waggons, driving into flight the very bold **Toraha**, pursuing, approaching, coming into touch, binding (*him*) with none coming to aid, king **Permāḍi**, splendid in perfect puissant majesty, boldly carried (*him*) off and handed (*him*) over to the **Chāḷukya** king.

(V. 16.) The younger brother of this distinguished king **Perma** was king **Chāvunḍa (II)**, who plucked away the leaves in the ears of hostile barons' mistresses, incomparable in majesty.

(V. 17.) On meeting with the blade pertaining to (*his*) grim sword, which devours splendidly the flesh of horses (*destined as it were*) for noble oblation-fires, (*and*) stabbing drinks joyfully draughts of blood lodged in the terrible temples of elephants, enemy kings, strange to say, do verily in battle fulfil the vow of the Goddess by means of king **Chāvunḍa**.¹

(V. 18.) The brilliant fame of king **Chāvunḍa** has spread through the triple world with the sport of its lustre, so that the central mountains become verily like to the Silver Mountain (*i.e.*, **Vaitāḍhya**), the ocean to the Sea of Milk, the series of rivers to **Indra's** stream, the *tamāla* trees (*Xanthochymus pictorius*) to the Tree of Desire, **Vishṇu** to the stainless Bearer of the Ganges (**Śiva**).²

(Ll. 39-41.) As regards the lineage of **Siriyādēviyarasi**, the Fortune forming half the body of the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** king **Vīra-Chāvunḍarasa** exalted in valour who was thus illustrious, his royal consort, the mirror to the face of the seraglio :—

(V. 19.) Seeing that her father was the **Kaḷachuri** monarch **Bijjala**, foremost of lords of men, her mother **Ēchaladēvi**, a mine of virtues, her brother the blest **Vajradēva**, best of kings, her husband **Chāvunḍa**, scion of the most exalted **Sindas**, what queens forsooth in the two races were so highly honoured as **Siriyādēvi**?

(Ll. 43-44.) As regards the (*sons*) born to this illustrious **Siriyādēviyarasi** and the **Maṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍa** :—

(V. 20.) As to **Gaurī**, for the protection of earth, were born the Elephant-faced (*i.e.*, **Gaṇēśa**) and **Shanmukha**, as to **Sitā** king **Lava** immense of splendour (*and*) king **Kuśa**, as to the blest lady **Dēvakī** by act of grace were born **Bala** and **Kṛishṇa**, (*so*) were born to **Siriyādēvi** as sons, best of the world, king **Vīra-Bijjala** (*and*) **Vikkayya**.

¹ The meeting of the enemy kings with **Chāvunḍa's** sword is compared to the union of devotees of **Kālī** with the hierophant. **Chāvunḍa's** sword destroys their horses and elephants, as the priest's knife slaughters the victims presented by worshippers before they are burned in the fire.

² The whiteness of his fame makes every dark-coloured object appear to be of a brilliant white hue. The rhetorical figure is *tad-guna*.

(L. 46.) Of these (*two sons*) :—

(V. 21.) Guarding (*his*) subjects, establishing religion, protecting men of culture, driving away foes, the blest **Vikramāditya**, crest-jewel of monarchs, scion of the **Sindas**, invincible, an exalted treasure to friends, an ornament of barons, son of king **Chāvunḍa**, has been everlastingly a seat of abounding fortune.

(V. 22.) King **Vikramāditya**, renowned even in boyhood as a very **Māndhātā**, has protected the earth, a **Māndhātā** among barons, known as a new **Bali**.

(Ll. 49-50.) One who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet—

(V. 23.) **Bācheya-Sāhaṇi**, a unique protective gem for seekers of his protection, known as the very armour of **Vikramāditya** stout in the fray (*and*) terrible to hosts of foemen :—

(V. 24.) “As flourished in the palace of **Vikramāditya**, **Eṛakāṭi** true in valour (*and*) devoted to the weal of others, so there has flourished in the palace of the world-famed hero **Vikramāditya** this most eminent of warriors” : thus the people of the world extol the illustrious **Bācheya Sāhaṇi**, a treasure to dependents.

(Ll. 52-55.) On the petition of **Bāchayya Sāhaṇi**, the High Minister, General of the Forces, holder of seventy-two offices, head-jewel of princely Officers of the Stables, who is thus styled ‘majestic with invincible rod-like arm, not to be baulked in wrath, lion on the stage of battle, root of the creeping-plant of stainless fame, beloved of the Fortune of victory’—

(Ll. 55-61.) Hail! While the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** who has obtained the five great (*musical*) sounds, the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya-dēvarasa**, who is styled “a **Mahēśvara** to the Love-god haughty hostile barons, a **Gōvinda** of the **Sindas**, a **Rāma** among the noble, a Thunderbolt-wielder to the heads of opponent barons,” administering the **Kisukāḍu Seventy**, and governing it so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, with internal authority over the three forms of enjoyment,¹ was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations in his capital city the standing camp of **Erambarage**, which is styled **Lakshmi's Svayamvara**, in the course of a religious address he heard the following moral verses : “Religion when harmed harms, religion when guarded guards ; therefore religion should not be harmed by those who desire fruits of paramount lordship.”² As he himself was naturally of a godly spirit, he dispensed in **Erambarage** gifts of lands, houses, kine, and gold in pious memory of his father the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍarasa-dēva** and for the lustration (*of his soul*) ; and in the course thereof :—

(Ll. 61-64.) In the presence of all the Hundred-and-four **Mahājanas** of the Great **Agrahāra of Rōṇa**, who are—hail!—devoted to the performance of the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, and practice of silence, observant of prayer and absorption, attentive to libation in the domestic fire and to reverence of **Brāhmaṇs**, elders, and gods, having glory brilliant as the sun, destroyers of the race of the **Toṛapas** :—

(Ll. 64-66.) To **Gurubhakta-dēva**, prior of the **Kalla-Maṭha** (=Stone monastery) of that place :—As regards his spiritual lineage : **Koppina Vakhkhāpadēva**, renowned as being devoted to the ascetic practice of the **Parvat-āvali** (=Mountain-school) of the **Kālāmukhas** ; his disciple **Rudrasakti-dēva** ; his disciple **Jñānasaktidēva** ; to his disciple **Gurubhakta-dēva**—

(Ll. 66-70.) On Monday, the new-moon day of **Āsvayuja** in the cyclic year **Vikāri**, the 1102nd year of the **Śaka** (*era*) (*the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramādityadēva*), in company with the local sixty households and whole population of **Hiriyā Maṇiyūr**, a town forming part of

¹ See *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 271.

² *Manu* VIII. 15.

his province of **Kisukād**, headed by the mayor, who are eminent for all excellences of virtue, did with laving of the feet of the local prior **Gurubhaktadēva** and pouring of water make over as a royal gift on *sarva-namasya* tenure a field of twelve *mattar* for the maintenance of the regular worship, oblations, fragrances, incense, lamps, and *Chaitra-pavitra*¹ of the god **Chāmēśvara**, in the **Kalla-Maṭha** (stone monastery) of **Rōṇa**, (and) a field of two *mattar* for the oblations of the local god **Māḷēśvara**.

(L. 70-74.) Now as regards the area comprised in this endowment: on the four sides, to wit, at the side by the eastern field of **Hiriya Maṇiyūr**, the *kambi*-junction of the western field of **Rōṇa**, on the south the *kambi*-junction on the north of the field of **Chikka Maṇiyūr**, on the north the *kambi*-junction on the south of the field of **Mudiyanūr**, they set up stones (*engraved with the figure*) of a cow. Thus the mayor of **Hiriya Maṇiyūr** and all the population shall maintain this pious foundation according to its rule.

(V. 26 : a standing Sanskrit formula.)

(Ll. 75-76.) The 4 *mattar* which **Vira-Bijjaṇa-dēva** and **Vikkarasa** granted, namely two *mattar* for the tank (and) two *mattar* for the alms-booth, the mayors of **Maṇiyūr** and the sixty Households shall preserve.

(Ll. 77-80.) Moreover, the field granted by **Vira-Bijjaṇa-dēvarasa** and **Vikkarasa** to the god **Chāmēśvara** of the Stone-monastery, 6 *mattar* within the field of **Mudiyanūr**, on the west forming a *kambi*-junction of the field of **Rōṇa**, on the north forming a *kambi*-junction of the field of **Hiriya Maṇiyūr**, the mayors of **Mudiyanūr** and the sixty Households shall preserve.

No. 39.—TWO HARSOLA COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF THE PARAMARA SIYAKA OF V. S. 1005.

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A. AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

The two grants published here are in the possession of a Visanagarā Nāgar Brahman named **Bhaṭṭ Magan Motiram** of the village **Harsola** in the **Parāntij** taluka of the **Ahmadābād** District of **Gujarāt**. Rao Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva of **Ahmadābād** first obtained information about them and tried his best to secure them for the preparation of impressions. The owner was unwilling to part with them for any consideration. He, however, allowed Rao Bahadur Dhruva to have them photographed and lent them for a few hours for personal examination. The Rao Bahadur kindly placed the photographs at our disposal for the purpose of deciphering and publication. Subsequently through the kind efforts of Mr. Dayabhai P. Derasari, Bar-at-law of **Ahmadābād**, the Brahman lent to us the plates for a few days for taking impressions from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

The grants, herein called A & B, consist of two plates each, engraved only on the inner side. All the four plates were most probably joined together by means of a ring passing through a small hole in the centre at the bottom of the first and third and the top of the second and fourth plates. Mr. Dhruva informs us that two of the plates were found joined together by a ring, the remaining two being loose. From the presence of the **Garūḍa** symbol on only one of the sets of the plates it, however, seems probable that all the four plates were originally joined together, the grants being issued by the same king on the same day to two Brahmins, related to each other as father and son. For the sake of convenience the father's grant has been designated in this article as grant

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

A and the son's, as B. At the left hand bottom of the second plate of grant A is incised the figure of flying Garuḍa holding a snake in his left arm. The Garuḍa symbol is found on some of the Rāshtrakūṭa records, the newly discovered Ahmadābād grant of V. S. 1026 of Siyaka himself¹ and the plates of the Paramāra princes Vākpati-Muñja and Bhōja, the son and the grandson, respectively, of Siyaka of these grants.

The grant A has 27 lines of writing, 16 being written on the first and 11 on the second plate. In grant B, there are 29 lines, 13 in the first plate and 16 in the second. The first plate has been more carefully engraved. The writer of the grant B began with bold letters and had to compress the concluding few lines within a short space, the penultimate line being incised practically on the edge and the last word written vertically on the right hand margin.

The **characters** used in the plates belong to the northern class of alphabets prevalent in the 10th century A.D. and generally resemble the letters of contemporary inscriptions, e.g., the Parīābgarh inscription² of the time of the Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla II, dated Samvat 1003. The use of the archaic as well as the advanced forms of letters in these two grants would indicate that the alphabet employed in them was undergoing a change during the period to which they belong. A few examples may be given to illustrate this point. Initial *a* is found in at least three different forms, (cf. *a* in *adrishṭa*, in grant A, line 19 and grant B, line 21 and in *anumantavyaḥ*, in grant B, line 25). In grant A, the initial *ā* is a triangle with the apex at the bottom (line 8). Of the consonants, *kha* occurs in grant A in the older form with loops to the left of each of the two verticals; while in grant B it approximates to the modern Nāgarī form (see *kha* in l. 3). In grant A, *ta* occurs more frequently in the earlier form in which the top vertical is straight and the lower limb consists of two curves, the one on the right being at times longer. In grant B, the modern form of *tā* where the right curve is merely the continuation of the top vertical, is more predominant. The letter *pha* occurs in grant A in a rare form resembling the Greek ϕ .

Regarding **orthography**, it may be noted that no distinction is observed between *va* and *ba*, as in most of the inscriptions of the period. Dental *sa* is substituted for *śa* in *visāla* (line 11). The *ha* of *simha* is changed into *gha* in two places (ll. 1 and 6). The use of the *anusvāra* is generally preferred to that of the class nasal; in some cases both the *anusvāra* and the class nasal are used (cf. *avalambita*, grant A, line 11). Some mistakes are repeated in both the grants, e. g., *triṇa* is written as *triṇa* in *triṇāgra* (grant A, line 16; grant B line 17). With *r*, the following *ka*, *ja*, *na*, *ma* and *va* and the preceding *t* are generally doubled.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in honour of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, the three verses describing the pedigree of the donor and the two imprecatory verses at the end, the documents are in prose throughout.

The grants open with an invocation of the God Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha incarnation. Then follows the mention of the two kings *Amōghavarsha* and *Akālavarsha*, with the epithets *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*. The latter, who is mentioned as meditating on the feet of the former, has the two additional epithets *Prithivīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha-narēndra*.

¹ Above Vol. XIX, p. 177

² Above Vol. XIV, pp. 176 & 183.

Now, there cannot be any doubt that the two kings here mentioned¹ are the well-known sovereigns of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkheḍ, either Amōghavarsha I and Kṛishṇa II whose combined reigns extend over about a century (814-911 A.D.) or Amōghavarsha III and Kṛishṇa III (934-961 A.D.). Possibly some portion of the original draft is missing here through the engraver's oversight for, immediately after this, follows a verse which mentions that 'in that family' was born the famous king Bappaiparāja whose son was Vairisimha. The expression 'in that family' presupposes the mention of the family, but the immediately preceding expression is the genitive case-ending *narēndra-pādānām*, which is hardly appropriate. Then occurs a verse in praise of Vairisimha, which is followed by another, mentioning that the king Siyaka was born to him. In the subsequent prose eulogy of Siyaka, we find that he is called a *Mahāmaṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* and *Mahārājādhirāja-pati*. The grants are mentioned as having been made at the instance of the ruler of the Khēṭaka-maṇḍala (corresponding roughly to the modern Kaira District). The records say that on his return from a successful expedition against Yōgarāja, the king was encamped on the banks of the Mahī, where, after offering worship to Śivanātha (most probably at the shrine of Sarnāl, a place of considerable repute) he gave away the villages of Kumbhārōṭaka and Siyakā in the Mōhaḍavāsaka-vishaya respectively to Lallōpādhyāya, son of Gōvarḍhana and Ninā Dīkshita, son of Lallōpādhyāya, Nāgara (Brahmans) of Ānandapura, belonging to the Gōpali-gōtra. The *dāpaka*² or person who caused the grants to be given, probably the officer who was entrusted with the duty of issuing the grants, was the *Thakkura* Śrī-Vishṇu. The grants were written by the *Kāyastha* Guṇadhara. The last line in both grants contains the sign-manual of the king Siyaka.

The date of the grants is given as 'Samvat 1005, Māgha v(b)a di 30, Budhe' which corresponds to Wednesday, the 31st January, 949 A.D., thus showing that the year was a **Kārtikādi**³ expired year and the month was **amānta**. The occasion for the grant was the *chandrārka-yōga-parva*, which may mean simply an *amāvāsya* and not necessarily an eclipse of the sun. There was no solar eclipse on the date.

The grants are of great historical interest, as they are the **earliest records** of the Paramāra dynasty and as such have considerable bearing on the history of Gujarāt. In regard to the details of the last years of Chāvdā rule, especially the period from 940 A.D. to 960 A.D., the Jain Chronicles are hopelessly at variance. The late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji says in his history of Gujarāt, "The period of Chāvdā rule at Anahilavāḍa is likely to remain obscure until the discovery of contemporary inscriptions throws more light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory legends collected by the Solanki historians, none of whom are older than the twelfth century." In dealing with the period when the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ

¹ The identical expression *paramabhattīraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēva-pādānādhyaṭa-paramabhattīraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Akīlavarshadēva-Prithivīvallabha Śrīma vallaḥa-narēndradēva*, is used to denote Kṛishṇa III in the Kathāda plates of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 880 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 278ff.) and with the addition of *paramamūh.śvara*, in the Dēoli plates of the same king dated in Śaka 862 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 188ff.). The date of the present inscription (equivalent to Śaka 870) is just intermediate between the Dēoli and Kathāda inscriptions. It is possible that Kṛishṇa III was at this time the overlord of Siyaka and his name may have therefore been given the place of honour. The epithet *mahāmaṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* is in consonance with this view. But other indications may seem to favour the view that the expression ending with *narēndra-pādānām* in the present plates refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II.

² See above Vol. XIX, p. 178 f.n. 1. i

³ See above Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I. page 155.

held sway over Gujarāt, he admits¹ that no materials exist for fixing how long after A.D. 914, Gujarāt belonged to the Mānyakheṭa Rāshtrakūṭas, and ventures the suggestion that probably they continued until their destruction in A.D. 972 by the Chālukya king Taila or Tailapa. The present grants, I think, would go to supply the required information to a large extent. It is possible that the Yōgarāja of the present grants was a chief of the Chāpōtkata or Chāvḍā dynasty of Aṇahilavāḍa-Pātan (if the account of some Jain *prabandhas* that the Chāvḍā rule ended in V. S. 1017 instead of in V. S. 998 is correct), or of the Chālukya dynasty of Southern Kāthiāwār.² As Siyaka when returning from his expedition against Yōgarāja was encamped (near Sārṇāl) on the banks of the Mahī, it follows that Yōgarāja's principality must lie somewhere to the west of the Mahī and of the Khēṭaka-*maṇḍala*, which was in his own possession. The Chāpōtkatas of Pātan and the Chālukyas of South Kāthiāwār acknowledged the overlordship of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj and Siyaka's intimate connection with the Rāshtrakūṭas, the enemies of the Pratihāras, explains why he attacked Yōgarāja.

The Siyaka of the present grants is no doubt Siyaka II, the father of Vākpati-Muñja, whose date in his Dharampuri copper plates being 974 A. D.³ was 25 years later than the date of the present records or, just the period of a generation. In fact Mabel Duff⁴ actually gives 950 A.D. as the date of Siyaka II, the Paramāra, probably working backwards from the known dates of Vākpati-Muñja. He is also identical with the Siyaka of the Ahmadābād grant of V. S. 1026. Siyaka's father's name is Vairisimha in this, as well as in all previously known Paramāra records. The Vākpati-Muñja grants give the name of the father of Vairisimha as Kṛishṇa, who may be identical with Bappaiparāja of the present grant and with Vākpati I of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Parimala and the Udayapur *Prasasti*.⁵ It may be noted that Bappai is a good Prākṛit equivalent of Vākpati.

The Udayapur *Prasasti* further mentions two forbears of Vākpati I, viz., Vairisimha I and Siyaka I, but as no historical fact is recorded regarding them except that they followed each other in the direct line of succession, we can assume that they had not established their power,⁶ and the first prince of the family who assumed importance was Bappaipa or Vākpati or Kṛishṇa.

We find no mention in the present records of the mythical ancestor Paramāra, born of the sacrificial fire on Mount Abu. Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his article⁷ on the exploded myth of Agnikulas mentions that of the four supposed Agnikula families only the Paramāras seem to trace their descent to Agni, from their Udayapur inscription. At least the present records, which are earlier than any other record of the Paramāras, are silent on this point.

The presence of the *birudas* *Amōghavarsha* *Prithvivallabha* and *Śrīvallabha* among the titles of Vākpati-Muñja have never been explained before, but on the basis of the relationship of the Paramāras with the Rāshtrakūṭas revealed by the present grants, it is now possible to do so. From the fact that only Amōghavarsha I and Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II) are mentioned in the plates, it seems that these two princes were held in special esteem by the early Paramāras. What exactly the relation between the two families was it is difficult to say, but possibly the Paramāras were descended from a Rāshtrakūṭa princess. As some of the Vākāṭaka⁸ plates begin with a

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, page 131.

² Above Vol. IX, p. 2f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 48f.

⁴ *The Chronology of India*, p. 92. See also *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IV, p. 80.

⁵ Above Vol. I, p. 233.

⁶ Or their names might have been repeated in the genealogy through mistake. See *Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference*, p. 303ff. and *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, Vol. II, p. 118.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 110.

⁸ Above Vol. XV, p. 39 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 48

description of the Gupta Emperors, from whom queen Prabhāvatī was descended, so the Paramāras may have been descended from the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Amōghavarsha and Akālavarsha through a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, and, therefore, the present record opens with the names of the two Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns. It is also possible that Bappaiparāja was a general of Kṛishṇa II Akālavarsha at the time of the latter's invasion of Gujarāt and annexation of the domains of the local branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas sometime about 900 A.D. He or his son Vairisimha may have crossed over from Gujarāt to Mālwa and laid the foundation of the rule of their family in that province. ✓ From the present records, it seems possible that Siyaka's capital was in Mālwa, as he was marching to the east of the Mahī, possibly through the modern Pāñch Mahāls and the Jhābua State. In Gujarāt, Siyaka still had possession of the Khēṭaka-maṇḍala at any rate. The lord of Rādūpāṭi or Rudrapāṭi, who, the *Navasahasāṅkāsharūta* tells us, was conquered by Siyaka, may possibly have been the Yōgarāja of the present grant. If Siyaka was at the time of these inscriptions subordinate to some overlord, possibly the Rāshtrakūṭa king, it is apparent from the statement of the Udayapur inscription that he later on fought with and defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga (about 970 A.D.).

The connection of the Paramāras with Gujarāt, after the date of these plates, no doubt lasted at least up to V. S. 1026, the date of Siyaka's Ahmadābād grant, although Mūlarāja, the founder of the Anhilwāḍa Chaulukyas, consolidated North Gujarāt under his rule and the Paramāras must have lost to him some portion of Northern Gujarāt which they had held. It seems that in the time of the successors of Siyaka-Vākpāti and Sindhurāja, the Paramāras had ceased to hold the portion of Gujarāt under their sway. For in 975 A.D. we see Mūlarāja fighting with Bārappa, the Chālukya general or ruler of Lāṭa, i.e., Southern Gujarāt. This he could not have done had the Paramāras been holding on their territory which lay between the Anhilwāḍ kingdom and Lāṭa. From the Tilakvāḍa plates¹ of V. S. 1103 of the time of Paramāra Bhōja it seems, however, that Bhōja seized again a portion of Northern Gujarāt since his power was acknowledged by a king ruling over the modern Saikhedā mahāl of the Baroda State.

It is not known when exactly the connection of the Paramāras with Mālwa began. The Partābgarh inscription² of V. S. 1003 of the time of the Pratihāra sovereign Mahēndrapāla II shows that Ujjain was then governed by an officer of Mahēndrapāla named Mādhava. Though this fact cannot be totally inconsistent with the occupation of Dhār by the Paramāras the country round about Ujjain was obtained by them not before the latter part of Siyaka's reign or the early part of Vākpāti-Muñja's reign.

A king of Khēṭaka maṇḍala is mentioned in the grants as a subordinate chief of Siyaka. But unfortunately neither his name nor that of the family to which he belonged is given. From the Kapaḍvanj grant³ of Ś. 832 (A.D. 910) we know that Prachanḍa of the Brahmanvāk family had gained the principality of Khēṭaka-maṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarsha and was ruling at Harshapura, modern Harsola, where our grants were discovered. The ruler of Khēṭaka-maṇḍala, who was the contemporary of Siyaka was probably the successor of this Prachanḍa. From our Harsola grants and the Kapaḍvanj grant it seems that the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarsha had allotted certain portions of his territories in Gujarāt to his nobles who would check the attacks of the Pratihāra enemies.

Of the localities mentioned, Khēṭaka-maṇḍala is roughly equivalent to the modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedābād District. Mōhaḍavāsaka must be the same as modern Mōhḍāsā or

¹ *Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference.*

² Above Vol. XIV, p. 177.

³ *Bom. Gaz.* I. i. p. 129.



RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.,
LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1920—1925.

BORN: 16th September 1870
at Hoskote,
Bangalore District.

Died: 8th February 1928
at Bangalore.

Modāsa in Prāntij *taluka* of the District of Ahmadābād. The villages granted *viz.*, **Kumbhārōṭaka** and **Sihakā** can be identified with the present Kāmroḍ and Sikā situated at a distance of 13 miles to the east and 8 miles to the south of Modāsa, respectively. **Śivanātha**, the shrine on the Mahī, which was the place of the king's encampment, can be identified¹ with Sarnāl, lying near the place where the Mahī is now crossed by the Anand-Godhra Section of the B., B. & C. I. Ry. It is still looked upon with sanctity in the neighbourhood and has an ancient Śiva temple named Gaṭeśvara which is now a protected monument. It is near the village of Janod owned by a Thākur in the Thāsrā *taluka* of the Kaira District, and can be approached by the railway station Angadi on the Anand-Godhra line. **Anandapura** was the original home of the Nāgara Brāhmanas and is now represented by Vadnagar, a town in the Kherālū *taluk* of the Kadi *prant*, Baroda State. It is noteworthy that these documents give us the earliest known epigraphical mention of the Nāgaras though Brāhmaṇas hailing from Anandapur are mentioned in some Valabhī inscriptions.

TEXT.¹

Grant A

- 1 ōm^a [*] Vidyuch-chakra-kaḍāra-kēsara-saṭā-bhimn^b-ām^c(b)uda-śrēṇayaḥ śōṇam nētra-hutāsa-ḍam^c(b)ara-bhṛitaḥ simgh-ā.^d
- 2 kṛitēḥ Śārṅgiṇaḥ | visphūrjjad-gala-garjji-tarjjita-kakun-mātaṅga-ḍarp-ōdayāḥ saṁrambhās=sukhayarntu vaḥ khara-na-
- 3 kha-kshumna^e-dvishad-vakshasaḥ || [1 ||*] Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Amōghavarsha-dēva-pād-ā
- 4 nudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Akālavarshadēva-prithvivallabha-śrīvalla-
- 5 bha-narēndra-pādānām | Tasmin=kulē kal-masha-mōsha-dakshē |^f jātaḥ pratāp-āgni-hut-āri-pakshaḥ | V(B)appaipa.^g
- 6 rāj=ēti nripaḥ prasiddhas=tasmāt=suto=bhūd=anu Vairisimghaḥ¹⁰ | [2 ||*] Dṛipt-āri-vanitā-vaktra-chaṁdra-v(b)im^c(b)akalaṁ-

Grant B.

- 1 ōm^a [*] Vidyuk-chakra⁴-kaḍāra-kēsara-saṭā-bhimn^b-ām^c(b)uda-śrēṇayaḥ śōṇam nētra-hutāsa-ḍam^c(b)ara-bhṛitaḥ simgh^e-ā-
- 2 kṛitēḥ Śārṅgiṇaḥ | visphūrjja[d]-gala-garjji-tarjjita-kakun-mātaṅga-ḍarp-ōdayāḥ saṁrambhāḥ su-
- 3 kha⁴yarntu vaḥ khara-nakha-kshumna.^e dvishad-vakshasaḥ || [1 ||*] Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
- 4 mad-Amōghavarshadēva-pād-ānudhy-āta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrīmad-Akā-
- 5 lavarshadēva-prithvivallabha-śrīvallabha-narēndra-pādānām | Tasmin=kulē kal-masha-[m]ōsha-dak[shē] jātaḥ
- 6 pratāp-āgni-hut-āri-pakshaḥ | V(B)appaipa.^g parāj=ēti nripaḥ prasiddhas=tasmāt=sutō-bhūd=anu Vairisimghaḥ¹⁰ [2 ||*] Dṛipt-

¹ We are indebted to Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., for this suggestion. See *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. C.* for 1920-21, p. 61.

^a From the photographs and the original plates.

^b Expressed by a symbol. [I would read Siddham instead.—Ed.]

^c Read *Vidyuch-chakra*.

^e Read *bhimn*.

^d Read *si m h*.

^f Read *kshumna*.

^g *Daṇḍa* is superfluous.

^h [Facsimile gives V (B) appaiya. See p. 239 above.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Read *Vairisimghaḥ*.

- 7 katā [*] nō dhautā yasya kīrty=āpi
Hara-hās-āvadatayā || [3*] Durvvāra-
ripu-bhūpāla-raṇa-raṇig-aika-nā-
- 8 yakaḥ | nṛpaḥ śrī-Sīyakas=tasmāt=
kula-kalpa-drumō=bhavat || [4*] sa
ēvaṁvidhaḥ praṇata-sakala-sāmaṁta-
- 9 śrōmaṇi-marīchi-raṇjita-charaṇa-yugalaḥ
śrī-Khēṭaka-maṇḍal-ādhipati-pratipatti-
prativ(b)addha-trukti (?)
- 10 satūryā-rava-saṁtrast-ānēka-ripu-samūhaḥ
anēka-śaṁkha-dhvaṇi-v(b)adhūta-pam-
cha-varṇa-patākā-rājī-virā-
- 11 jita-viśāla-vaksha[s*]-sthala-āvalamv(b)ita-
kumuda-v(b)āndhavaḥ atula-dāna-saṁ-
pādan-aika-kalpa-drumaḥ mahā-maṁ-
ḍa-
- 12 hka-chūḷaṁmaṇi-mahārājādhirāja-pati-śrī-
SĪYAKAḤ, sva-bhujyamāna-Mōhaḍa-
vāsaka-vishaya-samv(b)addha-Kurh-
- 13 bhārōṭaka-grāmaḥ¹ | samasta-rāja-puru-
shān=prativāsi-janapadānś=cha v(b)ōdh-
ayaty=astu² vaḥ yathā Yōgarāja-³
- 7 āri-vanītā-vaktra-chaṁdra-v(b)hūv(b)a-ka-
lamkatā [|*] nō dhautā yasya kīrty=āpi
Hara-hās-āvadatayā | [3*] Durvvāra-rī-
- 8 pu-bhūpāla-raṇa-ra[n*]g-āika-nāyakaḥ
nṛpaḥ śrī-Sīyakas=tasmāt=kula-kalpa-
drumō=bhavat || [4*] Sa ēvaṁvi-
- 9 dhaḥ praṇata-sakala-sāmaṁta-śrōmaṇi-
marīchi-raṇjita-charaṇa-yugalaḥ śrī-
Khēṭaka-maṇḍal-ā
- 10 dhīpati-pratipatti-prativ(b)addha-trukti (?)
sat[ū]ryā-rava-sa[ui*]trast-ānēka-ripu-sa-
mūhaḥ anēka-śaṁkha-dhvaṇi-
- 11 m-v(b)adhūta-pamcha-varṇa-patākā-rājī-
virājita-viśāla¹-vaksha[s*]-st'ul-āvalam-
v(b)ita-kumuda-v(b)āndhava-
- 12 vaḥ atula-dāna-saṁ[p]ādan-aika-kalpa-
drumaḥ mahā-maṇḍalika-cha²maṇi-
mahārājādhi-
- 13 rāja-pati-śrī-Sīyakaḥ sva-bhujyamāna-
Mōhaḍavāsaka-vishaya-samv(b)u-
ddha-Sihakā-grā-

Second Plate.

- 14 sy=ōpari yātrā-samaya-saṁsidd-
dha-kāry-ānantara-vyāghuṭitair=**Mahī**-
nadi-taṭa-nivāsibhir=asmābhiś=chaṁdr-
ā-
- 15 rkka-yōga-parvvaṇi Śivanātham sama-
bhya[r]chy-āva[dhā]rya || Vāt-ābhra-
vibhramam-idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam=
āpāta-
- 16 māttra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ |
prānās=ttin⁶-āgra-jala-vindu-samā na-
rāṇām⁵ dharmmaḥ sakḥā param=
ahō-
- 14 maḥ³ | samasta-rāja-puruṣhān=pra-
tivāsi-janapadānś=cha v(b)ōdhayaty
astuvaḥ⁴ yathā Yōgarā-
- 15 jasy=ōpari yātrā-samaya-saṁsiddha-kāry-
ānantara-vyāghuṭitair **Mahī**-nadi-taṭa-
nivāsibhi-
- 16 r=asmābhiś=chaṁdr-ā[r*]ka-yōga-parvvaṇi
Śivanātham samabhyarchy=āvadhārya
| Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasu-

2nd Plate.

- 17 para-lōka-yānē || [5*] Iti jagad=anityam
sakalam=avadhāry=ōpari-likhitō
grāmaḥ sa-simā-tina-gōchāra-pa[r]y-
am-
- 17 dh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-māttra-madhurō
vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prānās=ttin⁶-āgra-
jala-vindu-samā narāṇām dharm-

¹ Read *Viśāla*.² The phrase *sva-bhujya* *grāmaḥ* is grammatically unconnected with the preceding or following word.³ Supply *saṁvidita* after *vaḥ*.⁴ Read *trīn*.⁵ Read *chūḍāmaṇi*.⁶ Punctuation is not needed.

A

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[illegible]

2

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8

AD

12

14 ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 १६ ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 १८ ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 २० ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 २२ ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 २४ ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 २६ ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 २८ ॥ अथ मन्त्रः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥ इत्युक्तं श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

14

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24

28

- 18 ta[h*] sōparakaraḥ¹ sarvv-ādāya-samō(u)-
pētaḥ śrīmad-Ānamda-puriya-Nāgarāya
Tryārshēyāya Gōpālī-sa-
- 19 gōttrāya Gōvarddhana-sūnave **Lall-**
ōpādhyāyāya mātā-pitrōr=atmanas=
cha puṇṇya-yasō²-bhivṛddhayē ad-
rīṣṭa-pha-
- 20 lam-aṅgikṛity=ā-chamdr-ārkk-
ārṇṇava-kshiti-sama-kālam parayā bha-
ktyā śāsanēna udaka-purvvakam
pratipādita i-
- 21 ti || Tam-nivāsi³-janapadair=yathā-diyamāna-
bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-sarvvam=
ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā
- 22 tat-puttra-pauttr-ādibhyaḥ samupanēta-
vyaṁ | iti vudhvā⁴ asmad-vamśa⁵-
jair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktrībhiḥ
mat-pradatta-dha-
- 23 rmma-dāyō=yam manumantavyaḥ¹⁰
pālaniyaś=cha | Uktam cha | V(B)ahu-
bhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbhis=Saga-
r-ādibhiḥ | Yasya
- 24 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || [6 || *] Yān=iha dattāni purā
narēn-drair=ddānāni dharmm-ārttha-
yaśaska-rāṇi | ni-
- 25 rmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma
sādhuḥ punar=ādadita || [7 || *] Samvat
1005 Māgha v(b)a di 30 Budhē dāpa-
- 26 kō=ttra Thakkurah śrī-Vishṇuḥ | Rāj-
ājñāyā likhitam Kāyastha-Guṇam-
dharēṇa¹³ || Svahastō=yam śrī-Siyaka-
- 27 yaśaskarāṇi | nimālya¹¹-vānta-pratimāni
tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=
ādadita || [7 || *] Sa[m*] 1005. Māgha
v(b)a 3[0*]
- 28 [Budhē] dāpakō=tra Thakkurah śrī-
Vishṇuḥ || Rājājñāyā likhitam Kāyas-
tha-Guṇadharēṇa || Svahastō=yam śrī-
- 29 śrī-Siyakāya

¹ Read sōparikaraḥ.

² Read yasō.

³ Read budhvā.

¹⁰ Read yam-anumantavyaḥ

¹³ Read Guṇadharēṇa.

⁴ Read gāṇ.

⁵ Read tan-nivāsi.

⁶ Read vamśajair.

¹¹ Read nirmālya-vānta.

¹² Read Thakkurah.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Invocation to the man-lion form of Vishṇu.

(Lines 3-5) Of the revered king P. M. P. the great lord, lord of the earth, lord of wealth, the illustrious Akālavārsha, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious lord P. M. P. Amōghavarsha.

(v. 2) In that family, skilful in removing sin, was born a famous king named Bappai-parāja, who sacrificed his enemy's forces in the fire of his valour; to him was born a son, Vairi-siṃha who succeeded him.

(v. 3) His fame, though white like the god Śiva's laugh, could not remove the spots from the moon like faces of the wives of his proud enemies.

(v. 4) To him was born king Siyaka, the desire-yielding tree of his dynasty, who was the sole hero on the stage of battle between him and the hostile kings.

(ll. 8-20) He, whose feet were tinged with the rays of the crest-jewels of all the feudatories rendering obeisance, who had invested Trukti (?) at the request of the lord of the Khēṭaka Division, terrorized many enemy hosts by the (very) sound of his trumpets (in battle), and deafened (the enemies) by the sound of his conch, (whose army was) shining with the rows of penta-coloured banners on whose spacious breast was a pendent moon, who was the sole desire-yielding tree in bestowing unrivalled gifts, the crest jewel of the great feudatories, the lord, the overlord of kings, the illustrious **Siyaka**, thus commands all the officers and neighbouring villagers of the village of **Kumbhāroṭaka** (grant A), **Sihakā** (grant B) comprised within the district (*vishaya*) of **Mōhaḍavāsaka**.

Be it known to you that at the time of our invasion against Yōgarāja, while returning after having accomplished our object, we were encamped on the bank of the river Mahī, after worshipping the Lord Śiva at the time of the conjunction of the sun and the moon, and reflecting that 'the sovereignty of this world is but the play of the wind and clouds, the enjoyment of sensual objects is sweet only at the outset, the life of man is like a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass, but Dharma is the only companion on the journey to the other world,' also remembering that the whole of this world is evanescent, we have granted with great devotion the above-mentioned village, together with a charter and accompanied by (a libation of) water, as enclosed within its boundaries, along with the pastures and cattle-grazing lands, with the claim to all the dues and taxes—to the Nāgara (Brāhmaṇa) hailing from Ānandapura, of the Gōpālī-gōtra owning three ṛishis (as the Pravaras of his gōtra) by name **Lallopādhyāya** son of Govardhana (grant A), **Ninā-Dikshita** son of Lallopādhyāya (grant B), for the enhancement of the religious merit and the fame of our parents as well as of ourselves. The gift shall continue as long as the sun, the moon, the ocean and the earth endure.

(ll. 21 ff.) So the inhabitants residing in that (village) being prompt in attending to our orders, shall offer him and his sons and grandsons, etc., in due succession, all the dues as are now paid such as the shares (of produce) royalties, taxes and gold, etc.

Future rulers of our own dynasty as also the other princes enjoying (the sovereignty of this land) knowing this (to be our wish) should concur in and continue this grant made by us in (the cause of) religion and (it) has been said,—[Here follow two usual verses]. Dated Monday the 30th day of Māgha dark half of the year 1005. Thakkura Vishṇu was the officer who caused this to be granted; written by Kāyastha Guṇadhara under the king's orders. Sign manual of the illustrious Siyaka,

No. 40.—A THIRD LOST PLATE OF THE NIDHANPUR PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

By M. M. P. PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYAVINODA, M.A.

When writing on the "Two Lost Plates" of the Nidhanpur plates, I stated, "the rumour goes that a third missing plate is in the possession of a Musalman and efforts are being made to get it from him".¹ Not having been successful in recovering the plate through other means, I myself went to Nidhanpur (in Sylhet) in April 1926 and purchased this third missing plate from its possessor. From the enquiries I made in this connection, I have come to know that seven plates strung with the ring attached to the seal were found, about 2½ feet below the surface of the plinth of a whilom house, and that the discoverer (Masharraḥ) sold the plates to different persons. Of these, three along with the seal fell to the lot of Babu Pavitrānath Das, a local zamindar, who, being an educated gentleman, realised their value and so sent them to Silchar to his friend Rai Saheb Dinanath Das from whom I got them in 1913.² Other purchasers who were illiterate people thought that the plates would some day be conducive to some lucky bargain and kept them hidden until they came to know that the three which were sold to Pavitra Babu revealed nothing but some sort of information quite unprofitable to them: and then sold them off one by one at whatever they could make out of them. I purchased the present plate for Rs. 20.

The present plate enumerates altogether 63½ shares belonging to 86 persons of 24 *gōtras* of which 19 are new *gōtras* not found mentioned in the plates already dealt with. As the total of these shares amounts to 166½, evidently there must be at least one more plate to complete the set, otherwise, the fraction will be inexplicable.

Whether the plate under consideration is the fourth or the fifth one of the set, it is very difficult to decide. The third plate ends with the complete record of a share and the penultimate plate also opens with an independent record, so that none of these plates has any dependence on a subsequent or a preceding one, respectively. The present plate, as it has been read and written here, also begins in such a way as it may be considered to be in continuation of the third plate or of the missing plate if that one ends with a complete record of share, like the third plate. I have, however, a suspicion that this plate was inscribed in a wrong way, i.e., what is the first side as shown here was inscribed after the inscription of what is shown as the second side. The first record of share in the second side of the plate does not give the proper name of the donee, which is not found even at the end of the first side. Again, the name of the last donee mentioned in the second side, viz., Gōmināga, ends in "nāga" which also occurs in the first name recorded in the first side of the plate. Generally we observe that the names whose latter halves or component parts are similar (e.g., ghōsha, dāma, kuṇḍa, pālita, sōma, etc.) are put down in close proximity to one another. In these circumstances it would appear that the proper name missing in the beginning of the second side (which may really be the first side) of this plate must be at the end of the plate not yet discovered. In that case, the missing plate will be the fourth, and the present one the fifth plate of the set that is said to have consisted of seven plates.

This document—viz., the copper-plate grant as renewed by Bhāskaravarman—has a special bearing on the ancient history of Kāmarūpa. The genealogy recorded in the first and the second plate gives the names of the kings (with their queens) who ruled

¹ See above, Vol. XIX, p. 116.² *Supra*, Vol. XII, p. 65.

over that province prior to Bhāskaravarman. As the grant recorded in these plates is a renewal of what was made by Bhāskaravarman's great-great-grandfather Bhūtiavarman as noticed in the third plate, it is proved that in the 5th or 6th century after Christ, i.e., long before Bhāskaravarman, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa had, even in one village, a very large number of Brāhmins of different *gōtras* and Vēdas. The village mentioned in it was situated in a place lying very close to the kingdom of Gauḍa, between the rivers Teestā and Karatōyā which was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa,¹ and now forms part of the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal. Thus, the story that Ādiśūra, a king of Gauḍa, had to import five Brāhmins from Kanauj on account of the paucity of Brāhmins in the locality or vicinity would appear to be groundless, especially when it has not yet been confirmed by any reliable document. Further, the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmins of Sylhet with the ten *gōtras* including Kātyāyana, were all along asserting that they had come from Mithilā or still further north west; but the discovery of this copper-plate in the very place Pañchakhaṇḍa—Nidhanpur forms a part of it—where they say they settled originally, would prove that they came there from Kāmarūpa. The inscription mentions all the ten *gōtras*; and as it calls Manōratha-svāmin of Kātyāyana *gōtra* Paṭṭakapati, it is evident that these plates came to Pañchakhaṇḍa with a (Kātyāyana) descendant of Manōratha-svāmin. It may be stated further that there might have been other villages like this Mayūrasālmālagrahāra teeming with Brāhmin population. In fact, the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa appears to have been a refuge of the Brāhmins of the neighbouring kingdoms where Buddhism flourished. So far no ancient remains of Buddhism have yet been discovered there; and as the tide of Buddhism began to subside, the Brāhmins of Kāmarūpa also began to spread westward, and, it may be, that most of the Brāhmin families in the neighbouring province of (modern) Bengal are the descendants of those Brāhmins from Kāmarūpa. These copper-plate inscriptions, therefore, possess a special value as they throw much light on the social history of the Brāhmins of this part of India.

TEXT.

Middle Plate: First Side.

- 1 Pravarabhā(nā?)ga-svā² chaturtha-bhāga-h[ī]nō 'nśa[h] || Āpanāga-svā anśa[h] ||
Tōshanāga-Hampināga-svāmibhyā[m]
- 2 anśāch-chaturthō bhāga[h*] || Kāśyapō Vājasanēyī Managhōsha-svā anśa[h] ||
Vaishṇavpiddhiś-Chhāndōgō
- 3 Sarppini(?)svā anśa[h] || Janārdana-svā anśa[h] || Kauśikō V(B)āhvrichya
Arka-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-ānśa[h] || Śraddha-dāsa-
- 4 svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Gautamō Vājasanēyī Sanātana-svā anśa[h] ||
Harṣhaprabha(bhō) gōtrēṇa saha ardh-ā-
- 5 nśa[h] || Kauṭilyō Vājasanēyī Khaṇḍasōma-svā [a*]-dhy-arddhānśa[h] || Śrēyaskara-
Gati-Gauri-sōmēbhyaḥ
- 6 anśa[h] || Vakulasōma-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Dhṛitisōma-Siñ(m)ha-yo(sō)ma-
svāmibhyām=arddh-ānśa[h] || Kṛishṇa-
- 7 ttrēyō Vājasanēyī Bhāyaśa[h]-svā [a*]-dhy-arddh-ānśa[h] || Yajña-svā pād-
ābhy-adhikō 'nśa[h] || Daiva-

¹ *Supra*, p. 117, f.n. 2.

² *Svā* stands for *Svāmī* and *anśa* is almost always spelt as *anśa*. [For ' [h] ' read ' [h*] ' throughout—Ed.] So no amendment has been made as the correct form is apparent.

First Side.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Second Side.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Sumerian or Akkadian, arranged in approximately 14 horizontal lines. The text is inscribed on a dark, rectangular tablet with a circular hole near the top center. The script is dense and consistent across the lines.

- 8 svā pād-ābhy-adhikō 'ñsa[h] || Darddi-svā arddh-āñsa[h] || Pradyunna(mna)-svā [a]-dhy-arddh-āñsa[h] || Vṛiddhi-svā dvir-āñsa[h] ||
- 9 Divākara-Hari-Adbhuta-Tvasṭṛi-Tōsha-nāgēbhyō añsa('ñsa)[h] || Kavcstarō Vājasanēyī
- 10 Mēdha-svā añsa[h] || Māṇḍavyō Vājasanēyī Dhṛiti-svāmī(i) gōtrēṇa saha añsa-chatu-
- 11 rtha bhāga[h*] || Kāśyapō Vājasana(nē)yī Kēśava-svā añsa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī Gauri-svā
- 12 añsa[h] || Sucharita-svā arddh-āñsa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī Vappa-svā¹ añsa[h] || Kauṇḍinyō Bāhvṛichyō(chyaḥ)
- 13 Karkadatta-svā añsa[h] || Bhāradvājō V(B)āhvṛichyō(chya) Udayana-svā añsa[h] || Vāsishṭho Bāhvṛichya[h*] Mērudatta-svā
- 14 añsa[h] || Agnivēśyō Vājasanēyī Narēndra-Rēṇu! hūti-svā[m*]-bhyām añsa[h] || Mēdhabhūti-svā ardh-āñsa[h] ||
- 15 Sāñkṛityāyana[ś*=] Chyā(Chā)rakyō(kyaś)=Chandrapaksha-svā añsa[h] || Yāskō V(B)āhvṛichya[h*] Kālī-svā añsa[h] ||

Middle Plate : Second Side.

- 1 (?)svā [a*]-dhy-arddh-āñsa[h] || Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvara-svā ardh-āñsa[h] || Pārūśaryō V(B)āhvṛichyō Gopālanandi-svā añsa[h] || Bhārggavō
- 2 Viśvabhūti-svā añsa[h] || Surakshita-Sucharitā!hyā[m*]arddh-āñsa[h] || Bhāradvājas=Taittiri(i)ya[ś*=]Śivagaṇa-
- 3 svā añsa[h] || V(B)āhvṛichya[h*] Kātyāyana (nō) bhrātṛi-trayēṇa Vasuśrī-svā añsa[h] || Kauśikō Vājasanēyī
- 4 Virabhūti-svā añsa[h] || Viśṇubhūti-svā arddh-āñsa[h] || Pramōdabhūti-svā añsa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vāja-
- 5 sanēyī Viśṇudatta-svā añsa[h] || Kauṇḍinyō Vājasanēyī V(B)ṛihaspati-svā añsa[h] || Yāskō
- 6 V(B)āhvṛichya(ō) Harshadēva-svā añsa[h] || Jātūkarnṇa(ō) Vājasanēyī Mēdha-svā añsa[h] || Kṛishṇa-svā añsa[h] ||
- 7 Mādhava-Haribhyām(m) añsa[h] || Bhāradvājas=Chhāndōgō Janārdnadēva-svā añsa[h] || Maudgalyō
- 8 Vājasanēyī Viśṇusōma-svā ardh-āñsa[h] || Gārgyas=Chārakyō Dhanasēna-svā añsa[h] || Pramō-
- 9 dasēna-Ghōshasēnābhyām(m) añsa[h] || Sōmasēna-svā añsa[h] || Gautamō V(B)āhvṛicha(chyō) Bhāskara-
- 10 mittra-svā añsa[h] || Madh[u]mittra-svā añsa[h] || Sādhāraṇa-mittra-Sādhu-mittrābhām(bhyām) añsa[h] || Dhṛiti-
- 11 mittra-svā arddh-āñsa[h] || Bhāradvājō V(B)āhvṛichya(ś*=)Sukrabhava-svā añsa[h] || Pautrimāshyō(?) V(B)āhvṛichya[s*=]Sudarśś(rs)ana-
- 12 Dhanēśvara-svāmibhyām(m) arddh-āñsa[h] || Śāṇḍilyō Vājasanēyī Ravi-svā añsa[h] || Madhu-svā añsa[h] ||

¹ The name being a Prākṛit word (probably from Skt. *Vappa*) it has been spelt with B, [v and p have the same form in these Kāmarūpa inscriptions].

- 13 Mahidhara-svā aṅśa[h] || Paunṇō(Paurṇō?) V(B)āhvrichya(ō) Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvara-svā aṅśa[h] || Bhaṭṭi-Māṭṭi-svā arddh-aṅśa[h] ||
- 14 Rudrabhaṭṭi-svā arddh-aṅśa[h] || Kauśikaś-Chhāndōgō Adri('dri)-vilēpana-svā aṅśa[h] || Sāvarṇpi-
- 15 ka-sagōtrō Vājasanēyī Gōmināga-svā aṅśa[h] ||

The shares enumerated in the text given above may be tabulated thus:—

Serial No. ¹	Vēda, etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
1	Bāhvrichya ² . .	Vārāha . . .	Pravara(nā)ga-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
2	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Āpanāga-svāmin . . .	1
3—4	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Tōshanāga and Hampināga svāmins.	$\frac{1}{2}$
5	Vājasanēyin . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Managhōśha-svāmin . . .	1
6	Chhāndōga . .	Vaishṇa-vṛiddhi . .	Sarppipi-svāmin . . .	1
7	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Janārdana-svāmin . . .	1
8	Bāhvrichya . .	Kauśika . . .	Arka-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
9	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Śraddhadāsa-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	Vājasanēyin . .	Gautama . . .	Sanātana-svāmin . . .	1
11	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Harshaprabha with his gōtra . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ ³
12	Do. . .	Kauṭilya . . .	Khaṇḍasōma-svāmin . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
13, 14, 15	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Śrēyaskara, Gati, Gauri, -sōma (svāmins).	1
16	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Vakulasōma-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
17—18	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Dhṛitisōma, Sirmhasōma (svāmins)	$\frac{1}{2}$
19	Do. . .	Krishnātrēya . .	Bhāyasaḥ-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
20	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Yajña-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
21	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Daiva-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
22	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Darddi-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
23	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Pradyumna-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
24	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Vṛiddhi-svāmin . . .	2

¹ The serial number does not exist in the original.

² The third plate ends with "Vārāhō Bāhvrichyō Nara(?)-svā aṅśa[h]." The Vēda and the gōtra are repeated here (*vide* footnote 3 on page 120 above, Vol. XIX), on the supposition that the present plate may be the fourth one. See remarks above.

³ This seems to render questionable the correctness of my interpretation of 'gōtrāśha' in foot-note 6 p. I am now inclined to think that gōtrāśha, wherever it occurs, should mean 'gōtrasahitō' *śhaś*, i.e., one share with his gōtra, where gōtra does not mean 'clan' (as apparently others of his 'clan' get shares separately mentioned) but (loosely) 'family' or 'progeny'—much as in Pāṇini IV.1.162 (*apātyaṁ-pautra-prabhṛitī gōtrāśha*). On this new interpretation the serial Nos. 18, 28 and 79 in the list of donees, as recorded in the third and the penultimate plates, should get $\frac{1}{2}$ a share less each. The total of shares awarded in three plates should therefore be $102\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $104\frac{1}{2}$ as stated in the preceding article.

Serial No.	Vēda, etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
25, 26, 27, 28, 29	Vājasanēyin . .	Krishṇātrēya . .	Divākara, Hari, Adbhuta, Tvashṭri, Tōshanāga (svāmins).	1
30	Do. . .	Kavestara . .	Mēdha-svāmin	1
31	Do. . .	Māṇḍavya . .	Dhṛiti-svāmin with his <i>gōtra</i> .	$\frac{1}{4}$
32	Do. . .	Kāśyapa . .	Kēśava-svāmin	1
33	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Gauri-svāmin	1
34	Do. . .	Do. . .	Suoharita-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
35	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bappa-svāmin	1 ¹
36	Bāhvrichya . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	Karkadatta-svāmin	1
37	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Udayana-svāmin	1
38	Do. . .	Vāsishṭha . .	Mērudatta-svāmin	1
39, 40	Vājasanēyin . .	Agnivēśya . .	Narēndra-Rēpubhūti-svāmins .	1
41	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mēdhabhūti-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
42	Chārakya . .	Sāṅkṛityāyana .	Chandrapaksha-svāmin	1
43	Bāhvrichya . .	Yāska . .	Kāli-svāmin	1
44	Do. . .	Do.-svāmin	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ²
45	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhatti-Mahēśvara-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
46	Do. . .	Pārāśarya . .	Gōpālanaadi-svāmin	1
47	Do. . .	Bhārggava . .	Viśvabhūti-svāmin	1
48, 49	Do. . .	Do. . .	Surakṣita, Suoharita-svāmins .	$\frac{1}{2}$
50	Taittiriya . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Śivagaṇasvāmin	1
51, 52, 53, 54	Bāhvrichya . .	Kātyāyana . .	Vasūri-svāmin with three brothers	1
55	Vājasanēyin . .	Kauśika . .	Virabhūti-svāmin	1
56	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇubhūti-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
57	Do. . .	Do. . .	Pramōdabhūti-svāmin	1
58	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vishṇudatta-svāmin	1
59	Do. . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	Bṛhaspati-svāmin	1
60	Bāhvrichya . .	Yāska . .	Harshadēva-svāmin	1
61	Vājasanēyin . .	Jātūkarnṇa . .	Mēdha-svāmin	1

¹ Here the insertion of Vēda and *gōtra* is redundant as the nearest preceding Vēda and *gōtra* are exactly the same as here (*vide* footnote 2, p. 248).

² *Vide* the prefatory remarks in this connection. The proper name that is missing here may have its mention in the missing plate, along with the record of Vēda and *gōtra*. If the record is really in continuation of the last line in the other side, then the name has been dropped through mere oversight and Vēda and *gōtra* are what belong to the last donee recorded in that side.

Serial No.	Vēda, etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
62	Vājasanēyin .	Jātūkerṇa .	Kṛishṇa-svāmin .	1
63, 64	Do. .	Do. .	Mādhava-Hari-svāmins .	1
65	Chhāndōga .	Bhāradvāja .	Janārdana-svāmin .	1
66	Vājasanēyin .	Maudgalya .	Vishpusōma-svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
67	Chārakya .	Gārggya .	Dhanasēna-svāmin .	1
68, 69	Do. .	Do. .	Pramōdasēna, Ghōshasēna (svāmins).	1
70	Do. .	Do. .	Sōmasena-svāmin .	1
71	Bāhvricha .	Gautama .	Bhāskaramittra-svāmin .	1
72	Do. .	Do. .	Madhumittra-svāmin .	1
73, 74	Do. .	Do. .	Sādhārapamittra, Sādhumitra (svāmins).	1
75	Do. .	Do. .	Dhṛitimittra-svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
76	Do. .	Bhāradvāja .	Śukrabhava-svāmin .	1
77, 78	Do. .	Pautrimāshyā .	Sudarśana, Dhanēśvara-svāmins .	$\frac{1}{2}$
79	Vājasanēyin .	Śāṇḍilya .	Ravi-svāmin .	1
80	Do. .	Do. .	Madhu-svāmin .	1
81	Do. .	Do. .	Mahidhara-svāmin .	1
82	Bāhvrichya .	Paurṇa .	Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvarasvāmin .	1
83	Do. .	Do. .	Bhaṭṭi-Māṭṛi-svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
84	Do. .	Do. .	Rudrabhaṭṭi-svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
85	Chhāndōga .	Kauśika .	Adrivilēpanasvāmin .	1
86	Vājasanēyin .	Sāvarṇṇika .	Gōmināgasvāmin .	1
TOTAL .				63 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total shares in other plates.				102 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹
GRAND TOTAL .				166 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Vide footnote 3 p. 248 above.

No. 41.—A NEW ASOKAN INSCRIPTION FROM TAXILA.

By DR. E. HERZFELD.

[The inscription which is published below was discovered at Taxila by Sir John Marshall who gave a facsimile of it in the *Annual Report* of the Archæological Survey of India for 1914-15¹ as well as in his *Guide to Taxila*². In both these publications he has recognised the special bearing it has on the origin of the Kharōshthī alphabet. That it was a new inscription of Aśōka, the great Mauryan Emperor, was not known till recently when its contents were deciphered by Dr. Herzfeld, who communicated his interpretation of it to Sir John Marshall in the following letter. To place this discovery before scholars, his letter is published as it is, though it is not in the usual form of an article. Even the transliteration has not been disturbed.—ED.]

DEAR SIR JOHN,

While trying to decipher the Aramaic inscription of Darius which I had discovered in 1923 on his tomb at Naqsh i Rostam, I gathered all the Aramaic material accessible to me here in Teheran, where I am almost deprived of all books, and thus I came once more upon the squeeze of the Taxila inscription which you had been kind enough as to send me long ago, and which accompanies me on my various travellings. Having even not your "Guide to Taxila" nor the publication in the Ind. Arch. Surv. at my disposal, I am unable to quote the work of deciphering that has already been done, nor can I take the great advantage of making use of such work. Moreover, having no sort of Aramaic glossary at my hand, the only thing left to me is just to let you know my reading of the letters, as far as I am able to read, being no Aramaist at all. Nevertheless, the little I can do, may prove useful to other scholars, and in spite of its unsatisfactory condition, I thought it worth not to keep it back entirely.

The following is a transcript of the inscription in Hebrew and Latin characters :—

1.	. ות ut .
2.	לכמירתי על	l ^d /kmyrty 'l
3	כינותא על	kynvta 'l
4.	אכזי שכינותא	a ^r /k _n zv škynvta
5.	ולאבוהי הוה	v labvhy huḥ
6.	הופתיחתי זנה	hvptyχty znh
7.	זך בהוונרה .	zk bhvv ^d /n _r rh .
8.	הובשתורזי הות	hvbštvy ^k /rzy hut
9.	מרנא פרידר	mran prydr
10.	ה . . לכות ה	h . . lkvtḥ
11.	ואף בנוהי	vap bnvhy
12.	למרנא פרידרש	lmran prydrš

Fig. 1 is a drawing of the inscription, exactly reduced to a quarter of its natural size. Fig. 2 gives an analysis of the Aramaic alphabet. These two drawings claim to be perfectly exact, as they are made directly from the squeeze by an extraordinary fine instrument

¹ P. 25 ff.² Pp. 75-76.

which I use for similar purposes: the reduction scale is, of course, always the same, and also the position of the single letters in regard to the neighbouring ones, their inclination and height above or below the average, is exact.

The letters g 𐤂, t 𐤃, s 𐤄, 𐤅 𐤆, and q 𐤇 don't occur in the inscription, 𐤈 𐤉 only once. Most of the letters are well shaped and clearly distinguishable. But n 𐤊 and r 𐤋 are varying, as in most Aramaic inscriptions, to such a degree, that, as a matter of fact, palæography alone does not furnish the means of fixing their value, and etymology must decide. Fig. 2 shows, that, moreover, d 𐤌 and k 𐤍 can assume a shape so closely resembling r 𐤋 or n 𐤊, that you will understand, why in several words that I am unable to explain, I have given, in the transcription, the various possibilities of reading. The true reading can only be reached at by the etymology of the whole word.

The surviving slab being unfortunately only a fragment of the inscription, a continuous text and translation is far beyond my capability to give. I must confine myself to some remarks:—

Line 1 : I do not venture to restore the word, although this seems not impossible to me. Its ending in 𐤎 indicates a fem. plur. in the stat. indetermin.

Line 2 : The first word has the prep. 𐤌 “to” and the termination of a fem. noun with encl. pron. of the 1. pers. The noun itself shows the pa'il form of a root 𐤍𐤎 (priest), or of 𐤍𐤎. The second word is the prep. 𐤌 “unto.” It is worth remarking that the 𐤌 in this preposition assumes already a distinct shape, the horizontal stroke being pronouncedly longer than in the other 𐤌. This development, not unusual to Aramaic, leads through Pârsik to the Avestic 𐬨𐬀 for o.

Line 3 : First word is a fem. plur. in the stat. determ. either from the root 𐤍𐤎 “to exist,” hence 𐤍𐤎 “essence, nature,” or more probable, the same word as in the following line, the missing first letter 𐤌 to be supplied at the end of the preceding line. The second word is the prep. 𐤌, as before.

Line 4 : The first word seems to be a verb, at least, its termination in 𐤌 is a common verbal termination. A root 𐤍𐤎 exists, e.g. in Arabic, but I have no means to ascertain whether it is also found in Aramaic or not. Possibly, as the word stands at the beginning of the line, it might be incomplete, the preceding letters may have been at the end of the foregoing line. The second word is the stat. determ. fem. plur. ending in 𐤎 of the noun 𐤍𐤎, pa'il of the root 𐤍𐤎 “to dwell,” hence “the dwellings.”

Line 5 : Begins with the copula 𐤌, preposition 𐤌 (dat.) and the noun 𐤍𐤎, to which is attached the encl. pron. of the 3. pers., hence “to his father.” The second word is the auxiliary verb 𐤌𐤎 “to be,” the third letter partly destroyed, but certain.

Line 6 : The first word does not look much like an Aramaic one. In taking the first letter 𐤌 as the last one of the word preceding at the end of the foregoing line, and the second letter 𐤌 as the copula, the word might be reduced to Aramaic dimensions, and become derived from the common root 𐤍𐤎, as a pa'il fem. with pron. pers. of the 1. pers. But this is rather a forced way, and there are in the following lines three more words that look not only non-Aramaic, but resist every attempt of explaining them as Aramaic. They, too, begin with, or contain at least the same 𐤌 at the beginning, which is well known to me from OP. and Greek, and, hence, must exist in Indian. I prefer to leave the explanation of these words to Indologists. The hu-, Gr. εὖ, if this interpretation be right, shows that the words in question belong to a moral sphere of ideas, I mean something like the Zoroastrian “good thoughts, good words, good deeds,” to which there is probably something corresponding in Buddhism. The second word of line 6 seems to be, although its second letter is somewhat misshaped, the pron. dem. 𐤌𐤎 “this.”

Line 7 : Begins with the other pron. dem. ך "that." Follows a word which begins also with ך, if we consider the first letter ך to be the Aram. prepos. ך "with, by." Else, it could almost be read "bahuvrihi" and is apparently non-Semitic, Indian.

Line 8 : Again a word beginning with ך of which I am unable to propose any Semitic explanation, and the second word of the same line, of which only three letters remain, begins once more with ך. As the third letter is ך, it cannot be a form of the auxiliary verb ךוה.

Line 9 : This line, as also l. 12, is of high importance. There are clearly and beyond any doubts, the two words: *mârâna Priyadar...*, in l. 12: *li-mârâna Priyadarš...*, i.e. "our (or to) our lord Priyadarša"

Line 10 : First letter ך, either beginning of the following word, or, since it is the encl. pron. of the 3. pers. sg., the end of the preceding word from line 9. Then a mutilation of the stone, a rest of the letter ך, and surely כות; the last letter is ך. I venture to restore this word, by supplying a ו in the lacuna, and to read it וכלכותה "and his queens," or, less probable "his kingdoms."

Line 11 : Begins with the copula ו followed by the particle אף "also." Second word is the plur. of כר formed from the stem כר, with pron. of the 3. pers. sg., hence "and also his sons."

Line 12 : As already explained, has the words "to our lord Priyadarš..." The last letter ש, though much mutilated, is certain, and that rendering of ש is not without interest.

If we regard the last lines: "our lord Priyad..... his (..) his queens....and also his sons... to our lord Priyadarš..." we may be inclined to believe that the missing part of the inscription has not been much larger than the narrow slab that forms the remaining part of it. That impression becomes strengthened if we consider the close following of the words beginning with hu-, and which were apparently closely connected in the original sequence of the phrase.

Although the word *priyadarçana* has more than one meaning, I think, we cannot doubt that it stands here for Açoka himself. It has been his official title, which, in all but one of his inscriptions, he uses alone instead of his proper name. M. SENART's suggestion, that he had adopted this title as his ordination name, is more than probable, and does not become contradicted by the fact, that the emperor himself uses once the plural of even that word in the sense practically of "kings." Daçaratha, and maybe all of his successors, used that ordination name as a title, not unlike the case of the word Caesar in Rome. But there are better reasons: according to the style of the script, we are, I feel sure, not allowed to put the inscription down too late. It belongs certainly to the IIIrd cent. B.C., but rather to its first half, than to its end. And even more cogent, I believe absolutely conclusive, is the following reason: Who, unless Açoka himself, in his endeavours to propagate the new faith, could have had any interest to employ, in India, at that period, an occidental, the Aramaic script and language?

Hence, I take it for settled, that the Taxila inscription is a new Açoka inscription. As I thought that you might be interested in the subject, as the discoverer of so extraordinary a monument, I have written these lines.

Believe me, dear Sir John,

Yours very faithfully,

ERNEST HERZFELD.


No. 42.—THE PULIBUMRA PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I (C. 632-63 A. D.).

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., KUMBAKONAM.

The following copper plate grant was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in 1914, by M. R. Ry. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu. It is registered in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1913-14 as No. 5 of Appendix A; and a summary of it appears on p. 85 of the same *Report*. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the discoverer of the plates. The ink impressions of the plates were kindly furnished by the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is engraved on three plates, which measure slightly below six inches by two and are strung together through ring-holes, measuring one-fourth of an inch in diameter. Regarding the seal which must have originally secured the ends of the ring I possess no information. The plates are numbered, though the figure on the first plate alone is clear. The engraving is distinct though at the end of lines 7, 13 and 18 there are erasures.

Excepting the imprecatory stanza (*Bahubhir etc.*) which comes at the end, the record is written in **Sanskrit prose**.

The **alphabet** and **orthography** do not call for any special remarks. Compared to the Timmāpuram plates of Vishṇuvardhana I Vishamasiddhi and the Pedda-Maddāli plates of this very king (Jayasimha I), we, no doubt, find a few differences in the way some of the letters are written but they are too minor to be noticed in detail. The final *t* which in the Timmāpuram plates is placed on the top of the succeeding letter and in the Pedda-Maddāli plates sometimes comes as a full circle, is here written as a separate letter (l. 1). The final *m* is here shown, though only once, like  (l. 2). The Timmāpuram plates give it as a dot but the Pedda-Maddāli plates put it both as a dot and as a curve. The doubling of consonants after *r* is to be seen here also, e.g., *parākram-ōpārjita* (l. 7) or *karmma* (l. 18). Though the record is rather free from the grammatical blunders which characterise the grant portion of the Timmāpuram plates, yet it contains errors like the wrong use of *visarga* in *Manuḥriva* (l. 9) and of *anusvāra* as in *bhuvanaiṃ maṇḍala* (l. 3).

The inscription records a grant made by the Eastern Chālukyan king Jayasimha I, who ruled from about 632 to 663 A. D. Only one record of this king had been discovered before 1914, namely, the Pedda-Maddāli plates¹. It is dated in his 18th year and distinguishes him by the title *Sarvasiddhi*. It was issued from the city of Udayapura, which has not yet been identified. From a number of inaccuracies in the language its genuineness has been questioned, but I think the faults are due to the composer and the record is authentic. According to it Jayasimha was the son of *Vishamasiddhi* Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I and grandson of Kīrtivarman, the Chalukyan king who ruled from *circa* 550 to 567 A.D. The number of his epithets would show that he was a pious and successful sovereign.

The present record (ll. 12-13) calls him *Prithvī-Jayasīṅgha-vallabha*, not Jayasimha as the other records do. The term² *Prithvīvallabha*, it should be noted, was a title of Kīrtivarman I

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137. It is registered as Kt. 337 in my *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*. Fleet's paper has been reproduced, without any alteration and without plates, in Burgess and Natesa Sastri's *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (*Arch. Surv. South India*, Vol. IV), pp. 166ff. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 243-4 and Sewell's *List of Copper Plates* No. 3 for shorter notices of the record.

Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 101.

as well as of his son Pulakēśin II, the paternal grandfather and the uncle respectively of the Eastern Chālukyan king Jayasimha I. We have, therefore, to infer that the title was inherited by the Eastern Chālukyas from their ancestors of the West-Deccan. The record describes Jayasimha as a conqueror of the world of chiefs by his ever-growing puissance, as a valiant soldier whose fame shed lustre in all directions, as a man whose trident-like triple-might pierced through the stout hearts of all the forces of hostile kings; as a Bṛhaspati in diplomacy, a Manu in modesty, a Yudhishtīra in the love of *dharma*, an Arjuna in invincibility and a scholar versed in the truths of the teachings of the *śāstras*. It further tells us that he gave the village of Pulibūmra (Pulibūru) in the Guddavādi-*vishaya*, to Rudraśarman, a Brahman of Asanapura, who was of the Gautama-*gōtra*, was learned in two Vēdas, belonged to the *Taittirika*¹ school and was the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. The endowed village was, we are told, made into a tax-free *agrahāra* called *sarvasiddhi-datti*. The executors of the grant were Hastikōśa and Virakōśa².

Guddavādi has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch³ with Gudivada, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Kistna District. The late Mr. Sewell⁴ has described the Jain and Buddhist antiquities of this place, besides the large numismatic finds of the Andhra period un-earthed here. They would indicate that the place must have been very prominent before the Chālukyan advent in the time of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. **Pulibūmra** (Pulibūru) may be identified with Polamūru in the Bhīmavaram taluk. **Asanapura** which seems to have played an important part in the cultural history of this period, I am unable to identify. Might it be Annavaram of the same taluk?

So far as the reign of Jayasimha is concerned, we are enlightened by a few other records. The Bezwada plates⁵ of Chālukya-Bhīma I tell us that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the father of Jayasimha I and the founder of the dynasty, ruled for 18 years. The Chīpurupalli plates⁶ of Vishṇuvardhana I, dated in the 18th year of his reign, give a date which was equated by Fleet and Kielhorn with 7th July A.D. 632. It is clear from this that Vishṇuvardhana I (who came to the Eastern Chālukyan throne, as proved by Fleet between 21st March and 19th April 615) ruled till at least July 632. We do not know when exactly Jayasimha was anointed king. It might have been any month after July 632. Nor are we aware of the length of his rule for the records do not agree in this point. The Bezwada plates of Chālukya-Bhīma I and almost all other plates⁷ give him a reign of 33 years. But the British Museum plates⁸ of Amma II (Vijayāditya VI) give him only 30 years. As this record stands alone in its statement, Kielhorn preferred to accept the version of the other records and decided that Jayasimha ruled for 33 years. According to Fleet,⁹ "the statement of the minority is certainly the correct one" and "from no point of view can a reign of 33 years be allowed to him." It seems to me, however, that both versions are inaccurate and must be considered to

¹ [Read *Taittirīya*. *Taittirika* would mean 'one who catches partridges.'—Ed.]

² [For these names and for the date see *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 85, para. 7 and No. 5 of Appendix A.—Ed.]

³ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34. The place had various names, e.g. Gudravāra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, 123); Gudrahāra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 76); Gudrāra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). This Gudivada ought not to be confounded with Guddavadi in Ramachandrapur taluk referred to in the Pithāpuram inscription of Manmasatya II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, 83 ff.)

⁴ *Lists of Antiquities*, p. 52.

⁵ This is Kt. 91 in my *Topo. List* and No. 557 in Kielhorn's *Southern List*. See *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 127-31.

⁶ See Vg. 16 in my *Topo. List, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI (1891), p. 15 ff., besides *S. Ind. Palaeography*, Plate 27.

⁷ E.g. Kt. 4, Kt. 320, B.M. 6, Kt. 8, etc., in my *Topo. List*.

⁸ B.M. 7 *Ibid.*, p. 1722 (Vol. III).

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 11, footnote 15.

be only general and vague statements regarding the duration of his reign. My reasons are these. The Nellore District plates¹ of Jayasimha's nephew and successor Vishnuvardhana II distinctly tell us that he made a grant on Wednesday, 13th March, A.D. 664, in the second year of his reign. This shows that he must have come to the throne before 13th² March 663. Similarly, the Maṭṭewāḍa plates of the same³ king record a grant on February 17, A.D. 668, which is said to be his 5th regnal year. It is clear from this that Vishnuvardhana II must have been anointed as king before February 17, A.D. 664, which date would fall in the first year of his reign. From a study of these records we are able to infer that Vishnuvardhana's accession took place before 13th March, A.D. 663 but not earlier than 17th February, 663 A.D., as 17th February, A.D. 664, according to the Maṭṭewāḍa plates, fell within the first year of his rule. It is obvious from this that Vishnuvardhana II ascended the throne between 17th February and 13th March, 663 A.D. Fleet⁴ also, after calculating a number of dates, concluded that his accession took place between 14th February and 24th March, A.D. 663. This is only another way of saying that the reign of Jayasimha I ended then. It is true that between Jayasimha and Vishnuvardhana II there was his son Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, but he ruled only for seven days. If Jayasimha came to the throne after July, 632 A.D. and if his reign ended between 17th February and 13th March, 663, A.D. it is clear that he ruled for 30 years and a few months. Though Fleet brought his accession⁵ down to March, 663 A.D. and assigned to him exactly 30 years, yet, I think he ruled for a space of 30 years and a few months—from some time after July 632 to about February-March, A.D. 663.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [1*] श्री विजयस्कन्धावारात् मादृगणपरिरक्षितानां मानव्यसगोत्राणां
- 2 हारि¹तिपुत्राणाम् अश्वमेधयाजिनां चतुर्व्यानां कुलजलनिधि-
- 3 समुत्पन्न²राजरत्नस्य सकलभुवनमण्डलमण्डितकीर्तिः⁷ श्री-
- 4 कीर्तिवर्धनः पौत्रः अनेकसमरसंवष्टविजयिनः प[र]नर-
- 5 पतिमकुटमणिमयूखावदातचरणयुगलस्य श्रीविष्णुवर्धन-
- 6 महाराजस्य प्रियतमयः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापीपतिसमस्त-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 सामन्तमण्डलः स्वबाहुवलपराक्रमोपाज्जितस[कल]यशो-
- 8 विभासितदिगन्तरः स्वशक्तित्रयचिशूलावभिन्नपर[न]रपति-
- 9 सकलवलचेतनः बृहस्पतिरिव नयन्नो मनुरिव⁸ विनय-
- 10 न्नः शुद्धिष्ठिर इव घर्म्मपरायणः अर्जुनवदपरमर-

¹ B.M. 2 (p. 1721) in *Madras Topo. List.* Also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 7.

² B.M. 3 ; *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, table on p. 12.

⁵ Read हारि¹

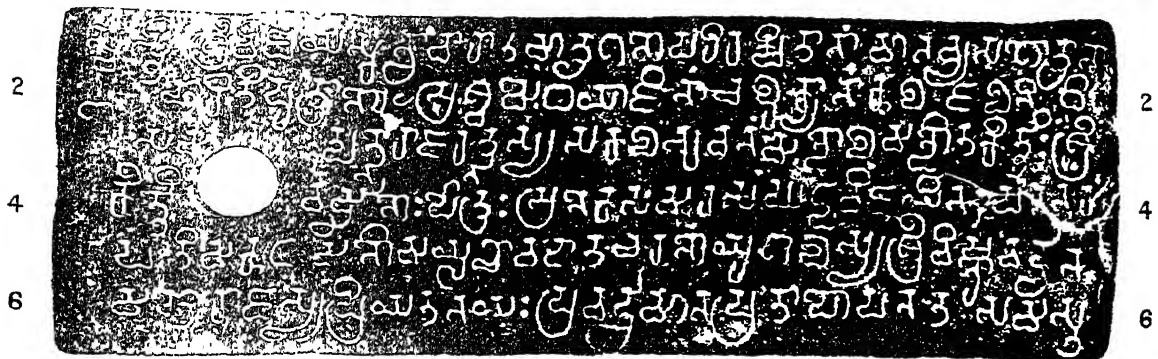
⁶ Read न्न.

⁷ Read न्नः.

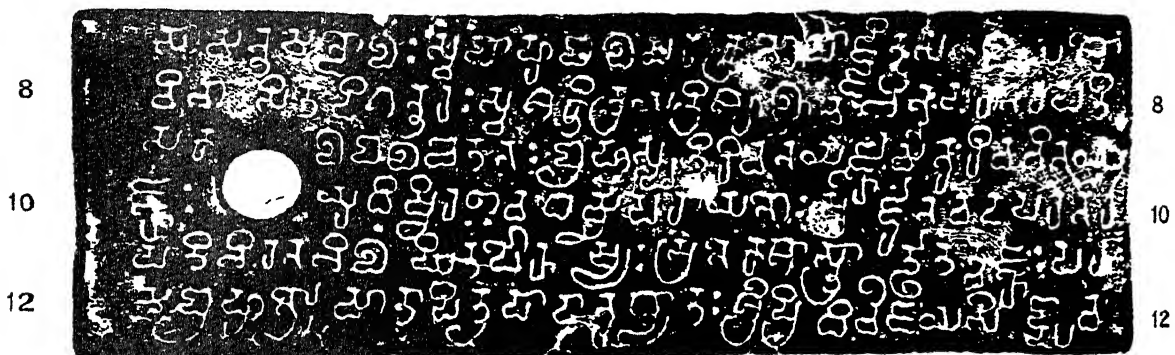
⁸ There is a *visarga* wrongly engraved before रि.

PULIBUMRA PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I,
(C. 632-63 A. D.)

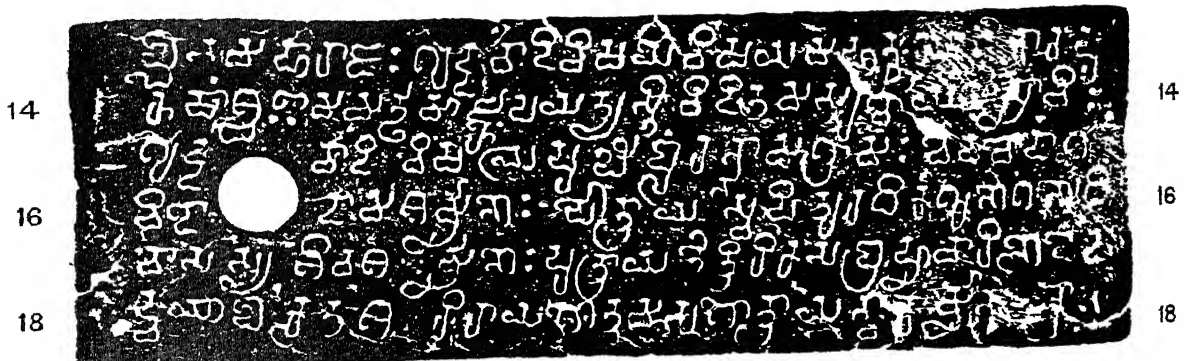
i.



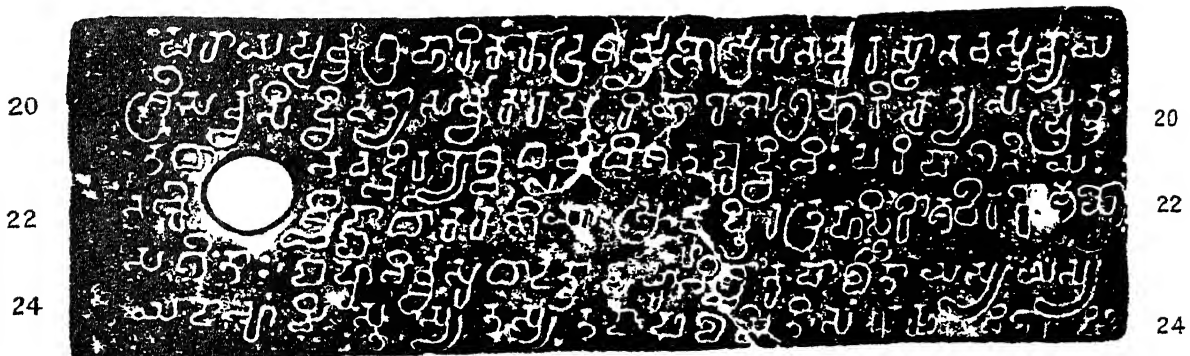
ii a.



ii b.



iii.



11 पत्तिभिरनभिलङ्घित¹पौरुष्यः अनेकशस्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञः² पर-

12 मन्त्रज्ञायो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीप्रि³थिवीजयसिद्धव-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 क्षभमहाराजः गुह्वादिविषयि⁴ विषयमह⁵ . . . कारपु-

14 रुषांश्च इममर्थमाज्ञापयत्यस्ति⁶ विदितमस्तु वोय[म]स्त्राभिः [1*]

15 गुह्वादिविषयि पुलोमूरन्नामग्रामः [1*] वेदवेदांग-

16 विदो दामशर्मणः⁷ पौत्राय स्वपितुरधिकगुणगणाधि-

17 वासस्य शिवशर्मणः पुत्राय तैत्तिरिक⁸सन्नज्ञचारिणे वेद-

18 द्वयालङ्कृतशरि(री)राय गोतमसगोत्राय स्वकर्म्म[ानुष्ठा]न-⁹

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 पराय¹⁰ पूर्वाग्रहारिकरुद्रशर्मणे असनपुरस्थानवस्तुव्याय¹¹

20 श्रीसर्वसिद्धिदत्ता सर्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहारोक्तस्य सम्प्रतः [1*]

21 तथा भवद्भिरन्यैश्च¹² धर्माधिगतबुद्धिभिः¹³ परिपालनोयः [1*]

22 न कैश्चिद्वाधा करणीया [1*] आज्ञप्तिरत्रहस्तिकोश¹⁴ वोरकोश [था¹⁵]-

23 सगीताः¹⁶ [1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चालुपालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य

24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [11*] सं 17
[11*].

TRANSLATION.

(1. 1) Hail ! From (his) victorious camp—the grandson of śrī-Kirtivarman¹⁸ whose fame adorned the circle of the whole world, who was a royal gem sprung out of the ocean-like

¹ Read च. [The form पौरुष्यः needs no correction.—Ed.]

² The *usarga* is cut twice.

³ Read प्र.

⁴ [What the author has taken to be the i-sign is only a crack in the plate. The e sign is clearly marked by a curve to the left of the first vertical line of *ya* as in *vē* (l. 15).—Ed.]

⁵ [In place of the dots read °त्तरानधि°.—Ed.]

⁶ [हस्ति is superfluous.—Ed.]

⁷ *Dāma* might be a shortened form of *Dāmōdara*.

⁸ [See f. n. 2 on p. 255 above.—Ed.]

⁹ The letters are much erased here.

¹⁰ There is a dot before प्र.

¹¹ Read वृ.

¹² For न the engraver had cut च.

¹³ In ग we find the inside stroke of ग् wrongly inserted.

¹⁴ Read कोशी.

¹⁵ The letter व्य is indistinct, the lower part alone being clear. It is further beneath the punctuation mark and not separate.

¹⁶ [Evidently °गीतः was intended for only one verse is given श्रीकः is understood.—Ed.]

¹⁷ For these 5 symbols see *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle* for 1913-14, p. 35 and No. 5 of Appendix A.—Ed.]

¹⁸ See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* The epithet given to Kirtivarman is repeated with slight variations in all Chalukyan records.

family of the Chālukyas who were the performers of the *aśvamēdha*-sacrifice, who were Hārīti-putras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas (and) who were protected by the group of the *Mātris*,

(l. 4) the beloved son of *śrī*-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja who was a victor in many a battle-assault,¹ whose two feet were brightened by the rays of the gems of the crowns of other kings ;

(l. 6) Śrī-Prithivī-Jayasiṅha-vallabha whose ever-growing valour reduced the circle of the *Sāmantas* ; whose fame, acquired by the strength of his arms, lit all the directions ; the trident-like triad² of whose power split the heart of all the forces of hostile kings ; a diplomat like Bṛhaspati ; disciplined like Manu ; righteous like Yudhisṭhira ; who, like Arjuna, had a manliness unsurpassed by that of other kings ; a knower of the truth of the meanings of many *śāstras* ; the very pious one, who meditated on the feet of (*his*) mother and father,

(l. 13) orders, the people and (officers ?) of Guddavādi to this effect : Let this be made known to you that we have granted by the gift called *sarvasiddhi* the village of Pulibūmra (lying) in the Guddavādi-*viśaya*, after making it an *agrahāra*, free from all taxes, to the *pūrvāgrahārika* Rudraśarma, who is a resident of *Asanapura*, belongs to the *Taittirika*³ (school), whose mouth (literally, body) is adorned by the two *Vēdas*, who belongs to the *Gōtama gōtra* ; who is intent on the performance of his duties and is the son of Śivaśarma who surpassed his father in virtues, and who is the grandson of Dāmaśarma, the knower of the *Vēdas* and the *Vēdāṅgas*.

(l. 21) Therefore, by yourselves and by others, who are virtuously disposed, let this be protected. Let no violation be done by anybody. The executors (*are*) Hastikōśa⁴ and Virakōśa.

(ll. 23-24) Vyāsa says : [The usual imprecatory verse.]

No. 43.—THE PEDDA-VEGI PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYA SIMHA I.

BY V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., KUMBAKONAM.

These plates were brought to my notice by a relative of mine several years ago. The plates were, I was told, found two or three feet below the surface of the earth during some excavations near Pedda-Vēgi in the vicinity of Ellore. They are registered in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1917-18, as No. 11 of Appendix A. A review of the record appears on p. 130 of the same report.

¹ The king was known as *Viśhamasiddhi* in consequence of his daring achievements. c.f. *चनेकविपुलग्रमय नावाहविषमसिद्धिः* of the Pedda Maddāli plates.

² That is *Atmaśakti*, *Prabhuśakti* and *Utsāhaśakti*.

³ [See f. n. 1 on p. 255 above.—Ed.].

⁴ The word *kōśa* has different meanings in Tamil classical literature. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies the *Kōśar* who invaded the Pāṇḍyan kingdom with the vanguards of the Vamba or later (or illegitimate) Mauryas and connects them with the *Kōśakāras* of Assam referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Kōśars* seem to have been not only a particular tribe but (1) soldiers in general ; (2) followers or relatives of kings corresponding to the Sanskrit *Rājanyas* ; (3) officers of justice in village courts, etc. In the present record the word seems to mean, as the Govt. Epigraphist points out, an officer. [See f. n. 2 on p. 255 above.—Ed.].

The inscription is engraved on three plates, the first side containing nothing and the last a single line. The plates were hung on a ring which carries a fixed circular seal engraved in relief with the title *Srī-Sarvasiddhī* and measure about 7½ inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The ring is about 3½ inches in diameter. The engraving is on the whole clear; but the ends of lines 16 and 17 in plate 2 and of 19 and 20 in plate 3 are very much defaced.

The language of the grant is **Sanskrit**. The characters are identical with those employed in the Pulibūmra as well as the Niṇṇapaṇu plates which have been noticed above. No special remarks are necessary regarding the alphabet and orthography of this grant. The Dravidian *r* occurs in ll. 13 and 14 and the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 18 and 25. The final *t* and *m* have also been used. The former occurs as a separate letter in l. 24 and the latter is generally written in the form of a dot but in l. 23 is represented by a hook.

The contents of this grant have already been noticed by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The identification of the place names has also been discussed by him. All this need not be recapitulated here. The donee was **Sōmaśaraman**, son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dēvaśarman who was a resident of Kukkanūr, belonged to the Gārgya-gōtra and was a pupil of the Taittiriya school of the Yajur-*vēda*. The grant was made for the increase of the *dharma* of the donor and of his parents on the full-moon day of Kārttika which was a *vishuvadina* or the day of the equinox.

THE TEXT.¹

Plate I.

- 1 नमस्सवित्रे ॥ स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीमतामनन्यसाधारणगुणाधारभूतानां स्वविक्रमाका-
- 2 न्तसकलमहीभुजाभानव्यसगीत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां शक्तिधरप्रसादो-
- 3 पनतसमस्तवसुमतीराज्यानाम्मातृगणपरिप[र]लितानाम-
- 4 श्वमेधावभृथज्ञानपरिध्वंसितैनसामनुष्ठितवर्णाश्रमस्थितानाम्
- 5 मातापितृपादानुद्गतानाञ्चालुक्थानामन्ववायमुन्नमयतो नृपतिगु-
- 6 णसामग्रसन्निवासस्य कुशलजनकी[र्त्ति]तकीर्त्तेः कीर्त्तिवर्म्माण[ः] तस्यप्रिया-

Plate II-A.

- 7 तजस्य कनीयसः कारणविष्णोरिव विष्णुवम्भणः² स्वभुजबलविजितारिस³हतेस्स-
- 8 कला⁴दिगङ्गनावदनविशेषका⁵यमानयशसस्तस्यानन्द इव विग्रहवान्मुतः स्वगुण-
- 9 गणातिशयितपूर्वजः शक्तिबलवशीकृताशेषरिपुबलस्सकललोकश्रया-
- 10 चार[ः*] सर्वसिद्धिरपि च ॥ ⁶इन्दुं रुचा सुरगुरुश्च धिया सिताश्रं शौर्ये-
- 11 ण वारिधिमगाधतयात्मवृत्तैः [।*] धर्मात्मजं रविजमीहितदानशक्त्या क-
- 12 न्दर्पमाहिततनं⁷ वपुषातिशेते ॥ एवंविधाभिरामिकगुणः श्रीज-

¹ From ink impressions.

² Read क.

³ Read सं.

⁴ Read ल.

⁵ The letters *मानय* are cut in smaller size below the line.

⁶ *Vasantatilaka* metre.

⁷ The *anusvāra* sign is not above नु but between नु and द.

Plate II-B.




- 13 यसिंहवल्गभमहाराजः कन्थे  वाटिविषये क्लेशूरोनाम ग्रामस्त-
 14 स्य दक्षिणतो गव्य¹तमात्रात्कोस्व  नाम ग्रामस्तन्निवासिनिः² तद्विषयवां-³
 15 सिनञ्चान्याश्चा⁴त्रजनपदान् समवेतानिवमाज्ञापयति [1*] सर्वा⁵ अना-
 16 गतकालभाव(वि)राजविषे⁶न्यथोपचारपुरस्त[रं] इत्थं सम्मानयति [1*]⁷
 17 कुक्कनूरवास्तव्य⁸स्तैत्तिरीयसन्नहचारिणो गार्ग्यगोत्रस्याधिगतचतुश्शास्त्रस्यानु-
 18 दिनानुष्ठितस्वकर्मणो देवशर्मणः⁹ पुत्रस्य तदनुरूपगुणस्य स्वामिशर्मण¹⁰पु-

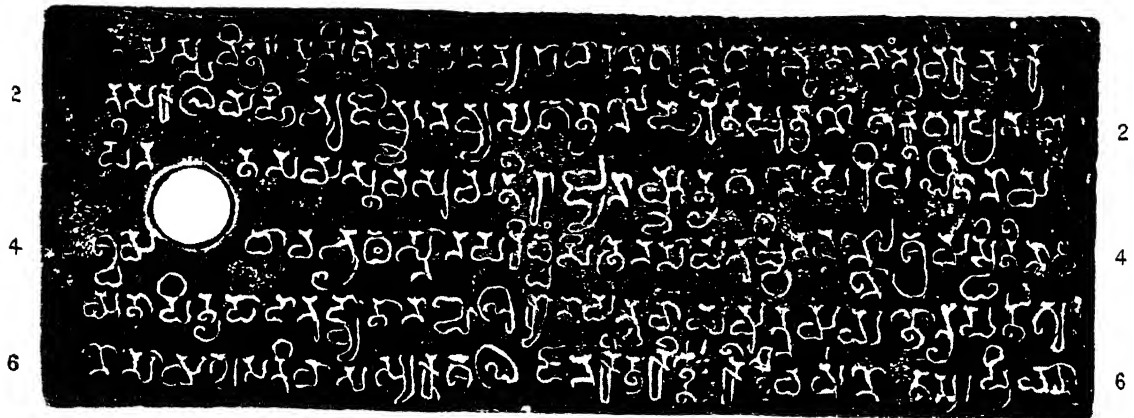
Plate III-A.

- 19 चाय वेदशास्त्रविदुषे स्वकर्मनिरताय ¹⁰पियातिथये सोमशर्मणे कार्तिक-
 [पौ*]र्ण[सासि*]
 20 विषुवदिने स्व¹¹त्तातापित्रोरात्मनश्च धर्माभिहृद्येस्माभिस्सर्वकरपरिहारेण
 अग्रहा[रोक्ष]-
 21 त्व दत्तोयं ग्रामः [11*] न केनचिद्वाधाकरणीया यस्तु करोति कारयत्यनुमन्यते
 वा स पञ्चम-
 22 हापातकैर्युक्तो भवत्यपि च व्यासगोतौ श्लोकौ भवतः [11*] ¹²बहुभिर्वसुधा
 दत्ता व-
 23 हुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [11*]
 षष्टिवर्ष-
 24 सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आत्षेप्ता¹³ चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 वसेत् [11*] ओ-¹⁴
 25 सर्वसिद्धेर्वसुधाधिपस्य प्रियः शरीरोव नय  पुरोधाः [1*] रणैवसन्ना¹⁵भवद-
 26 स्य विद्वानाज्ञप्तिरार्यः (य्यो) नरसिंह¹⁶सर्मा [11*]

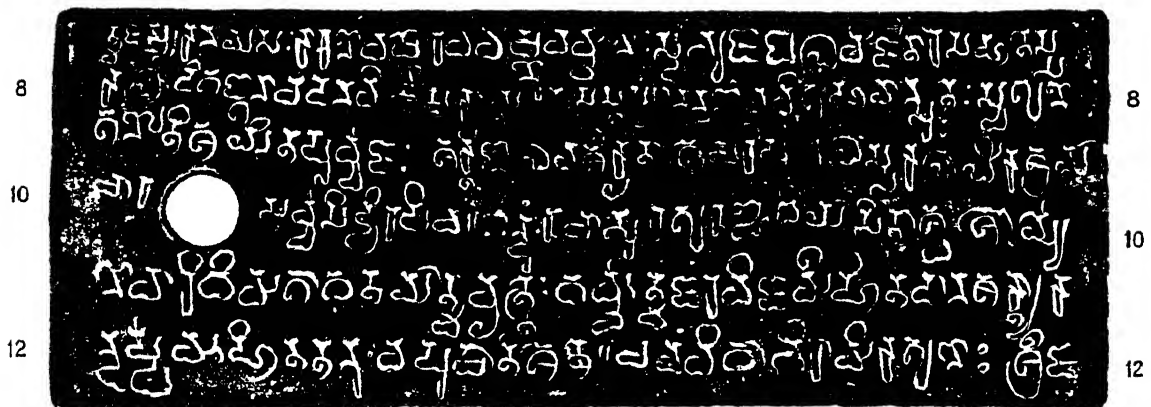
¹ Read ति.² Read नः.³ Read वा.⁴ Read न्याय.⁵ Read सर्वान्.⁶ Read ची.⁷ Then 3 or 4 letters are badly damaged.⁸ Read एवे.⁹ The letter च looks like स्य for the sign of the conjunct consonant र is on the left side of त and not on the right side as usual. This is due to want of space just before त.¹⁰ Read मि.¹¹ Read न.¹² The metre of this and of the following verse is *Anuṣṭubh*.¹³ Read से.¹⁴ *Upajāti* metre.¹⁵ I have not been able to make any sense out of this, [The reading seems to be रणावसन्ना भवदस्य⁹ which would mean that Narasimhaśarma died in a battle-field and thus won 'viragati.'—Ed.]¹⁶ Read Narasimha Śarma.

PEDDA-VEGI PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I.

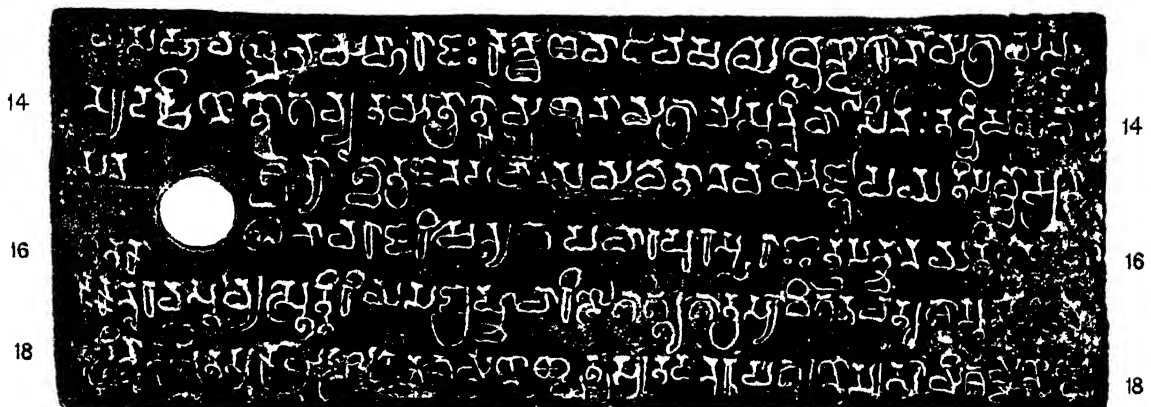
i.



ii.



iii.



iii.

20 20 22 24

20 22 24

20 22 24

iih.

26 26

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Hail ! Jayasimha-Vallabha-Mahārāja (l. 12), surnamed Sarvvasiddhi (l. 10),—the son of Vishnuvarman (l. 7), the youngest son of Kirttivarman (l. 6),—of the family of the Chālukyas (l. 5), orders thus the residents of the village named Kombaru (which lay) in the district (*vishaya*) of Kanthēruvāṭi at (a distance of) a *gavyūti* to the south of Vlēṇṭūru (ll. 13-15) :

‘ This village (Kombaru), having been made into a tax-free *agrahāra* (l. 20), has been given by us to Sōmaśarmman (l. 19), who is a resident of Kukkanūr, belongs to the Taittiriya school and Gārgya-*gōtra* (l. 17), the son of Svāmīśarman and grandson of Dēvaśarman (l. 5), on the *vishuvādina* of Kārttika-Pūrṇimā (l. 19)’. Sōmaśarmman is stated to have been a very learned scholar and hospitable and one who regularly performed his daily duties.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant) is stated to have been the beloved preceptor of king Sarvvasiddhi, polity incarnate as it were, the learned and noble Narasimhaśarman (ll. 25-26).

No. 44.—THE BARWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA SUBANDHU; THE YEAR 167.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription comes from the Barwāni State in Central India, and has briefly been noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum for 1924-25.

It is engraved on a copper-plate measuring about 8"×3·2" and is well preserved. The sign-manual of the king, viz., *Śrī-Subandhōḥ* is written on the left margin. The charter was granted by Mahārāja Subandhu.

The characters belong to the ‘ box-headed ’ variety of the southern class of alphabets, and may be ascribed to about the fifth century A.D. The box-shape of the tops of the letters is scooped out hollow and is almost rectangular. The letters are more or less like those of the Chammak copper-plate inscription¹ of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka family.

The language is Sanskrit prose throughout, and is generally correct. It contains no benedictory or imprecatory verse, but merely records the grant as ordered by the donor, i.e., prince Subandhu.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—

- (1) Consonants are generally doubled when combined with (i) a superscript *r*, as in *-garttāpathakāḥ*, l. 1, and *-chandrārkkārṇṇava-*, l. 4.
and (ii) with a subscript *r*, as in *-paddrakē*, l. 2.
- (2) the combination of *ta* and *tha* with a superscript *r* in *puṇyāpyāyatārttiha-*, l. 4.
- (3) the wrong use of *i* instead of *ī* in *Māhishmati*, and *kuśali*, l. 1.
- (4) *Sandhi* is not observed in *kuśali udumbara-*, l. 1, etc.

Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate 34.

The present inscription is one of **Mahārāja Subandhu**, and the grant recorded in it is issued by him from the city called **Māhishmatī**. It is dated the seventh day of the bright half of Bhādrapada of Sam. 167. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a piece of land at the village (*padraha*) **Sōhajanā** in the **Udumbaragartā** district (*pathaka*) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Shashṭhisvāmin** for the spiritual welfare of the donor and of the donor's parents. The *dūtaka* is **Guhadāsa**. The date of the grant is given in symbols of 100, 60 and 7 (=167), and should be referred to the **Gupta era**. It would, then, correspond to **486 A.D.** The **Subandhu** of this charter is apparently a new figure. That he is styled as a 'Mahārāja' would show that he was a vassal-chief. Possibly, like **Suraśmichandra**,¹ he was a subordinate of **Budhagupta**, who, as shown by the **Eran**² Pillar and the **Sārnāth**³ Buddha Image inscriptions, and by his coins⁴, flourished about that time.

The fact that **Mahārāja Subandhu** was connected with such an ancient and famous city as **Māhishmatī** is noteworthy.

As to the places mentioned in the document **Māhishmatī**⁵ is apparently the homonymous town of epic fame, which is, in all probability, now represented by **Mahēśvara**, though scholars like **Pargiter** would identify it with **Māndhātā**⁶ on the **Narmadā**.

The other two places namely, **Sōhajanā** and **Udumbaragartā**, I am unable to locate.

TEXT.⁷

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [I*] माहिष्मतिनगरः⁹(रात्) महार[र*]जसुबन्धुः कुशलि¹⁰ उदु-
स्वरगर्त्तापथकः(के)
- 2 सोहजनापट्टके स्वानायुक्तकादीन्समाज्ञापयति यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक-
- 3 क्षेत्रं तन्मयास्त्रे ब्राह्मणषष्ठिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राया¹¹ वादिस-¹²
- 4 नेयसब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायतार्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्णव-¹³
- 5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं ब्रह्मदेयमतिष्ठं [I*] विदित्वाद्यदिवसादार-
भ्योपि(चि)-

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 88.

³ [See *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1914-15, p. 125.—Ed.] Also, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 203.

⁴ John Allan's *Coins of the Gupta dynasties*, coin no. 617.

⁵ It was founded by Mahishmat, a Haihaya chieftain, [*Vishṇu-Purāna* translated by H. H. Wilson, Vol. IV, p. 54].

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 445-6.

⁷ From the original plate.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read °मती°.

¹⁰ Read कुशली.

¹¹ Read °गोत्राय.

¹² Read वाजसनेय°.

¹³ त् is redundant! °यसायं may be a clerical mistake for °यनायं°.

6 तया ब्रह्मदेयमुत्तया भुजता¹ न व्यासेधव्य×काय्य² [I*] सं³ १०० ६० ७
भ(भा)द्रपदे [शु]दि च[स] [I*]

7 गुहदासदूतकः [I*]
श्रीसुबन्धोः⁴

No. 45.—DHAULI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF SANTIKARA; THE [GANGA] YEAR 93.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

Close to the boulder at Dhauli, on which the edicts of Aśoka are inscribed, is a lofty hill, the highest part of which rises about 1,000 feet above the surrounding ground level. It is surmounted by a ruined temple dedicated to Śiva. One side of this temple has disappeared entirely, and the gigantic *phallus*, enshrined therein, is thereby exposed to view. Below this temple, about a hundred yards to the east, on the southern face of the hill, there is a small cave. According to the *Puri Gazetteer* the "northern ridge culminates in a temple-crowned peak, and at its western extremity are a number of caves, natural and artificial. To the east of the temple and at a lower level is a natural fissure, full of bats; and on a boulder at the top, near the entrance, is cut a small inscription in three lines."⁵ I found the fissure and the bats, but could not get at the boulder or find the inscription of three lines. Close to the fissure, is an artificial cave, measuring 4' × 5' × 3½' approximately. There is a niche in the back wall of this cave, under which is inscribed *Jaya-Śrī-Śrī* (h); and on the right wall is a record in seven lines, which is being edited below. The letter *ta* occurs on the level of 1. 1 at a distance.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (*maṭha*) of Āghyakā-varāṭi by one Bhaṭṭa Lōyōmaka, son of the physician Nannaṭa and grandson of Bhīmaṭa, who was born of the womb of Ijyā, an inhabitant of Virajō, in the year 93, during the reign of the illustrious Śāntikara-dēva. Śāntikara-dēva is known from another votive inscription in the Gaṇṇṣa-gumphā at Khaṇḍagiri, where Ijyā, Bhīmaṭa and Nannaṭa are mentioned⁶. The Gaṇṇṣa-gumphā inscription is not dated. We do not know anything yet about this king. A line of three kings with the suffix *Kara* in their names is mentioned in the Neulpur grant of Śubhakara.⁷ Except the resemblance in the names, we have no data on the basis of which we can establish any connection between them.

The chief importance of this record is its date, which supplies a datum for fixing the period of the dynasty. The adjectives in the Neulpur grant show that the dynasty was Buddhist in faith. The date of this inscription is 93. The form of the palatal *śa* indicates that it cannot be referred to the Harsha era (605-6 A.D.) The situation of the inscription precludes a reference to the Newar era (880 A.D.) The Chālukya-Vikrama era (1076 A.D.) would be too late. The era of the Gaṅgas, which was used in Kaliṅga in its first century, is most probably the reckoning to which this record is to be referred. According to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, the initial year of this

¹ Read भुजता.

² Read न व्यासेध×काय्य; *Jihvāmūliya* is used here. [But the symbol seems to represent *m*.—Ed.]

³ सं stands for संवत्.

⁴ Is engraved on the left margin.

⁵ *Puri Gazetteer*, pp. 245-46.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 167.

⁷ *Ante*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-3,

era is equal to 772 or 778 A.D.,¹ and the date of the Bāmanghāṭi grant of Raṇabhañja of the year 288 is to be referred to the same reckoning. Thus, the date of this record would correspond to 865 A.D.

A king named Śāntikara is also mentioned in the Kumuranga plates of Daṇḍi-Mahādēvi published by the late Mr. Haranandan Panday of the Archæological Survey of India.² According to this inscription Śāntikara was the son of Lalitabhāra and the father of Śubhākara, whose consort Daṇḍi-Mahādēvi issued the Kumuranga grant. According to the late Mr. Panday, Śāntikara of the Kumuranga inscription is the same as Kshēmaṅkara of the Neulpur plate.³ Both being Royal Charters embodying grants of land, it is extremely unlikely that Kshēmaṅkara and Śāntikara were one and the same person. In fact, no other name except that of Śubhākara agrees in the two genealogies. It appears to me that the Kumuranga plate of Daṇḍi-Mahādēvi is much later in date than the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara. It is quite possible that some of the earlier names in the former inscription may be *birudas* of Śivakara, Kshēmaṅkara and Śubhākara of the Neulpur inscription.

The characters of the inscription are much later than those of the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara and, therefore, it is probable that Śāntikara was a descendant or successor of Śubhākara. The following tentative genealogy of this dynasty may be accepted :—

Kshēmaṅkara-dēva.

Śivakara-dēva.

Śubhākara-dēva.

⋮

Śāntikara-dēva.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Śrī-Śāntikara-dēva-rājya-[sa]
- 2 mvaṭ 90,⁵ 3 Ijyā-garbhaḥjēna
- 3 Virajōvāstavya-Vaidya-Na[nna-]
- 4 ṭa-putra Bhīmaṭa-pauttra Bhaṭṭa-
- 5 Lōyōma[kṣ]n-Āghyakā-Varāṭi
- 6 maṭh=ā(ō)yam dēyēbhya(?) kārīta-
- 7[bā]raka

TRANSLATION.

(In) the year 93, (during) the reign of the illustrious Śāntikara-dēva, this temple of Āghyakā-Varāṭi was caused to be made as a (?) gift by Bhaṭṭa Lōyōmaka, son of the physician Namṇaṭa (and) grandson of Bhīmaṭa, who was born of the womb of Ijyā (and was) an inhabitant of Virajō.

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62. [This requires verification. It is not unlikely that the era commenced much earlier.—Ed.]

² *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. V, 1919, pp. 564-79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

⁴ From photographs and impression taken by me.

⁵ [The symbol though apparently damaged seems to be noteworthy.—Ed.]



2

4

6

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4

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6

No. 46.—KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA.

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The existence of the copper-plates, on which this grant is incised, was brought to notice by the late Mr. T. C. Rath, B.A., when he was the District Munsif at Chodavaram in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency. The late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao thus wrote a preliminary note on the grant in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1921, p. 93 :—"It is engraved on a set of three copper-plates hung together on a ring about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The plates measure $6\frac{1}{4}$ " long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. The circular seal set on to the ring has a diameter of $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". On its surface are cut in relief the figures of the crescent at the top and a seated bull in the centre and a line of letters at the bottom which is completely damaged."¹

I owe the opportunity of editing this record for the first time to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., who kindly placed the ink-impressions of it at my disposal.

The alphabet is an early type of the Northern variety of Nāgarī. As regards orthography *ba* is not distinguished from *va*. The symbol for *ṇa* (e.g., see *mṛiṇāla*. l. 1, *guṇai* l. 29 and *aviṇai-tatayā* l. 33) is also used for *ñ* when it forms the first part of a conjunct consonant; cf. *vāñchhām* l. 8, *Krauñchārēr=iva* l. 32, *upabhuñjānasya* l. 54, *uktañ=cha* l. 55 and *lāñchhin(t)aṁ* l. 60; but a different symbol is used for *ṇa* when it forms the second part of a conjunct consonant, as in *yajñair=* l. 19. Such similarities of symbols are probably to be attributed to the faulty local pronunciations. The form of *pa* occasionally approaches that of *va*; cf. *guṇin=āpi* l. 5, the second *pā* in *pāp-āvatārar=* l. 18, *pāyinaḥ* l. 24 and *parvārītaḥ* l. 29. The guttural nasal is used instead of an *anusvāra* before *śa* as in the early Gupta records, cf. *ushṇ-āñśatējā[h]* for *ushṇ-āñśutējā[h]* l. 21, *prabhās-ōñśubhiḥ* for *prabhās-āñśubhiḥ* l. 2, *prāñśur=* for *prāñśur=* l. 3, *vañś=ēthu* for *vañś=ētha* l. 14. It is still traceable in the pronunciation of the Oriyas. The doubling of consonants after *r* except in the case of sibilants and the aspirate *ha* is common; cf. *mañēr-ddigdha[h]* l. 2, *-patir=namahēbha-* l. 17, *-āvatārar=nnitām(tā)-* l. 18, *ākarshtya-* l. 23, *īrshayā* l. 29, *yath=ārhan (m)* l. 50. The exceptions however are: *prāñ(m)śur=mahebha-* and *Śambhōr=jaṭā[h]* (l. 3), *patir=garī-yām (n)* (l. 12), *-durlaliti(t-ā)sidhārā(rah)* and *kālēyair=bhūta-* (l. 17), *-ākhilārēr=marud=iva* and *dayālur=narapatir=* (l. 21), etc. *N* is thrice wrongly replaced by an *anusvāra* marked on the preceding letter; cf. *prāptavām* for *prāptavān* (l. 26), *lav(b)dh-ōnnatīm* for *lav(b)dh-ōnnatīn* (l. 30), *asmin* for *asmin* (l. 47) and thrice *n* takes the place of an *anusvāra*; cf. *chitrān* for *chitrām* (l. 26), *sarvvan* for *sarvvaṁ* (l. 36) and *yath=ārhan* for *yath=ārham* (l. 50).

Of the initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *ē* and *ō*. In the Buguḍa plates *a* and *ā* are denoted by one and the same sign. In this record, we have a different sign for the length of *ā*, which is denoted by a cup-like addition on the proper left of the letter; cf. *a* in ll. 24, 47, 51 and 53 with *ā* in ll. 10 and 39. The initial *i* occurs in ll. 1, 12, 14, 16, 25 and 27; *ē* in l. 30 and *ō* in l. 52. The initial *u* is found in l. 55. For medial *u* we have two signs: the ordinary one, viz., a rounded curve to the reader's left; cf. *tantubhir-* l. 1, *pāntu* l. 3, *prabhuḥ* l. 9, *-kumbha-* l. 17, *-tuṅgād-* l. 22, *turaga-* l. 44, etc.; and the perpendicular downward line with a straight small stroke to the left; cf. *plut-* l. 3, *v (b) āhuḥ* l. 4, *mumuda(ē)* l. 13, *-paṭunā* l. 20, etc. Similarly, *ū* is denoted by two signs, the first consisting of two rounded strokes, one to the right and the other to the left; cf. *svayambhūr=api* (l. 8), *bhūmi-* (l. 12) and *=bhūta-* (l. 17), the other consisting of a downward horizontal stroke ending in a loop to the left as in the case of the Talēśvara copper-plates²; cf. *sūnuḥ* (ll. 12 and 27), *ripūn-* (l. 30), *vidhūta(na)na* (l. 38)

¹ Vide also No. 3 of the Appendix A to the same Report.

² Ante Vol. XIII, plates facing pages 114 and 115.

and *pūjagat* (l. 60). The division of verses in the text is not made in all the necessary places. In some cases as in l. 25 the engraver has marked the first half of a verse by a cursive stroke, which is also used along with two perpendicular strokes to indicate the end of a verse in several cases, as in l. 15.

The language is Sanskrit. Out of the first 11 verses in the Buguḍa grant of Mādhavavarman,¹ 9 are found in this record. The inscription opens with a verse invoking the protection of the plaited hair of Śiva. This is followed by the genealogy of the dynasty which starts with Pulindasēna as in the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates. The construction of the first half of verse 5 of the Buguḍa plates, which comes as 4th in this record, was not clear to Kielhorn, evidently on account of the wrong text "*Śilāsakal-ōbhāḍā*." The reading in this grant and in the Pārikud plates clears up the point. Here the text reads "*śilā-sakal-ōbhāḍā*" which is to be construed with *prabhūḥ* in l. 3. The purport of the verse in question is that Brahman created a ruler named Śailōdbhava 'who split as under parts of a rock and was the founder of a dynasty'. The truth underlying this statement appears to be that the dynasty flourished originally in rocky regions. The record next mentions Rājabhīta, who was born in the lineage of Śailōdbhava and who frightened many a time the wives of his enemies,² (as their husbands were sure to be killed in battles that were to be fought). To him was born Sainyabhīta, the king at whose successes, won by the strength of the impenetrable row of elephants in many a battle, the earth rejoiced (v. 8). In his family was born Yaśōbhīta, who was also a great warrior. His son was the benevolent ruler Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman II of the Buguḍa grant), who was a 'lotus to the bees, viz., the eyes of charming women.' From him was descended Yaśōbhīta-dēva (II), whose surname was Madhyamarājadēva (v. 11). His son was the king Dharmmarāja, who was proficient in all the sciences and whose character was unblemished. King Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force and not being recognized (as a monarch), formed the evil intention of expelling from his province his elder relations, but was defeated in battle at Phāsikā by Dharmmarāja. Thereafter he resorted for help to king Strīvara but was again defeated by him at the foot of the Vindhya (v. 15). Dharmmarāja's surname was Mānabhīta (v. 16). He was pre-eminently a scholar and was, therefore, known as "*sakala-śāstra-viśēṣa-vēdī*," i.e., one who had a critical knowledge of all the sciences. He is said to have spent his time in discussing religious matters in the assemblies of Brāhmanas.

The possible identification of Madhyamarāja with Yaśōbhīta II on the analogy of Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion (which was accepted by Kielhorn) that Sainyabhīta was probably a surname of Mādhavavarman,³ was proposed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud plates,⁴ though in his opinion the exact relationship of Madhyamarāja with a former king was a matter of doubt. Still, on the analogy of the Buguḍa plates, it may be presumed that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarājadēva.

The prose portion of the inscription records a grant of half of the village of Kōṇḍēḍḍa in the district of Khiddiāgahāra to Bhaṭṭa Gōṇadēva-svāmin, an *agnihōtrin*, who belonged to the Kousika-gōtra and the Vājasaneyā-charaṇa, and whose *Pravaras* were Ō(Au)dalavat, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra.

I would ascribe the Buguḍa plates to the beginning of the 9th century A.D. although Kielhorn wanted to relegate them to the 10th century.

According to Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Pārikud plates of Madhyamarājadēva, the father of the grantor of the plates under examination, are dated in the Harsha era. The late Mr. Venkoba Rao

¹ *Anta* Vol. III, pp. 43-44.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 144.

³ Verse 5.

⁴ Above Vol. XI, p. 283.

thought that they were dated in the Vikrama era. But I would side with the late Mr. V. Venkayya in taking the numerical symbol as standing for the regnal year and read it as 10 or rather 30. The month can be made out with tolerable certainty but the actual *tithi* or date is a matter of considerable doubt though the traces of the symbol favour the reading 8.

I am unable to identify the localities mentioned in the record. *Kōngōda* has already been identified by Kielhorn with Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Hiuen-Tsiang.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 ओ³ स्वस्ति - [॥*] इन्दोर्द्धीतनृणालतन्तुभिरिवः⁴ श्लिष्टाः करैः कोमलैर्व(र्ज)वा-
हेरु[णो]
- 2 तस्फुरत्फणिमणेरिग्धः(ग्धाः)प्रभासाङ्गु(सांशु)भिः [॥*] पार्वत्यासकचग्रहव्यति-
करव्यावृत्तव(व)-
- 3 न्धश्चया गङ्गाभःप्लुतिभिर्बभ्रुवकणिका[ः*] शम्भोर्जटा[ः*] पान्तु वः ॥[१॥*]⁵
प्राङ्गु(प्रांशु)र्महेभकर-
- 4 [पी]वरचारुव(वा)हु[ः*] कृष्णाश्वसंचयविभेदविशालवक्षा[ः*] राजीवकोमल-
दलाय-
- 5 [त]लोचनान्त[ः] ख्यातः कलिङ्गजनतासु पुलिन्दसेनः ॥[२॥*] तेनेत्यंगुणि
नापि सत्व-
- 6 [म]हता नेष्टं भुवो मण्डलं शक्नो यः परिपालनाय जगतः को नाम
स स्यादिति [॥*]
- 7 प्रत्यादिष्टविभु(भू)त्ववेन भगवानाराधितः शाश्वतस्त्वचित्तानुगुणं विधित्सु-
- 8 रदिशद्वाञ्छां स्वयम्भूरपि ॥[३॥*] स शिलाशकलोद्भेदो⁶ तेनाप्यालोक्य धो-
- 9 मता [॥] परिकल्पितसदृङ्गः(दंशः) प्रभुः शैलोद्भवः कृतः ॥[४॥*] शैलोद्भवस्य
- 10 कुलजो र[ण]भीत आसीद्येनासक्तस्ततभिर्वा द्विषदङ्गनानां~[॥*] ज्योत्स्नाप्रवो(वो)-
- 11 धसमये स्वधियैव सार्धमाकम्पितो नयनपद्मजलेषु चन्द्रः ॥[५॥*] तस्याभव-
- 12 द्विव(वु)धपालसमस्य स्रुत[ः*] श्रीसैन्यभीत इति भूमिपतिर्गङ्गोद्यां(यान्) [॥*]
यं प्राप्य

¹ See Kielhorn's remarks above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous.

⁵ The second verse in the Pārikud plates praising king Mādhavēndra is omitted in this record.

⁶ The reading in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 43) is शिलाशकलोद्भेदे, which

Kielhorn corrected into शिलाशकलोद्भेदे. For the interpretation of this reading see p. 267, above.

- 13 ने(नै)कशतनाग¹घटाविघटलब्ध(ब्ध)प्रसादविजयं मुमुद(दे) धरित्री ॥[६ ॥*] तस्यापि
14 वङ्गे(वंशे)य यथार्थनामा जातो यशोभीत इति क्षितीशः [1*] येन प्रकटोपि
15 शुभैश्चरितैर्दृष्ट कलङ्क[1*] कलिदर्पणस्य ~ ॥[७ ॥*] जातोय तस्य तनयः

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 [सु]ज्जतो समस्तसीमन्तिनीनयनपद्मदण्डरीकः [1*] श्रीसैन्यभीत इति भूमिप-
17 तिस्र(सं)हेभकुम्भस्थलोदजनदुर्ललिती(ता)सिधारा(रः) ॥[८ ॥*] कालेयैर्भू-
धाक्षीपति[-]
18 भि[रुप]चितानेकपापावतारैर्नीतां(ता) येषां कथापि प्रलयमभिमत[1*] की-
19 र्ति[मालैरजस्रं] [1*] यज्ञैस्त्रैश्चमेधप्रभृतिभिरमरालम्भितास्तृप्तिमुर्वी-
20 मुदृष्टारातिपन्नक्षयकृतिपटुना श्रीनिवासेन येन ~ ॥[९ ॥*] तस्योत्खाताखिला-
21 र्मेरुदिव जननोद्गास्त्रदुष्णाङ्गु(ष्णांशु)तेजा[1*] शु(शु)रो मानो दयालुर्नरप-
22 ति²रयशोभीतदेवस्तनूजः [1*] मातङ्गान्योतितुङ्गाद्व(न्व)हलमदमुच-
23 शारुवक्त्रां(क्त्रान्) प्रचण्डां(ण्डान्) व(व)ध्वा कर्षत्यखिन्नः पुनरपि तयते
यन्नत[1] [स प्र]-
24 गल्भः ॥[१० ॥*] केचिच्छैलगुहोदरेषु नियता धूमावलीपायिनः अन्ये
वायुफला-
25 भु(भु)भक्षनिरता[1*] केचिन्निराहारका ~ [1*] इत्थं योगक्षुषो³ विहाय वसतिं
ध्यायन्ति [दिव्यं]
26 पदं चित्तुम्(त्रं म)ध्यमराजदेवगुणष्टद्राज्येपि⁴ तत्प्राप्तवां(वान्) ॥[११ ॥*]
तस्याभवत्सकल[शा]-
27 क्षविशेषवेदी श्रीधर्मराज इति सूरधोतशास्त्र[1*] तस्यातिनिर्मल[यः]
28 परिवर्द्धमान(नं) पादा हरेरिवनमा(भ)ञ्जि(ञ्जि)तमार्त्ति(न्नि)लोका[1] ~ ॥[१२ ॥*]
निराश्रयैः प्रयत्नेन
29 गुणैः स परिवारितः [1*] वैमुख्यादीर्षया चैव(व) सर्व्वदोषैर्व्विर्वर्जित[1] ॥[१३ ॥*]

¹From the plates published above, Vol. VII, p. 100 f., the reading °नान° appears to be certain. The reading रि° instead (*ante*, III, p. 44, l. 9) would look to be unjustifiable as also the one घटा which is only = वट्ट...

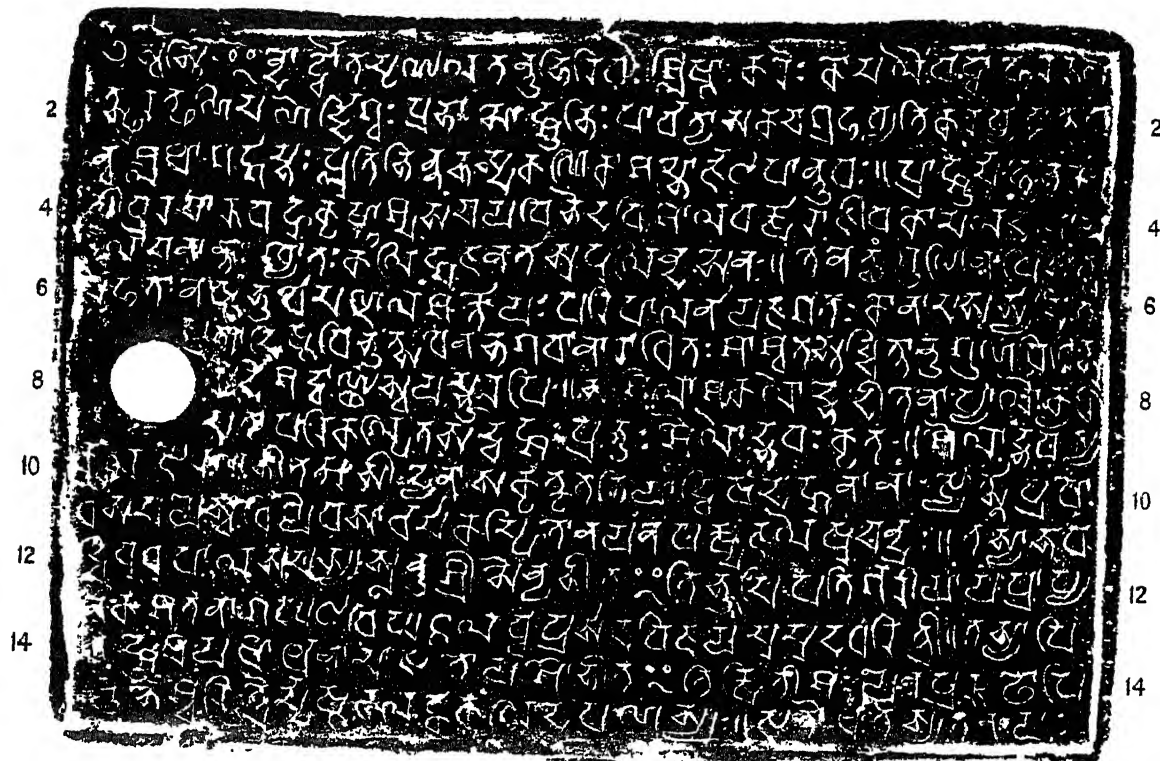
²[The plate reads *narapati* *ayaśōbhita*, thus showing that the name was *Ayaśōbhita* (=one afraid of ill fame) and not *Yaśōbhita* (=afraid of fame). In the *Pārikud* plates also the reading in l. 15 can very well be *Ayaśōbhitas*. In line 21, too, scanning shows that one letter is left out between *narapati* and *yaśō* and that letter is *ru*.—Ed.]

³The *Pārikud* plates give योग्युषी which has been corrected into योगक्षुषी.

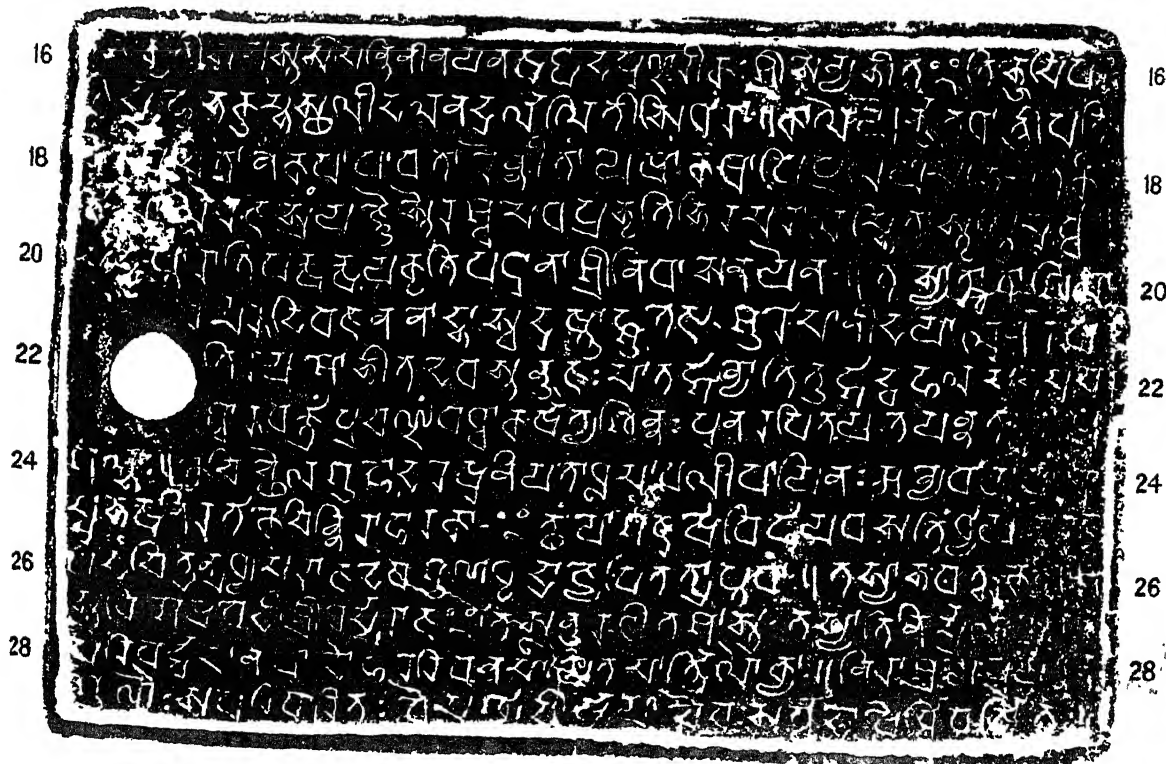
⁴The *Pārikud* plates read °द्राव्यपितप्राप्तवा. Mr. Banerji's correction into पितुः is not warranted. The intended reading appears to be °द्राव्यपि तरप्राप्तवान्, which is given in our plates. The idea conveyed by the expression seems to be that while others meditated upon it by practising austerities, Madhyamarāja got the दिव्यपद in his own kingdom.

KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA.

i.



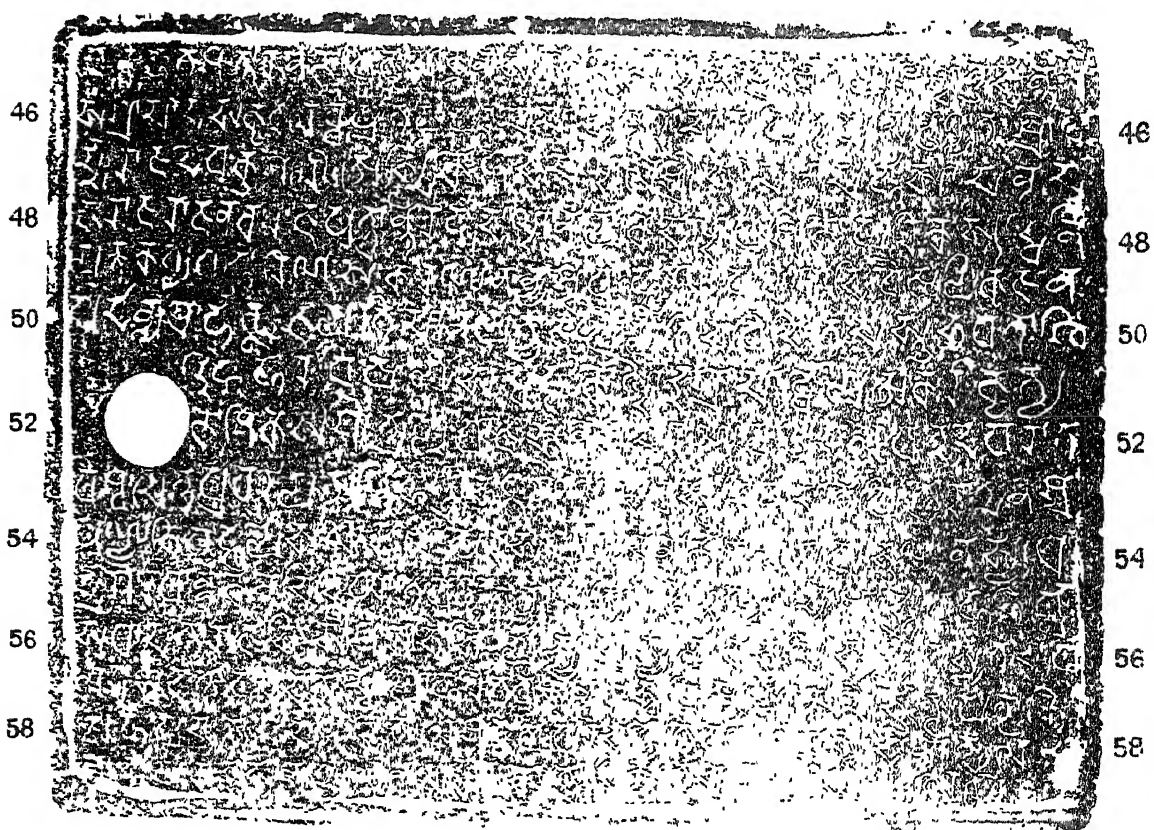
ia.



ii b.



iii a.



Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 30 काले हन्ति रिपून्महारणशतव्यापारलब्धो(ब्धो)क्षतोः(न्) काले स(भ)क्तिमुपैति
शुभ्र(म्भ्र)-
- 31 चवि(रि)तैः शम्भोः कथाविस्तारैः [1*] काले धर्मविवेचनाय निरतो ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मण्यमध्ये
- 32 स्थितः क्रौञ्चारेरिव यस्य चेष्टितमलं लोकः(कैः) समालोक्यते ~॥[१४]*
राज्यं लब्ध्वा(लब्ध्वा)व-
- 33 दर्पादविगणिततया माधवो ज्येष्ठभावां(वान्) देशादस्त्रादपास्तुं क्षतविषममति-
- 34 विग्रहे फासिकायां [1*] युद्धे क्षोभिण भग्नो वृपतिप(व)रमसौ संश्रु(श्रि)-
त[:*] क्षीवराख्य(ख्यं)
- 35 पश्चात्तेनापि सार्धं पुनरपि विजितो विन्ध्यपादेषु जीर्णः ॥[१५]* शौर्यं
शौर्यौ[व]-
- 36 नं राज्यमेकैकं मदकारकं [1*] सर्वन्(र्व्वं) श्रीमानभीतस्य निर्व्विकारमुपस्थि-
- 37 त[न*] ॥[१६]* तुरगखुराभिघातविदलद्वरणीतलजं जयगजकर्णचाम-
- 38 रविधूत(न)नविस्फुरितं [1*] सुभटपरप्रसर्पणनिरुद्धककुब्ज(ग्ग)गनं व(व)-
- 39 लरज एव यंस्थ जयति द्विषतां ध्वजिनीं ॥[१७]* आरच्य प्रसभं
घटा गजगणैरश्वो-
- 40 यपादातकैः जित्वात्या(न्या)न्व(व)लशालिनो वृपवरानागत्य दृष्टेर्भुवं [1*]
युद्धे भीमप-
- 41 राक्षसेण विजिता निर्हृत्पदं प्रापिताः दृश्यन्ते भवनाङ्गणे प्रतिदिनं प्रातः
- 42 प्रणामार्थिन[:*] ~॥[१८]* विजयसौम्यपुरवासकाच्छ्रीशैलोद्भवकुलतिलको
- 43 महामखवाजप्रेयाश्वमेधावधृत्यस्नाननिर्व्वर्त्तितसूनुस्तनयो व(व)हुवि-
- 44 धमत्तवारणवरतुरगपदातिशस्त्रसंपातसंकुलो व(व)ह्नाहव-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 45 विनिहतशस्त्ररनेकविक्रमाक्षान्तसकलभूमण्डलप्रथितयश(शा)श्चानुहन्ति[:]
- 46 संग्रामादसकृत्(ल्)लब्ध्वा(व्य)प्रताप[:*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपाद[1*]नुध्यात[:*]
श्रीध-
- 47 श्रीराजदेवः कुशलो ॥ अस्त्रिं(स्त्रिन्) कीर्णोदमण्डले श्रीसामन्तमहा-
सामन्तम-
- 48 श्रीराजराज[1*]नकराजपुत्रात्तरङ्गदाण्डभयदाहपराधिपतिपति[1*]सहनि-

- 49 युक्तकव्यवहारि[ण]:¹ सकरणानन्यांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपुरोगादिदैषयिकजन-
 50 पदान्यथाहं(हं पू)जयति मानयत्याज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवता(तां) स्वि-
 51 ङ्ङिह्वारविषयसम्ब(स्व)वकोण्डे ड्रुग्रामार्दीयं अकरोक्त्य
 52 [कौ]शिकसगोक्षाय वाजसनेयचरणाय औदसवत्देवरात-
 53 विश्वामित्र(च)प्रवराय अग्निहोत्री(त्रौ)भट्टगोणदेवस्वामिने मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च
 54 पुण्याभिवृद्धये सलिलधारापुरस्सरैणाचन्द्रार्क² कालमुपभुञ्जानस्य ध-
 55 मंगौरवान्न केनचिद्विवाने वर्तितव्यमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे [1*]
 व(व)हुभिर्व्य-
 56 सुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यद्वा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फ-
 57 लं ॥[१८ ॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां स्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुधरां स्वविष्टायां
 कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः[*]
 58 सह पच्यते ॥[२० ॥*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवः[*] स्वदाना-
 त्फलमा-
 59 [नन्त्यं] परदत्तानुपास[नं] ॥[२१ ॥*] दूतकोक्षाधिकृतचरम्यदेव(वो) लिखितं

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 60 [सु..] दा[मोद[रेण ला [ञ्जितं]. [टापल..
 61 उत्कोर्णं..]³ स्यविराट्तेनेति [॥] सम्ब(व)त् ३० वैशख शु [८] [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll. 26-42. His (Madhyamarājādēva's) son was the illustrious Dharmmarāja, who studied all the *śāstras* and who comprehended their characteristic differences, and whose very untarnished and increasing fame removed human sufferings as do the feet of Hari (Vishṇu). He was possessed of excellent qualities and was free from all failings. At times he would kill foes who had risen to prominence in battle-fields and go into raptures over the tales of Śiva's radiant deeds; or he would devote himself to religious deliberations with Brahmins. His exploits were like those of the enemy of Krauñcha (*i. e.* Kārttikēya). King Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force, was defeated at Phāsikā for having formed the evil intention of driving away from the country his elderly relations. This king (Mādhava) then resorted for help to Strivara, the king's enemy; but being later on foiled even when accompanied by him, fell at the foot of the Vindhya. Though bravery, prosperity, youth and sovereignty are ever singly sufficient to cause perturbation, yet all of them came to the illustrious king Mānabhīta without producing

¹ व्यवहारिणः appear to have been subordinate officers appointed by the above-mentioned higher officials for transacting actual business as compared with supervising.

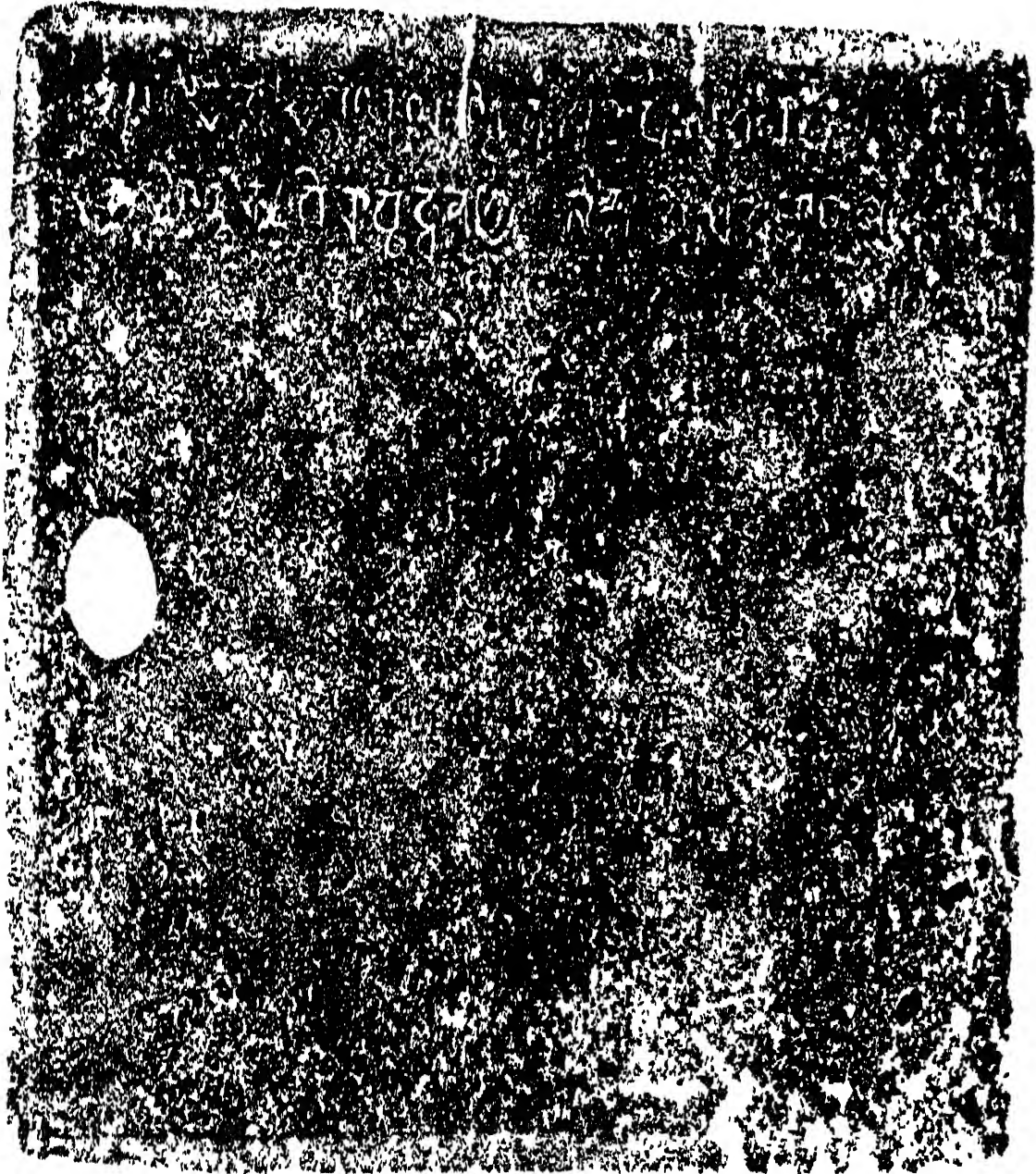
² [Something like दत्तः यथा may be supplied after आचन्द्रार्क—Ed.]

³ The portion is much damaged. 'उत्कीर्णं', however, appears to be pretty certain.

KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA.

iii.

60



60

any change in him. The dust raised by his army alone conquers the bannered host of his foes—the dust which rises from the earth beaten at the trampling of the hooves of the horses, which is enlarged by the movement of the chowries in the form of the ears of successful elephants and screens the heaven and the quarters by the spreading caused by the shields of his great warriors. Having forcibly arrayed the troops with the multitudes of elephants, horsemen, and foot-soldiers, he vanquished the rival kings. Others who were conquered by him, and who displayed formidable prowess in the battle-field, were brought to the place of bliss, by his coming within their sight and were seen every morning in the courtyard of his palace ready to pay him their respects.

Ll. 42-61. From his victorious camp located at *Saumyapura* the glorious *Dharmarāja-dēva*, the jewel of the *Śailōdbhava* family, the son of one who had his body purified by the ablutions taken after the celebration of the *Mahāmukha*,¹ the *Vājapēya* and the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, who had a collection of proud elephants, excellent horses, and weapons of foot-soldiers of different kinds, who vanquished enemies in a number of battles, who is famous all over the world for his heroic actions, who is very liberal, who won laurels in many a battle, who is a great worshipper of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), who meditates on the feet of his parents, in this province, called *Kōṅgōḍa*, honours, commands and worships,² as is befitting, the illustrious feudatory princes, great feudatory princes, great kings, royal personages, princes, superintendent³ over magistrates,³ police officers,⁴ and subordinate officers, appointed by them such as *karaṇas*⁵ and local persons, such as *Brāhmanas* and citizens:—"Let it be known to you that in order to increase religious merit of our parents and ourselves, this half of the village, called *Ekōḍḍa*, included in the district of *Khiḍḍigahāra* rendered tax-free, has been bestowed with the libations of water on *Bhaṭṭa Gōpadēvasvāmin* of the *Kauśika-gōtra*, *Vājasaneyā-charaṇa*, and of the *Audalavat(ha)*, *Dēvarāta* and *Viśvāmitra pravara*s, who maintains the sacrificial fire. While he is in the enjoyment of it, so long as the moon and the sun endure, no body should obstruct him, out of regard for religious merit. It has been laid down in the Code of Law: (Here follow the three of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses.) The executive officer of this document is *Charampadēva* who is in charge (*of such duties*). This charter is written by *Dāmōdara*. It is sealed by *Tāpala*⁶ and engraved by *Sthavira Vipiddha*. (Dated) the 8th day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* of the 30th (regnal) year."

No. 47.—THE ADDANKI STONE INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.

BY THE LATE K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription was first published with an indistinct plate in the *Nellore Inscriptions*^a by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty. It was not then thought that it contained any

¹ Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Pārikud plates*, *Ap. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 286, l. 38, reads ०सुख. But here the reading is clearly ०सुख. In the *Pārikud plates*, too, I would read ०सुख.

² पूजयति must be construed with *Brāhmanas*.

³ दाण्डनायका; = magistrates.

⁴ दाण्डपाशिका = police officers.

⁵ करण; correspond to *kulkarnis* of the Deccan.

⁶ The words following टापल excepting स्थावरी, are not clear to me.

⁷ The symbol which I take as 30 may stand for 10, but not for 800. The king's reign was perhaps somewhat longer than an ordinary one.

^a Vol. II, p. 896.

verse. While I was studying ancient Telugu inscriptions for an article on Telugu Philology to be published in my *Telugu Encyclopædia*, it arrested my attention and I made a special study of it and came to the conclusion that the lines 3-7 contained a Telugu verse in the *Taruvōja* metre. I published my results in Telugu in my presidential address at the Fifth Session of the Telugu Research Society, Chitrāda (Godāvari Dist.). I requested the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, to supply me with a fresh estampage of this and some other inscriptions, which I suspected contained Telugu verses of the period of *Paṇḍaraṅga* and am now editing this inscription from the estampage kindly supplied to me by him.

This inscription is engraved on a stone now lying in a field at *Addanki* in the Ongole Tāluka of the Guntur district. The stone is broken at the top to the extent of three or four lines and also slightly at the bottom. As it is, all the letters of the first line are damaged, except the lower halves of the last two letters, which may be read as *pura*. The second line also is similarly mutilated except the last four letters which seem to form the last portion of a verse that must have preceded the extant one.

The alphabets are of the Eastern Chālukyan type of the time of *Gunaga-Vijayāditya* III to which the record belongs. There seem to have been two types of characters which were then current. One is found in the Masulipatam plates¹ of this king and another in his *Uruvuṭṭuru* grant.² The first may be termed the round hand and the second square or angular hand. In this inscription which is in round hand, the upper portion of the consonant *ka* and the mark for the secondary *u* when added to *k*, are somewhat cursive, as compared with the same letters in the copper-plate grants of this king.

There is a difference between the secondary form of *e* as seen in this inscription and the one seen in the Bezwada pillar inscription.³ In the latter, we find that the secondary sign of *e* is marked generally over the main letter and goes up from left to right like a tail, while in this inscription it is always placed at the left side of the main letter and is a small curved line with a downward bend. The letters *a* and *ā* are written almost alike in this record. The forms of the letters *ka*, *ba*, *ma*, *ya* and *ra* are more archaic, and the secondary symbols for *ā*, *ai*, *o* and *ō* are shorter and less ornamental here than in the Yuddhamalla inscription. The subscript *r* which is not common is employed in this inscription in *ṣvaṇḍreṇḍu* (l. 6) as in the Bezwada record, in *goṇḍru* (l. 14). In one instance *ḍ* is employed wrongly for *ṭ* in *vuḍlu* (l. 10) for *vuṭlu*. The letter *ṣ* is used indifferently in many cases where we should expect *n*: e.g., *baṇchina* (l. 5), *goṇi* (l. 6), *ṣb-āṇa* (l. 7) and *Kaṇḍukur* (l. 8). In two places *ś* is replaced by *s*: in *Māhēsvaṛuṇḍu* (l. 9) and *aṣvamēdha* (l. 11). This last feature is very common in Kannaḍa inscriptions.

The symbol representing the Dravidian sound *ḷ* is found in l. 6. This sound was represented by the same symbol in ancient Kannaḍa also. The existence of this sound in early Telugu was first revealed by the Yuddhamalla inscription.³

The language is Telugu. The first eight lines (except the broken ones) are in verse and the remaining lines are in prose. The language, being that of the ninth century A.D., is a little archaic, and the meanings of certain obsolete words are to be inferred from cognate words in other languages.

In orthography it resembles the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla. *Anusvāra* is used in several places. In some, it has the value of the modern Telugu *ardhānusvāra* (e.g., *prabhuṁ*- l. 4); in others, it serves as the class nasal (e.g., *garuvamb-appaga* l. 3 f. and *koṭṭambu* l. 6). For purposes of metre it has to be elided in some places in this inscription just as in

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 122.

² C. P. No. 3 of 1912-13: See also *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 140.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 150.

the Bezwada inscription. The absence of forms ending in *mu* or *mmu* and the frequent use of *mbu* instead would show that in early periods the latter was the only form adopted and that the former two are later developments of it. Scansion would require the elision of the basic *l* in *goḷelchiya* (l. 6), cf. *goragalā* in l. 10 of the Yuddhamalla inscription.

The metre *Taruvōja*¹ in which the verse is written is a group of eight *Dvipadas*, whose two feet form one *pāda* of it. The verse is transcribed below according to the modern Telugu orthography, showing the four feet separately; the *prāsa* (rhyming) letters are underlined and the places of *yaṭi* (cæsura) are shown by asterisk and the *ardhānusvāra* is represented by a semi-circle (◌̣). This long metre did not find much favour with the Telugu poets. On the other hand, the *Dvipada* metre is a very popular one.

- 1 Paṭṭaṁbu (gaṭṭina* prathamam̐bu nēṁḍu* balagarvvam=oppaga (◌̣*bai lēchi sēna-
- 2 Paṭṭambu gaṭṭin̐chi* prabhu (Baṁḍaraṁgu* bhaṇchina sāmānta* paḍu vasō bōya
- 3 Koṭṭamul paṁḍreṁḍu* goni Vēṁgi-nāṁṭi (◌̣* goḷeḷchi ya Tribhuvanām*
- kuṣabāṇa nilpi
- 4 Kaṭṭepudurgam̐bu* gaḍu bayal chēsi Kaṁḍukur-Bbejavāḍa* gāvin̐che mechebi

Paṇḍaraṅga was the minister of **Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III** of the Eastern Chūlukya line. In almost every grant of Vijayāditya the name of Paṇḍaraṅga is found as the executor (*ājñapti*). This king ruled from A.D. 844 to 888. We are told in this inscription that Paṇḍaraṅga was made the commander-in-chief of the army in the first year of the king's coronation. The date of the inscription therefore can safely be put as A.D. 844-5.

Paṇḍaraṅga took twelve *koṭṭams* of the **Bōyas**, established the flags (or sovereignty) of the kings of **Vēṁgi-nāṁḍu**, and laid bare the fort of **Kaṭṭe** (Kaṭṭepu-durgamu). He was a *Parama-Māhēśvara* (great worshipper of Śiva) and gave certain lands to the **Āditya-Bhaṭāra** (Sun-god) at Dammavuram.

This inscription is very important to the students of Telugu literature, as it furnishes a positive evidence of the existence of Telugu poetry in the middle of the 9th century A.D. The oldest Telugu work now extant is the *Mahābhārata* of **Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa**, the Poet Laureate in the court of the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I (A.D. 1022-1063) of Rajahmundry. It was, therefore, believed by many Telugu scholars that the beginnings of the Telugu poetry could not go to a period earlier than the eleventh century of the Christian era. But the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla took it a century back. The present inscription takes it a century further still.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription **Dammavuram̐bu** (ll. 10-11) is the village of **Dharmavaram** which is not far off from **Addanki** and where two more stone inscriptions² of Paṇḍaraṅga are to be noticed. The reading 'Kaṁḍukur-Bejavāḍa' in l. 8 is doubtful. But at Kaṁḍukur we have a stone inscription³ of Paṇḍaraṅga, containing a Telugu verse in *Sisa* metre. Paṇḍaraṅga claims to have conquered twelve *koṭṭams* of the Bōyas. *Koṭṭam* is an ancient geographical and administrative division, generally met with in Tamil inscriptions. It was bigger than the *nāḍu* and smaller than the *maṇḍalam*. We have Koṭṭām-sima in the Godāvāri district,

¹ Brown's *Grammar of the Telugu Language*, Book XI.

² *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Ongole Nos. 39 and 40. I believe these two inscriptions are also in verse.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 544. Kaṁḍukur Nos. 31 and 32. It is a matter for regret that the original stone of this inscription which was removed to the taluk office from Ramaswami-mēḍa in Kaṁḍukur town by Mr. Venugopal Chetty is now missing.

which is almost identical with Tuni Zamindāri. Bōya is a hunter caste. These people are otherwise called Bēḍars. In the *Gazetteer of the Anantapur district* we find it stated that "the Bōyas are the old fighting caste of this part of the country, whose exploits are so often recounted in historical works. The Poligār's forces and Haider Ali's famous troops were largely recruited from these people and they still retain a keen interest in sport and manly exercises." Their colonies are mainly found in the Ceded Districts, especially in Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary districts. We may therefore suppose that the *Bōya koṭṭams*, which Paṇḍaraṅga claims to have conquered, belonged to the Kurnool district. Paṇḍaraṅga seems to have come to Addanki from that quarter. It is not known where Kaṭṭepu-durgam is situated¹ but might have been one of the forts in the Nallamalai Hills near Śrīśailam.

The meaning of 'goḷelchiya' (l. 6) is not clear. We find the pure Dravidian letter *ḷ* in it. *Goḷ* means 'a mountain' in Kanarese. *Elayu* in Telugu means 'to reach'. Therefore *goḷelchi* may mean 'having reached the tops of the mountains or hill forts'. *Ya* may be connected with the next word. *Yatrībhuvaṇāṅkuśabāṇa* would mean the (famous) arrow known as 'Tribhuvanāṅkuśa (the goad that subdues the three worlds)'. If this interpretation is correct, it would lead to the conclusion that Paṇḍaraṅga had to win back many hill-forts in the Vēṅgi country from some foreign kings (perhaps the Rāshtrakūṭas). We then come to the reading *Kaṇḍukur-Bbejavāḍa* in l. 8 of which I am not sure. The other probable alternative reading would be *Kaṇḍu-kubbajavada(dha)*. We shall have to change the reading of the next two words as *gāviṇchi vachchi*, to make the meaning complete by connecting several words. The whole can then be translated as 'having arrived after killing those who were proud and were longing to fight'. *Kaṇḍu* literally means 'itch' and figuratively a 'desire to quarrel'. *Kobbagu* means a 'proud man' in Kanarese. *Āḍlu* in l. 10 may mean 'paddy' as does the current *vaḍlu*.

As the gift mentioned in the inscription was given to Āditya-Bhaṭāra or the Sun-God there must have been a Sun temple at Dharmavaram at that time. At Arsavalli, Chicacole Taluka, Ganjam district, there is a temple of that deity which has an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1068.²

TEXT.³

- 1 [pura]
- 2 [pu di] bhūpālakuṇḍu [l*]
- 3 Paṭṭambu⁴ gaṭṭina prathamambu nēṇḍu bala-garvvaṁb-o=
- 4 ppaga bailēchi sēna [l*] paṭṭambu gaṭṭiṇchi prabhum
- 5 Baṇḍaraṅgu ba[nchi]na⁵ samatta⁶-paḍu Va[sō] Bōya-
- 6 koṭṭambul-vaṇḍreṇḍu goṇi Vēṅgināṇṭi goḷelchi ya
- 7 Tribhuvanāṅkuśa bāṇa nilpi [l*] Kaṭṭepudu[r]ggambu gaḍu

¹ [This has been suggested to be identical with Kaṭhevaram in the Tenali taluk, Guntur District : See *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 97.—Ed.]

² No. 387 of 1896.

³ From the estampage supplied to me by the Madras Epigraphy Office.

⁴ The *anuvāra* is generally placed above the letter next to the one to which it refers.

⁵ The reading is doubtful. Of the compound syllable the first consonant is certainly *ṇ* and consequently we should expect the second consonant from the *ṣa varga*. But it looks like *cha* more than any other letter, though the combination *ṇchi* is a mistake.

⁶ Read *Sāmanta*.

ADDANKI STONE INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.



SCALE ONE FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 8 bayal-sēsi Kaṇḍukur¹-Bbejav[ā]ḍa gāviṇche mechchi [||*]
 9 Paṇḍaraṅgu parama-Mahēśvaruṇḍu² Āditya-baṭārani-
 10 ki ichchina bh[ū]mi enubodi vuḍlu³ aḍlu paṭṭu nēla Da-
 11 mmavurambuna dammuvulu vini rakshiṇchinav[ā]riki asva-⁴
 12 mēdamburā palamb[u] agu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) pura

(L. 2.) The king

(Verse 1.) In the first year after coronation, (*the king*) being proud of his army (or strength) and elated (*thereby*), having anointed (*i.e.* appointed) Paṇḍaraṅga, the Sāmanta, to the command of the army and sent (*him*), he (*i.e.* Paṇḍaraṅga) captured twelve *koḷḷāms* belonging to one [Vasō]-Bōya. He reached (*i.e.* ascended and captured) the hill-top (*i.e.* forts on the top of the hill) of Vēṅgi-nāṇḍu and planted the goad of Tribhuvanāṁkuśa (*there*). He exposed fully (*i.e.* made bare after conquest) the fort of Kaṭṭe. He liked and praised Kaṇḍukur and Bejavāḍa.

(Lines 9-12.) Paṇḍaraṅga who was the best of the *Māhēśvaras* (*i.e.* the worshippers of Mahēśvara or Śiva) gave to (*the god*) Āditya-Bhaṭāra, land sowable with eighty *candies* of paddy. This is a charity at Dammavuram. Those who protect these charities will acquire such merit (*as is obtained*) by (*performing*) the *Āśvamēdha* (*sacrifice*).

No. 48.—A NOTE ON THE ADDANKI INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

I am obliged to Dr. Hirananda Sastri for the opportunity of making a few remarks on this inscription which is so valuable from the point of view of the history of the Telugu language and literature. For the sake of convenience, I propose to group my remarks under the following headings, *viz.*, 1. reading, 2. characters, 3. orthography, 4. grammar, 5. vocabulary and 6. interpretation.

Reading.

The reading *garvamboppaga* (lines 3 and 4) is correct as it is, but to make it grammatically correct, we must insert an *anusvāra* both before and after the final *ga*. The reading *baṇchina* (line 5) makes good sense, but I am afraid it has to be rejected on orthographical grounds. The combination *nch* is not merely a "mistake" (foot-note 4), but it is unknown to the author (or the engraver) of the inscription, for it is always *ñ*, *i.e.*, the last letter in the *ch* varga which is used in the inscription in conjunction with *ch* as it should be. The second consonant of the syllable under consideration must, therefore, be sought for in the *ṭ* varga but I am not certain what it should be. There is a Telugu verb *pannu* which becomes *pañnu* in Kanarese and Tamil and it means 'to prepare' or 'make ready'—as an army—which is not a quite unsuitable meaning. Or is it possible that there was once the verb *paṇṭu* in Telugu which meant the same thing as *pañchu*, *i.e.*,

¹ The reading is again doubtful. If we read *Kaṇḍukur-Bbejavāḍa*, there comes the unnatural combination of *ṇaṇḍ* (not *ḍ*). This we shall have to consider to be the mistake of the writer. *Rēpha* is not very clear. Its existence is conjectural.

² Read *Māhēśvaruṇḍu*.

³ Read *vuḍlu*.

⁴ Read *asva*.

to 'order' or 'depute'? The final syllable in line 6 must be read as *yā* with a long *a*. Here *yā* stands for the remote demonstrative pronoun *ā* 'that' and goes with *tribhuvanāmkūśa*. The reading *bāṇa* after *tribhuvanāmkūśa* (line 7) is incorrect. The exact reading is *bāṇa* which, I think, should be corrected into *m̐buna*, the syllable *ṇa* being a favourite mistake with the author for *na*. The expression would then read as *tribhuvanāmkūśambuna*, meaning "with the *tribhuvanāmkūśa*".

Orthography.

The use of the sign of *anusvāra* is an interesting feature of the Telugu inscriptions. In Telugu proper, there is no *anusvāra* strictly so called. It always stands for and has the phonetic value of the final nasal consonant of the *varga* to which the succeeding consonant belongs. Originally the nasals themselves were written in all cases. At a later stage, the *bindu* (dot or circle) was substituted for the nasal consonant, and was placed exactly where the consonant originally stood, viz., on the top of the succeeding consonant. Later on, its position was shifted slightly to the left in the same line and later still, it was brought down to a place exactly between the preceding and subsequent consonants. This last is its present position. Owing, perhaps, to this position, the *anusvāra* is now regarded as forming part of the preceding consonant and not that of the succeeding one. In the Yuddhamalla inscription, the *anusvāra* generally occupies the second of the positions described above, while in the present inscription, it generally occupies the first position, thereby showing that the present inscription is older than the Bezvada one. The intermediate position is also met with in the present inscription (as in *Paṇḍaramga* in line 9) but it is rare. In *Vēṅḡṇāṇṇi* (line 6) the *anusvāra* is to the right of *gi* but this is evidently due to a slip of hand on the part of the engraver.

Grammar.

Prathamambunēṇḍu (line 3) is a compound of *prathamambu* and *ēṇḍu*. The augment *n* as the connecting link between these two words is unusual and not in accordance with the accepted rules of grammar¹. *Āśvamēdhambuna phalambu*.—The augment *na* in cases like this is met with frequently in the writings of Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa and rarely in subsequent writers. The present inscription, like many other old inscriptions, shows that the grammatical rule that *k*, *ch*, *t*, *t* and *p* coming after a *kala* in *sandhi* became *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *v* respectively, was originally held to be compulsory (*nityam*) while it is only optional (*vaikalpikam*) now.

Vocabulary.

Paḍura : means army and is cognate with the Tamil *paḍai* (?) and the Kanarese *paḍe*. It has gone out of use in Telugu as a separate word but lingers in such derivatives as *paḍavālu* and *paḍavalamu*.

Golalchi. The exact meaning of this word is not clear but it cannot certainly bear the meaning attributed to it by Mr. Lakshmana Rao. It seems to be used in the sense of 'having conquered' or 'having captured'.

Aḍlu. I do not think this word means 'paddy'. I rather think that it is the older form of *āḷlu* which is another name of *ārikalu*, a kind of inferior grain.

Interpretation.

I am afraid I must differ from Mr. Lakshmana Rao in one or two respects in the interpretation of the verse portion of the inscription consisting of lines 2 to 8. My interpretation² is as follows :—

The king, in the first year of coronation, being proud of his strength and elated (*thereby*), having appointed (anointed) Paṇḍaramga to the command of the army and deputed him, he (*i.e.*,

¹ [Such *sandhi* consonants are known to Pāli and Prākṛit also—Ed.]

² [See also *Ep. Rep.* for 1923, pp. 97 ff.—Ed.]

Paṇḍaraṅgu) having, with the (*help of the*) tributary army, captured the twelve Bōya principalities, having (*also*) wrested Vēṅgi-nāṇḍu and kept it by (*means of*) the Tribhuvanāṁkuśa (weapon), (*and*) having utterly demolished the fort of Kaṭṭembu, (*he*) admired and made (?) Kandukur and Bejavāḍa.

The concluding passage referring to Kandukur and Bejavāḍa is unintelligible. The verb *kāviñche* (*ga* is due to *sandhi*) literally means 'caused to become'. The passage may mean that Paṇḍaraṅgu caused Kandukur and Bejavāḍa to exist, *i.e.*, built them or that he caused Kandukur to become Bejavāḍa, neither of which interpretation is quite satisfactory. Is it possible that *kāviñche* is used in the sense of *kāche*, *i.e.*, 'saved', in which case, the passage would mean that having destroyed the Kaṭṭepu Fort, Paṇḍaraṅgu spared Kandukur and Bejavāḍa because he admired them?

No. 49.—THE BHATERA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDA-KESAVADEVĀ
(C. 1049 A.D.).

By PROF. DR. K. M. GUPTA, SYLHET, ASSAM.

This plate along, with another, was discovered in a mound called Itertillah in the village of Bhāṭerā, about 20 miles from Sylhet. Mr. Luttman-Johnson, the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, in 1880, sent facsimiles of these plates to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who published his reading of the texts along with his translations in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, August 1880, pp. 141-151. They are now in the possession of Mr. Umesh Chandra Chaudhury who very kindly lent the above-named document to me for examination. It has apparently suffered from fire, and as a result of it, one of its corners is damaged and some of the letters incised there have become mutilated. While examining the inscription, I found that Dr. Mitra had read and interpreted some of its portions wrongly, and it is on this account, especially, that I am re-editing it here.

The plate bearing this inscription measures 12½" by 11" and except for the damage by fire just mentioned, is in a good state of preservation. There is no seal attached to it. It has 55 lines in all, of which 27 are written on the first and the rest on the second side. Lines 1 to 29 are written in Sanskrit. Of the rest, lines 29 to 51 are couched in local Bengali dialect and the remainder probably in Kuki. The characters are well cut and belong to about the 11th century A.D. and are generally like those used in the Gayā Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription of the reign of Nayapālādēva,¹ the Tarpandighī grant of Lakshmanasēna² and the Tippera inscription of Raṇavaṅkamalla.³

Some of the compound letters in the present record are different from those of the Tarpandighī grant and the Tippera inscription. 'Śrī' is like that given in Nayapāla-dēva's inscription, 'ku' is like that of the 11th century A.D., as given in Table V, Col. XVIII, No. 44 of Bühler's *Indian Palæography*. The numerals used in the plate, however, seem to be earlier than those of the 11th century A.D. It may be noted here that the scribbled letters at the end of the reverse side of the plate, which presumably contains the date, do not resemble any of the letters in the main body of the document. There are a few letters which are recognisable as *da*, *pa*, *va* and *la*. Of these *da* and *pa* are of a later type. The numerals, however, mostly look like those of the plate.

¹ *Gauḍa-lēkha-mālā*.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 8.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, 1807 (p. 402); [*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., No. 365.—Ed.]

The inscription under examination tells us that the principality of Śrīhaṭṭa was very prosperous under the rule of a king whose name was probably Kharavāṇa and who had Gōkula-dēva for his son. The latter had Nārāyaṇa as his son. From him came Gōvinda-Kēśava-dēva, who was a great conqueror. This prince made a donation of 296 houses and 375 *halas* of land herein specified to god Śiva in Bhaṭṭapāṭaka or Bhāṭapaḍā (modern Bhāṭērā). He also appointed different persons from subject races to attend on this God. Then follows a long description. At the end of the imprecatory verses in the document the date, which consists of 13 letters or rather groups of letters, seems to have been scribbled. Rajendralal Mitra read it as 'Pāṇḍava-kulādīpālāṇḍa 4328' = 1245 A.D.¹ But I do not think he was right. In the 10th group of letters I find four numerals, namely, 4, 1, 5, 1. For 5 cf. Ojha's *Prācīna Bhāratīyalipimālā* (plate LXXVI), which represents a 5 of the 11th to the 12th century A.D. I read the eleventh letter as 'je', the 12th as 'ṭa' and the 13th as 9. If this reading be correct then the date of the inscription would fall in 1049 A.D., which is found by deducting 3102 B.C. (the beginning of the Kali era) from 4151.

If we assign, on the average, 25 years to each reign and treat the date 1049 A.D. as the middle of Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva's reign, then the time of the founder of the line falls roughly about 1000 A.D. With regard to the name Kharavāṇa (or Naragīrvāṇa) it is doubtful if this at all represents a name, first because it is not consistent with the naming of his successors and secondly because the second Bhāṭērā inscription² omits it. I believe the name of the founder of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa is purposely kept in a semi-mythical garb, as is too common in the genealogies of ancient Indian kings. He was probably a military leader only, as may be surmised from an epithet like *kharavāṇaḥ*, and came of the Lunar dynasty of kings of Tippera or Cachar. The greatest of the line, as it appears from both the inscriptions, was Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva who seems to have been a versatile genius. The identification of some of the place-names goes to prove that Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva's rule extended over at least the modern *parganas* of Bhāṭērā, Vanabhāga, Baramchāl, Langlā, Itā, Chuāllis, Maurāpur, Tēngrā, Tarap, Kaudīya, etc., in Sylhet; and probably some portions of Hill Tippera and Cachar also.

Many of the place-names given in the inscription have still been retained though some of them are slightly altered; e.g.

Badagāma (line 30) is modern Baḍagāo (Po. Bhāṭērā).

Mahurāpura (30) is modern Maurāpura, near Fenchuganj.

Itākhālā (30) is modern Itākhālā near Bhāṭērā.

Badapañcālā (30-31) is modern Baramchāl or Brahmachal (Ry. station).

Āmatālī (31) is modern Āmtail (*pargana* Langlā).

Kāṭākhālā (31): there is a river of this name in the Hallakandi sub-division (Cachar); there is also a Railway station (A. B. R.) of this name.

Simhajara³ (31) is modern Simrājūr (*par.* Bhāṭērā).

Bhāskara or Bhāsara-teṅgarī (31 & 37) is evidently a village in Tēngrā mouja.

Guḍāvayī (31) is modern Guḍābhai.

Ākhālikula (32) is probably modern Ākhāilkul in *par.* Chuāllis. It may also refer to a piece of land on the river named Ākhāligāṅg in *par.* Itā.

Parākōṇā (32) is modern Barakona (Po. Bhāṭērā).

¹ See P. A. S. B., August 1880, p. 143.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

³ [The original and the transcript give *Simhajara*.—Ed.]

Vālūsīgāma (33) is modern Bāūsīgāma in *par.* Tarap.

Śughara (33) is modern Śughara in *par.* Tarap.

Navahāṭi (33) is modern Noāhāṭi.

Kaḍaḍiyā (34) is modern Kaudiyā (*pargana*). It may also refer to Kaḍāiyā in *par.* lṭā.

Varuṇi (34) is modern Varuṇi in *par.* Banabhāga (near P. S. Biswanāth). It may also refer to Varuṇāgrāma in *par.* Chuāllis.

Saramā (? 35) is modern Surma river on which Sylhet is situated.

Kāliyāni may be modern Kālāin river near Kānihāṭi on the border of Hill Tippera.

Phōmpātipā (36) may be a place within Hill Tippera.

Salāchāpaḍā (38) may be modern Sālchāprā (Ry. station, A. B. R., in Cachar district).

Sāgara (38) probably refers to the famous Hākālukī Hāor. It should be noted that the word 'hāor' is a corrupt form of Sāgar or sāyara (lit. sea).

Dhāmāyi (39) or Dhāma-nadī (42) now goes by the name Dhāmai.

Cheṅgachchhuḍi (41) is modern Cheṅchhaḍi in *par.* Baramchāl. There is also a place of this name in *par.* Langla.

Vāsudēvaśāsana is probably modern Vāsudēvapūr.

Jaḍīgāṅg (43) is modern Juḍigāṅg which flows by the Ry. station Juri (A. B. R.).

Pōhāniyā (44) is probably the village of this name in *par.* Chuāllis.

Bōbāchadā (44) is the modern streamlet of this name near Bhāṭērā.

Kararagāma (43-44) is modern Karērgrām (*par.* Langla).

The *hala* measurement of land still prevails in Sylhet :

3 *krāntis* = 1 *kaḍā*

4 *kaḍās* = 1 *gaṇḍā*

20 *gaṇḍās* = 1 *paṇa*

4 *paṇas* = 1 *rēkhā*

4 *rēkhās* = 1 *jashṭhi*

7 *jashṭhis* = 1 *poā*

4 *poās* = 1 *kēdāra* or *kēyāra*

12 *kēdāras* or *kēyāras* = 1 *hala* or *hāla*
= about 10½ *bighas*
= about 3½ acres.

375 *halas* would thus be about 3,937½ *bighas* or about 1,312½ acres of land. Although in verse 19 the land granted is stated to be 375 *halas* with 296 houses, the totals of the figures actually given in the descriptive portion under the two heads are respectively about 451 (excluding 20 *kēdāras*) *vila*; and about 423. But I am not sure if these figures have not been manipulated.

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 8, 9 and 10, *Sārdḍūlavikrīḍita*; v. 2, *Pushpitāgrā*; vv. 3, 4, 11 and 18, *Āryā*; v. 5, *Upajāti*; v. 16, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 6, 7 and 15, *Vasantatilaka*; vv. 12 and 17, *Vamśasthāvila*; v. 13, *Prūhvī*; v. 14, *Sragdharā*; vv. 19, 20, 21 and 22, *Anushṭubh*.]

Obverse.

1^a 'Om namaḥ Śivāya || Yaḥ karttā bhuvana-trayasya tanubhir=viśvaṁ prithi-
vy-ādibhir=yasy=ēdaṁ dhriyatē ya Īśvara iti khyātō=
2 bhavan=n=ā[pa]raḥ | yaḥ samjñā-trayam=ēka ēva bhajati traiguṇya-bhēd-āśritō
Vrahm-Ōpēndra-Mahēśvar=ēti jagatām=īśāya ta-

¹ Edited from the original.

² At the very beginning of the text there appear to be two strokes, one of which is dear.

- 3 smai namaḥ || [1*] Tripurahara-śiraḥ-kirīṭaratnaṁ Smara-yuvatēr=abhishēka-raupya-kumbhaḥ [1*] kusuma-viśikha-bāṇa-sāṇa-chakraṁ
- 4 jayati niśā-tilakas=tuṣhāra-rōchiḥ || [2*] Vamśē=sya bhūmipatayaḥ katitē nishpāra-paurush[ā] jātāḥ [1] yēshām yaśa[h*]-
- 5 praśastir=bhuvi Bhāratasaṁhit=aiv=āsti || [3*] Atha viśruta-prabhāvaḥ prabhavaḥ¹ Śrīharājya-Kamalāyāḥ | samajani na[ra]-gīrvvā-
- 6 ṇaḥ **Kharavāṇaḥ** kshamābhujām śrēṣṭhaḥ || [4*] Tasyā=ā[t*]majō rāja-pitāmahō= 'bhūt² mahīpatir=**Gōkuladēvanāmā**³ | Yasya pratā-
- 7 p-ārkaruchō=pi chi[tra]m diśanty=ari-kshamā-pati-jāḍya-mudrām || [5*] Tasmād=amanda-bhujā-mandara-mathyamāna-pratyā[r*]thi-pārthiva-
- 8 samudra-samuddhṛita-śrīḥ [1*] **Nārāyaṇō**=jani mahīpatir=anvakāri yēna sphāṭa⁴ sa bhagavāna⁵ śrīta-nandakēna || [6*] Tasmād=asī-
- 9 ma-guṇa-gaurava-gīta-kīrttir=bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-maṇḍita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śrīmān kshī-tīndra-tilakō ripu-rāja-
- 10 gōpī-Gōvinda ity=ajani **Kēśavadēva** ēshaḥ || [7*] Yaḥ sim=ādbhuta-paurushasya yaśasām dhāma śrīyām=āśrayō vidyā-
- 11 nām vasati[r=*]nayasya nilayō dhāmnān=tad=ēkāspadam | tyāgasy=āyatanam vilāsa-bhavanam vāchaḥ kalānā[m] nidhiḥ |⁶
- 12 saujanyasya nikētanam vijayatē mūrttō guṇānām gaṇaḥ || [8*] Dōr-
daṇḍēna samuddhṛita-kṣhitibhṛitā samrakshya gō-maṇḍa-
- 13 laṁ sad-vṛindāvanam=ādarēṇa⁷vidadhan=nachchhanna-Kaṁsa-ōtsavama⁸ | śrīmat-Kēśavadēva ēsha niyataṁ chakrē-vaśēsha[m*] rushā ya-
- 14 tr=aikam Śīsupālam=apy=ari-kulē kṣhīpt-āri-chakrō nṛipaḥ || [9*] Kṛitvā yēna bhuj-aujasā vasumatīm=ēk-ātapatrām=i-
- 15 mām lōkē=smīnn=abhilashyatē vajayiny=an-any=ādhikāra-sthithim⁹ | pāṇiḥ kalpa-tarōḥ padē dinakṛitaḥ kṛityē
- 16 pratāpō yaśaḥ śītāmśōr=vishayē nyadhāyi bhujagādhiś-ādhikārē bhujah || [10*] Yasmina¹⁰ śāsati nikhilām=ā-
- 17 di-mahīpāla-dikshayā kshōṇīm [1*] śruti-patha-laṅghana-māhasa-sāsīt¹¹ kāntā-dri-
śām=ēva || [11*] Ayam suhṛich-chakra-
- 18 mudam vibhāvayan prasādhit-āśaḥ karavāla-līlayā [1*] sudūram=utsārīta-rāja-
maṇḍalō rarāja pūrvv-āvanibhṛit-
- 19 śīrōmaṇiḥ¹² || [12*] Karōti dhavalam jagat vinayatē=ri-pa[dm]-ōdgaman
tanōti kumudam yaśaḥ sadṛīsam=asya cha-
- 20 ndr-ōjvalam¹³ | sitam kim=a[thā] rañjakam¹⁴=bhramad=anārataṁ kim sthiram
sa-kāraṇam=idañ=cha sat=kim=iva nityam=ity=adbhu-

¹ Read the following word as *Śrīhaṭṭarājya*°. Dr. Mitra read it as *nachchhanna-rājya*. [The use of the vowel *ṛi* for the consonant *ri* is noteworthy.—Ed.]

² Read *°bhūn=maḥi*°.

³ Compare line 5 of the 2nd Bhātera plate, *P. A. S. B.*, 1880, p. 153. The name may also be read as *Koṅgaṇa*°.

⁴ Read *sphutam* or *sphuṭaḥ*. Dr. Mitra read it as *svayam*.

⁵ Read *bhagavān*.

⁶ [Daṇḍa not needed.—Ed.]

⁷ Read *vidadhad-āchchhanna*°.

⁸ Read *°ōtsavam*.

⁹ Read *vijayinā nā=nyādhikāra-sthithiḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *yasmin*.

¹¹ Read *°laṅghana-sāhasam=āsīt*.

¹² Read *°bhṛich-chhri*°.

¹³ Read *°ōjjvalam*.

¹⁴ Read *rañjakam bhra*°.

- 21 tam || [13*] Bāshpair=urvīpatinām yad=ayam=anumitō mūrchchhitō yad=ripūnām kilālair=yat=tanōti dvishad=avani-bhujām
- 22 jādyam=archchir-vitānaiḥ | kāshṭhānām yad=vyatītya prakaram=upayayāv=ambaram lēlihānas=tēn=āścharyy-aika-sīsā¹ jayati nara-
- 23 patēḥ kō=pi tējah-kṛiśānuḥ || [14*] Kshōṃbhujā yugapad=āhava-saṅgatēna tēn=ōnnata-dvayam=anā[mi] guṇa-dvayēna [1*] ēkē-
- 24 [na]² kārmmukam=asīma-ma[ha]ḥ-prakarsha-gamyēna vairi-nivahaḥ sahasā=parēṇa || [15*] Mahībhujā=jīyata chandrahāsa-karēṇa tē-
- 25 [n=ā]*mita-vikramēṇa [1*] vilāṅghit-ānēka-payōdhin=ēyam svēn=ēva³ kṛitsnā-yaśasā dharitrī || [16*] Ath=āsti Kailāsa-nī-
- 26 [vāsa]⁴=nishpṛihaḥ kṛit-āvatārō bhuvī Bhaṭṭapātākē | an-ādi-rūpō jagad-ādir=apy-ayan=tri-lōka-nāthō bhaga-
- 27 [vāna⁵ Vātē]⁶=śvaraḥ || [17*] Śasi-śekharaḥ tasmai nṛipa-śekhara-ratna-visphurach-charaṇaḥ | pradadau nāna⁷=grāmē nikhīla-nṛipa-

Reverse.

- 28 grā[ma]nīr=ē[sha]ḥ || [18*] Adhikam pañcha-saptatyā bhū-halānām śata=trayam | śata-dvayañ=cha vātinām shaṇṇavatyā sa[ma]nvitam || [19*] [Nā][nā]⁸.
- 29 parijanāms=tasman⁹ janajātīn=anēkaśaḥ [1*] prādāt Śrīhaṭṭa-nāthō=yam¹⁰ Śivāya śiva-kīr[tta]naḥ || [20*] Bhāṭapaḍādēvaranv¹¹ bhū-
- 30 hala 35 || Vāṭī 110 Vāḍagāmē bhū-hala 13¹² Mahurāpurē vāṭī 1 Itākhālākē bhū-hala 7 vāṭī 6 Dēgigām-ōttarē bhū-hala 1 Vara-
- 31 pañchālē hala 5 vāṭī 4 Āmatahikē hala 7¹³ Simhaurē¹⁴ vāṭī 1 Bhāsanātēngārikē¹⁵ bhūkē¹⁶ 6 Guḍāvayikē vāṭī 2 Kāṭārḥā[ḷē]¹⁷
- 32 bh[ū]-hala 2 Ākhālikulē bhū-[ha]ḷa 7 Parākōṇākē vāṭī 1 Pithāpinagarē¹⁸ Bhū-hala 17 vāṭī 4 Vēnūvagāmē vāṭī 2 Pōḍāti-
- 33 thāk=āmpitakara¹⁹ samhala²⁰ 2 vāṭī 11 Kaivāmē hala 8 vāṭī 1 Vālū-sīgāmē hala 5 Navahāṭi-paśchimē hala 2 Śugharē hala 5 vā-
- 34 ṭī 1 Bhōṭhīlahātākē²¹ bhū-hala 5 vāṭī 9 Kaḍaḍiyā-dakshinē Gōsuyā-pūrvvē Gōvāt-ōttarē Var[u]nī-paśchimē

¹ Read °sīmā.

² Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in Dr. Mitra's facsimile

³ Read svēn=aiva.

⁴ Read bhagavān.

⁵ Read nānā².

⁶ Now lost in the original plate, but seen in Dr. Mitra's facsimile.

⁷ Read tasmai.

⁸ Dr. Mitra read it as °nāthāya. [Read Śrīhaṭṭa°. See footnote 1 on p. 281—Ed.]

⁹ Dr. Mitra read it as dēvasatī. [The reading seems to be dēva(ba)ndhā.—Ed.]

¹⁰ The lower part of the figure 1 is effaced and 13 may be read as 2.

¹¹ May also be read as 2.

¹² May be read Simhaurē.

¹³ 'ra' in Bhāsara looks like 'na'. The word is probably Bhāśakara° (see l. 37).

¹⁴ Read bhū-kēḍāra.

¹⁵ Read Kāṭārḥāḷī.

¹⁶ May also be read as pithāpinagarē.

¹⁷ 'mri' may also be read as 'pri'. The word is probably Amṛitakara.

¹⁸ Read bhū-hala.

¹⁹ Dr. Mitra reads as aśhinahāṭikē.

- 35 Bhū-hala 19 Saramā-nadī-dakshinē¹ bhū-hala 5 vāṭi 3 tathā nady-uttarē
bhū-hala 35 vāṭi 12 tathā nady-uttarē Nāṭi-
- 36 [ra]mbha-pūrvvē² vāṭi 1 tathā nady-uttarē Ghaṭā-bhū-paśchimē Garvvara-
bhū-dakshinē³ bhū-hala 7 Kāliyāṇi-nady-uttarē Phōmphāni-
- 37 yā-pūrvvē bhū-hala 9 || vāṭi 7 tathā nadi-dakshinē Kharasōnti-pūrvvē Bhās-
karaṭēngari-paśchimē bhū-hala 45 vāṭi 91
- 38 Jagāpāntarē⁴ Nāṭapānā-grāma-dvayē bhū-hala 5 vāṭi 20 Salāchāpaḍākē Muti-
kāthi-pūrvvē sāgara-paśchimē bhū-
- 39 hala 10 Kāliyāṇi-nadi-dakshin-ōttarē bhū-hala 9 || Dhāmāyī-nadi-dakshinē
bhū-hala 6 vāṭi 10 Bhōgāubhūvai-
- 40 [ḍa]ttarē⁵ bhū-hala 4 vāṭi 4 Nathōśāsana-paśchimē Haṭṭa-var-ōttarē Bhū-hala
7 vāṭi 10 Sātākōpā-dakshinē vaḍasō-
- 41 pūrbhe⁶ hala 10 Chēngachchudikē bhū-hala 2 vāṭi 1 Āḍānakāthikē vāṭi
9 bhūkē 4 Gāṅganapāvikē vāṭi 9 Mēghāparā-
- 42 ka vāṭi 1 bhūkē 6 Pāmsivo-pūrvvē Āthāvī-uttarē bhū-hala 90 vāṭi 12
Naḍakuṭigāmē vāṭi 9 tathāgāmē Dhāma-na-
- 43 [d]y-uttarē vāṭi 9 bhūkē 4 Gōsuyākhāta-pūrvvē Gōpathasy-ōttarē Jaḍi-
gāṅga-dakshinē Vanaṅgajōṭṭi-paśchimē Karagā-
- 44 mara hala 5 Pōhāniyā Ākhālītṭaḍākē bhū-hala 10 Vāsudēvasāsana-purē⁷
bhū-hala 5 Vōvātuḍā-dakshi-
- 45 nē Jōgāvaniyā-uttarē vāṭi 1 Bhāṭapaḍākē Kēḍākādi-vāra-griha 10 tathākē⁸
Amṛitākādi-gōpa-griha 1
- 46 [tathā]k-ōttarē 5⁹ pākāditē griha 5 tathākē Kāśya-Gōvindā-griha 1 Vaḍa-
agāmē gōpa-grihā¹⁰ 1 tathāḍagkē ārupā-
- 47 nākādivāra-griha 7 Jōgā-uttarē nidhisārasuyātē¹¹ griha 9 Bhāṭapaḍā Haye-
khālā Nikuṇṇjagāṭṭākādi-griha 7
- 48 Bhāṭapaḍā Varapañchāla Itākhālātividivākarākādimātā¹² griha 6 Bhāṭapaḍā [śi]-
mivākādi gō-griha¹³ 5 Bhāṭa-
- 49 paḍāni nāpita-Gōvindā-griha 1 rajaka-Sirupā-griha 1 Vōvāchhaḍā-nicham¹⁴ vā-
ṭāpipākādi-griha 5
- 50 tathāni Do[ttharēṭṭapā]kādi-griha 5 Navahāṭāni [Ḍēgvimā]ṇi-pākādi-griha 2
Bhāṭapaḍā Nivā[ra]-pākā-
- 51 di-haṭṭiya-griha 3 Pithāpinagarē Dyōtyēnavikākādi-griha 2 Simhāuraḡrāmē
dantavāra¹⁵ Rajarigā-griha¹⁶ [1]¹⁷

¹ 'ma' in Saramā may be read as 'sa' or 'ga', but there is a river named Surma, which is probably a later transformation of Saramā. [But the original reads *Saramā*.—Ed.]

² Dr. Mitra read *Vāṭisastapūrvvē*.

³ Dr. Mitra read *Śarvvaḥkē*.

⁴ Dr. Mitra reads *jagāyāntarē*.

⁵ [Possibly *-āradh-uttarē*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *pūrvvā*.

⁷ May be read as *pūrvva*.

⁸ A colloquial Bengali word meaning 'there'.

⁹ At first 7 was written and then cancelled.

¹⁰ Griha can also be read as *gadhā*.

¹¹ *dhisāra* may also be read as *nimāra*.

¹² *Tidivākara* may also be read as *nidivākara*, and *°mātā* as *°mānā*.

¹³ Read *gōpagriha*.

¹⁴ Read *nijam*.

¹⁵ Read *dantavāra*.

¹⁶ May also be read as *Vajarigā*.

¹⁷ Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in the facsimile.

- 52 ¹kōshpī hudukā mahāsāchūhō kōshpīsuehhuṇa kōshpīlōkritām chhaṭōbhām
harishpaṭṭōtapatrē āpit na pi [thūyā]²
- 53 ³āpiyārē bhālankādayanākādayaḥ pradattāḥ || V(B)ahubhir=vasudhā dattā rā-
jabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhir=yasya [yasya]⁴
- 54 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasyar=tadā⁵ phalam || [21*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [!]⁶ sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=
bhū[tvā pi]-⁷
- 55 tṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [22*] Pāṇḍavakulādipāl-ā-v(b)da 4151 jēta 9⁷

TRANSLATION.

Om. Salutation to Śiva !

V. 1. Salutation to that Lord of the Universe who is the Maker of the three realms, by whose body (*represented by*) the earth and other elements, this universe is held, who alone is called the Supreme Being and who alone holds, on account of the difference in the three qualities (*namely, sattva, rajas, and tamas*), the three names—Brahma, Upendra and Mahēśvara.

V. 2. (May) he be victorious—the crown-jewel on the head of the Destroyer of Tripura, the silver-pitcher⁸ (*used*) in the bath of the youthful wife of Cupid, the circular whet-stone for sharpening the arrows of the god with flowery arrows (*i.e., Cupid*), the ornament of the night, the coolrayed (*i.e., the Moon*).

V. 3. In his (Moon's) well-known dynasty were born those kings of limitless prowess whose record of fame exists in the (*Mahā*)bhārata.

V. 4. Now, was born the greatly renowned Kharavāṇa, (?) a god among men, the cause of the existence of Lakshmi (lit. Prosperity) of the kingdom of Śrihaṭṭa, the best among the rulers of the earth.⁹

V. 5. His son, a king of the name of Gōkuladēva, was the grandfather of the (*present*) king. It is indeed strange that his prowess (*which is*) like the rays of the Sun, imposed inactivity on the kings among his enemies.

V. 6. Unto him was born king Nārāyaṇa who raised the goddess of Fortune from the ocean of hostile kings violently stirred by his arms (*which were*) like the Mandara (mountain), just like Kṛishṇa-Nārāyaṇa who obtained Lakshmi as a result of the churning of the ocean with the Mandara mountain; by whom the god (Nārāyaṇa) was verily imitated owing to his pleasing the people (*nandaka*) or owing to his taking help of Nandaka (minister or general in the case of king Nārāyaṇa, and the sword named Nandaka in the case of Kṛishṇa-Nārāyaṇa).

¹ Dr. Mitra reads : *kōdyī hukukō mahāsāchūhō kōdyī sahuna kōdyīnō kritām vuṭhōbhām haviṣpaṭṭōtapatra āpit na pithūyā.*

² Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in the facsimile.

³ Dr. Mitra reads : *āpiyāche bhāla da daya ākādayaḥ pradattāḥ.*

⁴ To be found indistinctly in the facsimile. Portion of 'ya' survives in the original plate. One *yasya* is redundant.

⁵ Read *tasya tadā.*

⁶ Indistinctly occurs in the facsimile.

⁷ I have doubts regarding the reading of the date which consists of 13 letters or groups of letters. (See introductory remarks.)

⁸ Rati is conceived of as having her bath in the beautiful rays of the Moon, which accounts for her beauty.

⁹ The fact that the second Bhāṭērā inscription referred to in the introduction does not mention this name Kharavāṇa, is significant. The verse may refer to an unnamed king who was, in addition to these qualities, sharp in throwing arrows (*kharavāṇa*).



V. 7. Unto him was born this Kēśavadēva *alias* the Ripurāja-Gōpi-Gōvinda¹ whose fame is sung (*on account of*) his unlimited virtue and glory, whose foot stool is decorated with the crown-jewels of kings, (*who is*) illustrious and prominent among kings,

V. 8. who (*is*) the limit of wonderful prowess, the abode of fame and the refuge of riches, the abode (*of all kinds*) of knowledge, the shelter of diplomacy, the only famous dwelling place of glory, the abode of liberality, the pleasure-house of eloquence, the ocean of cultural sciences, the seat of goodness and the group of virtues incarnate—may he be victorious !

V. 9. He, by preserving the earth with that force of arms which defeated kings,² protected with kindness the good people openly (*achchhannakam*³) and with festivities (*sōtsavam*), just like Kṛishṇa who gave with kindness the festival of the destruction of Kamsa (*uchchhinnakam-sōtsavam*⁴) to the good people of Vṛindāvana. Also (*this*) king Kēśavadēva, who with anger destroyed the circle of (*his*) enemies surely left one (alone, namely,) the protector of a child, to remain (*with life*) from among the race of (*his*) opponents (just like Kṛishṇa) who by being angry killed Śisupāla.

V. 10. Bringing the earth under one umbrella by the valour of arms this conquering (king), (as if), desiring that in this earth there should not be any control of any other (*thing*), placed the palm of his hands in the place of the Wishing Tree, his prowess in that of the Sun, his reputation in that of the Moon and his arms in that of the duty of the king of snakes (*i.e.*, in bearing the weight of the earth).

V. 11. While he rules the earth with the vow (*in virtuous principles*) of the first kings of the earth, the daring attempt to transgress the Śruti (meaning the Vēda and the ear) was found only in the eyes of women.

V. 12. Having caused pleasure in the circle of friendly kings, having illuminated all the directions by the skilful swaying of his sword, and having expelled the circle of (*inimical*) kings at a distance, he shone forth as the crest-jewel of the Eastern mountain (*i.e.*, the Sun), thereby producing gaiety among the delighted *chakravāka* (birds), illuminating the directions by the play of the rays and by driving apart the orb of the Moon or the circle of enemies.⁵

V. 13. His reputation, bright as the Moon, illuminates the world, hampers the growth of enemies (just as moonlight does the growth of lotus) and causes the lily of joy of the world (*kumuda*) to spread. It is white (*i.e.*, spotless) and at the same time pleasing, it is ceaselessly moving about though fixed, it is eternal though it is the effect of some cause. It is indeed wonderful !

V. 14. His amazing, fire-like prowess whose existence is inferred by the tears of the rulers of the earth (ordinary fire is however indicated by smoke and not water) ; which is increased by the blood of enemies (ordinary fire is however extinguished by watery substance like blood) ; by the diffusion of whose rays the inactivity of the hostile kings is increased (ordinary fire however removes inactivity), whose power (*as if*) to lick it repeatedly reaches the sky after surpassing all the directions (ordinary fire is however extinguished as soon as it over-reaches a pile of wood)—may it be victorious !

V. 15. By that ruler of the earth engaged in warfares, two great things were bent simultaneously by (reason of his) two *guṇas*—by one *guṇa* (*i.e.*, the string) the bow was bent, and by the other *guṇa*, which is guessed by his limitless great prowess, the host of enemies.

¹ Ripurāja-Gōpi-Gōvinda seems to have been a *biruda* of Kēśavadēva. Compare II. 8 and 9 of the second Bhātārā copper-plate inscription (P. A. S. B., 1880, p. 153).

² [It seems to refer to Kṛishṇa's lifting the Gōvardhana hill.—Ed.]

³ [See f. n. 7 on p. 283 above.—Ed.]

⁴ [But the text gives *achchhanna*°.—Ed.]

⁵ *Pārvāvanibhṛit* suggests that he was a king of the eastern countries,

V. 16. By that ruler of the earth, with a sword in hand, of unparalleled valour, with an army of elephant-riders, was the whole of the earth conquered just as (*it was conquered*) by his fame which like the rays of the laughing Moon crossed many seas in long strides.

V. 17. Now, this lord **Vaṭṭēśvara**, who, though having no beginning (*for himself*) is (*yet*) the beginning of the universe and is the lord of the three realms, has come into this world at Bhaṭṭa-pāṭaka (i.e., Bhāṭapaḍā or Bhāṭērā) as an incarnation and is living here, having given up the desire to live at Kailāsa.

Vv. 18 and 19. The leader of the kings (*of this world*), whose feet are decorated with the crown-jewels of kings, gave 300 and 75 (i.e., 375) *halas* of land with two hundred and ninety-six houses in various villages to that moon-crowned (god Śiva).

V. 20. This worshipper of Śiva (*śiva-kīrttana*), the lord of Śrīhaṭṭa, gave to that Śiva different kinds of attendants belonging to (subject) races.

Lines 29-51. 35 *halas* of land in Dēva-forest (?) in Bhāṭapaḍā, as well as 110 houses. 13 *halas* in Vaḍagāma. One house in Mahurāpura. 7 *halas* in Itākhālā, as well as 6 houses. One *hala* in the north of Dēgigāma. 5 *halas* as well as 4 houses in Varapañchāla. 7 houses in Āmatālī. One house in Simhajara. 6 *kēdāras* of land in Bhāsanāṭēngārīka. 2 houses in Guḍāvayīka. 2 *halas* in Kāṭākhālā. 7 *halas* in Ākhālikula. One house in Parākōṇāka. 17 *halas* and 4 houses in Pithāpinagara. 2 houses in Vēnūvagrāma. 2 *halas* and 11 houses belonging to Amṛitakara of Pōṭātithāka. 8 *halas* and 1 house in Kaivāma. 5 *halas* in Vālūsīgāma. 2 *halas* in the west of Navahāṭi. 5 *halas* and 1 house in Śughara. 5 *halas* and 9 houses in Bhōtilahāṭika. 19 *halas* (lying) to the south of Kaḍaḍiyā to the east of Gōsuyā, to the north of Gōvāṭa (lit. a pasture ground) and to the north of Varuṇī. 5 *halas* and 3 houses (lying) to the south of the Saramā¹ river. 35 *halas* and 12 houses (lying) to the north of that river. 1 house (lying) to the north of that river and to the east of Nāṭirambha. 7 *halas* (lying to) the north of that river, west of Ghaṭābhū and south of Garvarabhū. 9 *halas* and 7 houses (lying to) the north of the river Kāliyāṇī and east of Phōmphaṭipā. 45 *halas* and 91 houses (lying to) the south of that river, east of Kharasōntī and west of Bhāskarātēngārī. 5 *halas* and 20 houses in the two villages of Jagāyāntara and Nāṭapānā. 10 *halas* in Salāchāpaḍāka, and to the east of Mutikāthī and to the west of Sāgara. 9 *halas* lying north and south of the river Kāliyāṇī. 6 *halas* and 10 houses (lying) south of the river Vāmāyī. 4 *halas* and 4 houses in the north of Bhōgāu and Bhuvāi. 7 *halas* and 10 houses in the east of Nathōśāsana and north of Haṭṭavara. 10 *halas* south of Sātakōpā and east of Vaḍasō. 2 *halas* and 1 house in Chēngachchhuḍika. 4 *bhū-kēdāras* and 9 houses in Āḍānakāthika. 9 houses in Māṅganapāvika. 1 house and 6 *bhū-kēdāras* in Mēghāparāka. 90 *halas* and 12 houses in the east of Paṁśivō and north of Āthāvi. 9 houses in Naḍakuṭigāma. 9 houses and 4 *bhū-kēdāras* in the same village in the north of the river Dhāma. 5 *halas* in Karagāma, east of Gōsuyākhātā, north of Gōpatha (lit. a track for cattle to pass), south of Jaḍigāṅg and west of Vanaṅgajōṭṭi. 10 *halas* in Pōhāniyā in Ākhāli-ṭṭaḍāka (Ākhālikulē?). 5 *halas* in the east of Vāsudēvaśāsana. One house (*lying in*) the south of Bōbāchhaḍā and north of Jōgāvaniyā. In Bhāṭapaḍā 10 outside houses² belonging to Kēḍāka and others. 1 house belonging to Amṛitāka and other *Gopas*. 5 houses to the north of that : 5 houses as kitchens. 1 house belonging to Kāśya-Gōvindhā (lit. Gōvindhā, the bell-metal worker).³ In Vaḍagrāma 1 house of Gōpa and 7 outside houses with kitchen etc. belonging to Ārupā. In my own (*village*) Gārasuyā, north of Bhōgā, 9 houses. In Bhāṭapaḍā-Itākhālā 7 houses belonging to Nikuñjabhaṭṭa and others. In Bhāṭapaḍā, Varapañchāla, Itākhālā etc. 6 houses belong-

¹ [See footnote 1 on p. 283 above — Ed.]

² *Vāragriha*. This word is probably the same as the modern colloquial *Vāravāḍi*.

³ *Kāśya* may imply either *kāśyākūra* 'bell-metal worker' or *Kāśyapa-gōtra*, i.e., 'of the line of Kāśyapa, the sage'.

ing to the mother of Tidivākara and others. In Bhātapadā 5 cow-sheds belonging to Simivāka and others. In Bhātapadā 1 house belonging to washerman Sirupā. 5 houses including kitchen and pasture lower down Bōbāchhadā. 5 houses including kitchen there belonging to Dottharēṭṭa (?). In Navahāṭi kitchen and other houses (belonging to) Dēgvimāṭi 2. In Bhātapadā kitchen, shop-houses etc. (*belonging to*) Nivāra 3. In Pithāpinagara 2 houses (*belonging to*) Dyōjyē the boatman (*navikā*) and others. In Simhajara village 1 house (*belonging to*) Rajavigā the ivory-worker.¹

L. 52. (The language of a portion is not known) have been given.

Verses 21-22 : (the well-known imprecatory verses).

The date : Jyāishṭha 9, 4151, the era of the first of the Pāṇḍavas.

No. 50.—A NOTE ON THE VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The *vishaya* of Udumbara mentioned in the grant of Jayanāga recently published in this Journal is better known than is supposed by Dr. L. D. Barnett or Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. Audumbara existed as the name of a division of Bengal and elsewhere in India up to at least the end of the sixteenth century. It is mentioned as a *Sarkār* of the *ṣūbah of Bengal* in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. Blochmann read the name correctly as Audumbar, but unfortunately he did not live to translate the second volume of the *Ā'in*, and Jarrett, who took up the work, was not sufficiently acquainted with the topography of Bengal to recognise the difference between Udner and Audambar. Consequently in the translation published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891 the name is given as "Sarkar of Udner commonly known as Tanda."¹ Blochmann read the name correctly as Audambar and included it in the *Sarkārs* to the south of the Ganges and the west of the Bhāgirathī. Among the *Mahalls* mentioned as being included in *Sarkār Audambar* in the *Ā'in* there are at least two which bear the same name in early British Revenue Papers ; e.g., Ākmahal and Kunwarpartab. The name of Ākmahal was subsequently changed into Rājmahal, and it is now a *parganah* of the Sonthal Parganas District. Kunwarpartāb is really *Kumārpratāpa*, and bears this name even now. It is a *parganah* in the northern part of the Murshidabad district. There cannot be any doubt therefore that portions of *Sarkār Audambar* lay to the south of the Ganges and to the west of the Bhāgirathī. I have proved before that even up to the time of Akbar ancient or pre-Muhammadan names of Revenue Divisions continued unchanged. Rāmāvatī, the new capital built by Rāmapāla after the suppression of the Kaivartta revolt in Northern Bengal,² continued to be a *Mahall* or *Sarkār Jannatābād* or *Lakhnauti*.³

Writing of the Revenue Divisions of Bengal in the reign of Akbar, Blochmann says, "Sarkar Audambar or Tandah, comprising the greater portions of Birbhum. The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, e.g., in Kachh."⁴ After the publication of Blochmann's paper

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. Eng. Trans. Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, p. 129. The translator failed to notice Blochmann's important contributions to the history and geography of Bengal.

² *Memoirs*, A. S. R., Vol. V, p. 14.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, 1891, p. 137.

⁴ *Journal*, A. S. B., Vol. XLII, 1873, part I, p. 217. Audambar was also the name of a *vishaya* in the *maṇḍala* of Kālāñjara and *bhukti* of Kānyakubja in the time of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor Bhōja I ; See his *Barah* plates of v.s. 893-*Anta*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

Cunningham, in the fifteenth volume of his report, spells the name correctly as Audambar.¹ I cannot understand how Jarrett came to read it as Udner, unless his Maulawī mistook and ب for ن and ي .

As the name of an ancient Revenue Division of Bengal is known to have been Audambar or Audambar in the sixteenth century, there cannot be any reason to suppose that the name of the *Vishaya* in Jayanāga's grant, which is also the same, was situated in the Delta of Bengal near modern Ranaghat, where no such Revenue Divisions can be proved to have existed. The term Gaṅginikā is the diminutive of Gaṅginī. Gām and Gāṅgina are common terms in Western Bengal for a dried up river bed or a small river. The name Gaṅginikā was equally common in Northern Bengal; cf. Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla ll. 31-32, *paśchimēna Gaṅginikā*; 1-38-*Asya ch-ōttarēṇa Gaṅginikā-sīmā*; ll. 39-40 *srōtikāyā Gaṅginikām pravishṭa*, ll. 40-41 *Uttarēṇa Gaṅginikā*.²

No. 51.—JURA PRASASTI OF KRISHNA III.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

This inscription was discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., in 1921. It is incised on a stone slab which, Mr. Banerji says, is being used as a lintel in a modern bungalow erected inside an old fort in the village of Jura which is a hamlet some twelve miles away from the Maihar railway station on the G. I. P. railway line. A brief notice of its contents has already appeared in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1921-22.³ I edit it below from the impressions sent by Mr. Banerji in 1922 and kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing comprises 37 lines covering a space of 9 inches by 4 feet and is generally well preserved except in lines 3-13. The language of the record is Hale-Kannada, lines 1-13 and 33-37 being written in prose and lines 17-33 in verse and the *kanda* metre. The use of the word *nōḍire* as an interjection meaning "behold" is noteworthy. Only one more instance of the use of this interjection is known to me, viz., in verse 11 of the Sogal Inscription.⁴ The characters are Kanarese referable to the 10th century A.D. The size of the letters varies from about 1½" to about ½". The vowel *u* subscript is denoted in three different ways, e.g., see (1) by *ru* in *maruḷa* l. 4, (2) by *du* in *sōḷadu* l. 26, and (3) by *dhu* in *vaḍhu*, l. 28. The *ē* sign is formed sometimes by a superscript mark, as in *mē* of *paramēśvara*, l. 2, and sometimes by a mark on the left of the letter, as in *bē* of *bērinde* l. 19. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* when they are combined with consonants. The sign for the vowel *ai* which occurs only once in *Kāmai*, l. 34, is worth notice. In respect of orthography, we may note (1) the correct use of the archaic *ḷ* in *kiḷṭa* (ll. 20-21), *Chōḷa* (l. 20) and *iḷḷa* (l. 32); (2) the doubling of consonants after *r* as in *vanṭeyarkkaḷ* (l. 11); and (3) the wrong use of *s* for *ś* as in *prasasti* (l. 36).

The inscription is a panegyric of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramēśvara*, *śrī-Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Kannaradēva*. In the prose passage, with which the record opens, this king is introduced with the *birudas* of *nallara-maruḷarḥ*, *āne-vedaṅgarḥ*, *chalake-mallātarḥ*, *vairi-vilāsarḥ*, *madagaja-mallarḥ*, *parāṅganā-putrarḥ*, *gaṇḍa-mārtaṇḍarḥ*,

¹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XV, p. 38.

² *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

³ p. 119.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 3 and add.

Akālavarsham, Nripatuṅgam and Kachchegam.¹ All these epithets except those of *nallara-marulaṁ, vairi-viḷāsam, parāṅganāputraṁ* and *Nripatuṅgam*²—which are met with for the first time in the present inscription—are known to have been borne by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** emperor **Kṛishṇa III**, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.³ Again, as is shown by the Atakur,⁴ the Solapuram⁵ and other records, it was Kṛishṇa III who uprooted the **Chōlas**. Accordingly, the king eulogised in this record must be identified with him, namely, **Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed**.

The only historical event alluded to in the record is the destruction of the Chōla power by Kṛishṇa. Verse 2, describing this achievement, tells us that the **Āne-veḍeṅga** (i.e., Kṛishṇa) “rooted out the Chōla who had uprooted the **Pāṇḍya**.” It may be noted in this connection that the expression *Chōlana bēraṁ bērinde kiṭṭan* of this record is a Kanarese rendering of **चौलान्वयोन्मूलनं** found in the Karhad grant,⁶ where we are told that Kṛishṇarāja uprooted the race of the Chōlas with the intention of subduing the southern region. The Chōla who is said to have uprooted the Pāṇḍya was **Parāntaka I** who ruled from A.D. 907 to 953; for not only was he a contemporary of Kṛishṇa III, but is also known to have waged three wars against the **Pāṇḍyas** and captured their capital **Madura**.⁷ And we learn from the Kanyākumāri inscription⁸ that Parāntaka killed the Pāṇḍya king. It was during the reign of this Parāntaka that Kṛishṇa III fought the famous battle of **Takkōlam**, killed the Chōla prince **Rājāditya** and took possession of the Chōla territory.⁹ Thus, it is evidently this incident that is alluded to in the present inscription. Kṛishṇa's occupation of the Chōla dominions is also borne out by the large number of his records, found in that part of the country, which give him the epithet *Kachchiyum Tanjāiyum koṇḍa*, i.e., ‘he who took **Kāfichi** and **Tanjore**’.

The existence of the present record in **Jura** near Jubbulpore shows clearly that Kṛishṇa's conquests were not confined to the south, but extended to the north also. The Karhad grant tells us that he conquered the **Kalachuri Sahasrārjuna** though he was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. The grant, however, says explicitly that this success was one of those achieved by Kṛishṇa while he was yet a prince (*kumāra*) and acting under the orders of his father (*janakājñāvaśa*). But it is clear that the expedition during which our inscription was engraved was undertaken after he became king, since in this record he is described as a paramount sovereign. Consequently, the latter expedition must be different from the one mentioned in the Karhad grant. The record is not dated and it is, therefore, not possible to ascertain precisely the time when this expedition took place. But the allusion to the crushing of the Chōla power made in the epigraph would show that it was undertaken after the overthrow of the Chōlas and after Kṛishṇa III had killed the Chōla prince Rājāditya in A.D. 947.¹⁰ It is quite reasonable to surmise, therefore, that the expedition to the north was led by Kṛishṇa III after A.D. 947. In the

¹ On p. 119 of the *A. S. E.*, for 1921-22, the word is read as *kabbega* and it is stated that it occurs as *kabbega* in the Atakūr inscription, but the facsimile of the latter (facing p. 54, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI) shows clearly *kachchega* which is Fleet's reading.

² On the significance of the Rāshtrakūṭa titles ending in *tuṅga*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 189.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 194 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

⁷ *Madras Ep. Report*, 1907, p. 72.

⁸ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 111.

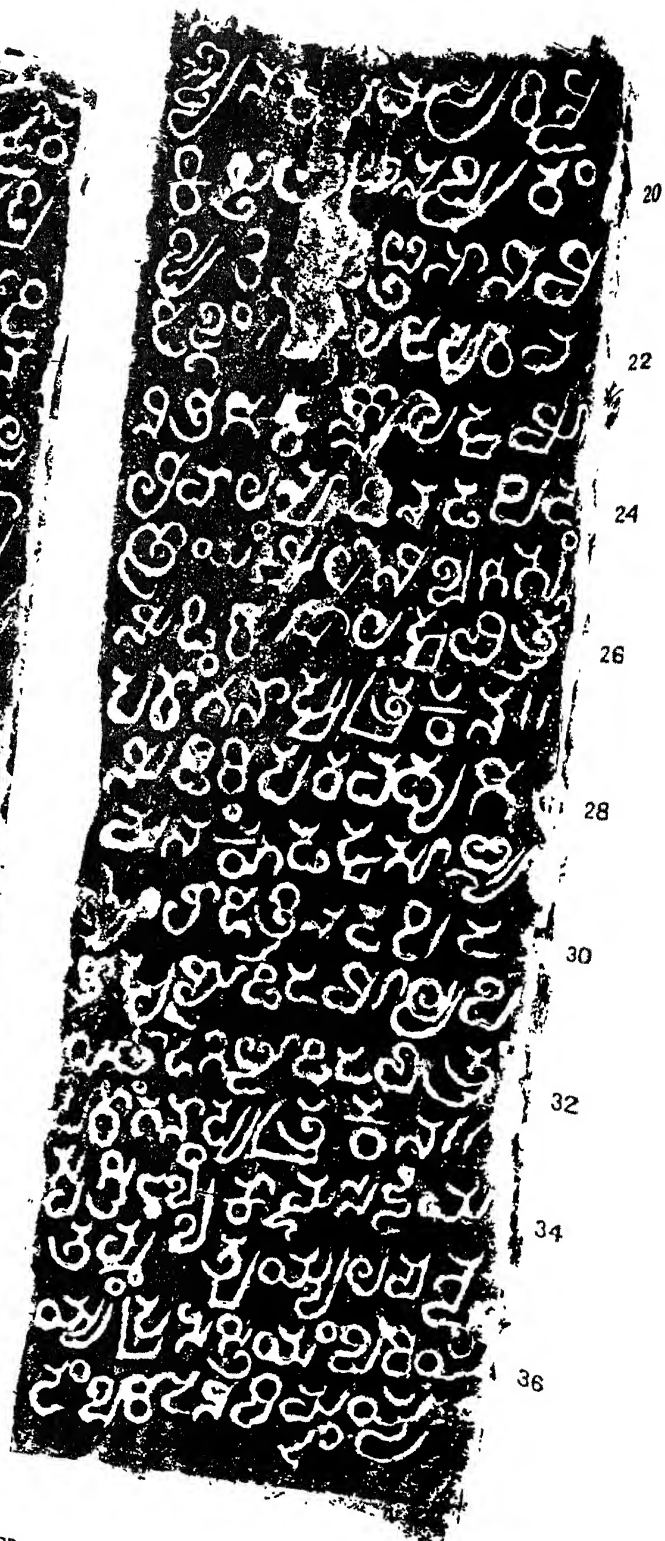
⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 82.

¹⁰ See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82 and 83 and *A. S. E.*; for 1912 f. n. Here it may be pointed out that the late Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that this event took place in A.D. 949-50.

JURA PRASASTI OF KRISHNA III.

1st piece.

2nd piece.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha¹, we are told that he became known as the King of the Gūrjaras by conquering the northern region for Kṛṣṇarāja (II). Evidently, the same campaign is referred to in the Kūḍlūr plates of A.D. 963 which were issued by the same chief and which tell us that Kṛṣṇarāja, when setting out on an expedition to the north, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasimha as the ruler of Gaṅga-pāḍi.² If the northern expedition, in the course of which our inscription was written, is identical with the one mentioned in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa and Kūḍlūr records, it must have taken place in A.D. 963-64 which was, according to Fleet,³ the first year of Mārasimha's rule. Consequently, the inscription under publication will have to be ascribed to that very year, viz., A. D. 963-64.

The *prasasti* was written by Chimmayya at the instance of Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Kāmaiseṭṭi. Both these persons appear to be new, for they are not known from other records.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti [||*] parama-bhaṭṭāra-
- 2 ka paramēśvara śrī-⁴pri-
- 3 thvi-va[llabha] maharājā[dhi]-
- 4 rā[ja ne(na)]llara-marulaṇ-ā-
- 5 ne-[veḍe]ṅgaṁ chalake-na[llā]-
- 6 taṁ [vairi]-viḷasaṁ mada[ga]-
- 7 ja-mallaṁ parāṅgaṇā-pu-
- 8 traṁ ga[ṇḍa]-mārtanḍan-Akālava-
- 9 riṣaṁ⁵ Nṛi[patu]ṅgaṁ ka[ch]chegam⁶ śrī-
- 10 mat-Kannaradēvaṁ || kanda [||]
- 11 vaniteyarkka-
- 12 gaḷum bama-
- 13 kaṇḍum nōḍa-
- 14 du kaṇ-nuḍiyadu bā[y-kū]—
- 15 ḍadu chittam Parāṅgaṇā-
- 16 putrakana || [||*||] Bhārata-
- 17 doḷ-i[ṛidan=I]ndranoḷ=ōr=ā-
- 18 sana-[jā]ṇan=enipa Pā-
- 19 ṇḍyana [kula]maṁ bērinde
- 20 kiḷta [Chō]lana bēraṁ
- 21 bēri[nḍeki]ḷtan-Āneve-
- 22 ḍeṅgaṁ || [2 ||*] [Sō]lade para-va-
- 23 nitege [ka]ṇ=sōladu mo-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 151 ff.

² *Mys. A. R.* for 1921, pp. 17 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 172. Rice held that Mārasimha commenced to rule in A.D. 961 (*Coorg Ins.*, p. 12, table).

⁴ Read °*prithvi*°.

⁵ Read °*Ākālavarshaṁ*.

⁶ Though the upper letter in *chche* of this word looks like *h*, it is apparent from the subscript that *ch* was the letter intended as in the Ātakūr inscription - see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII, p. 216, f. n. 12.

- 24 le-vālan=ūḍi naḍapida
 25 tō(tā)yaṁ(yim) mēl=ene bageguṁ
 26 nōḍire sōladu chittam
 27 Parāṅganāputrakana || [3||*]
 28 Nōḍire para-vadhuge
 29 manam kūḍadu sūl-sū-
 30 loḷ¹=etti na[ḍa]pida
 31 tōl=unḍ=āḍida mole ba-
 32 sir=olag=ild=āḍida chittam
 33 Parāṅganāputrakana || [4||*]
 34 Svasti [||*] Ubbi-Kāmai²seṭṭiya
 35 tammam Tuyyala Chanda-
 36 yyaṁ prasa(śa)stiyaṁ bareyi[si*]-
 37 daṁ [||*] baredane Chi[mma]yyaṁ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—10.) Hail ! Supreme Master, supreme Lord, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great emperor, he who amazed good men (*by his goodness*), a marvel with elephants, he who is beautiful on account of firmness of character, he to whom (*encounter with*) the enemy is a sport, a wrestler against rutting elephants, a son to other men's wives, a (*very*) sun among heroes, Akālavarsha, Nṛipatuṅga, he who wears the girdle of prowess; the illustrious Kannaradēva.

(Verse 1.) women the eye of Parāṅganāputra (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa III) seeing, does not see, (*his*) mouth does not speak and his mind does not unite.

(Verse 2.) Āneveḍeṅga (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa) rooted out the Chōḷa who had uprooted the Pāṇḍya that had become famous as one who had killed (*his enemies*) in the Bhārata (*war*) and who was so skilful as to share with Indra one half of his throne.³

(Verse 3.) Unless one is overcome (*with love*) for another's wife, his eye will not be captivated (*by her*). But see ! the mind of Parāṅganāputra regards another's wife as more than his mother who has fed (*him*) on her breast milk and taught (*him*) to walk.

(Verse 4.) Behold ! (*His*) mind cannot be attracted towards others' wives ; for it is the mind of Parāṅganāputra who considers himself as having remained in the wombs of others' wives and sported there, who regards their arms as those that repeatedly carried him and taught him to walk and their breasts as those which he had sucked (*as a child*) and played with.

(Lines 34—37.) Hail ! Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Ubbi Kāmaiseṭṭi caused this eulogy to be written and Chimmayya wrote it.

¹ Read sūl-sūḷoḷ².

² Evidently a shortened form of Kāmayya.

³ These legendary accounts of the achievements of the Pāṇḍya kings are also mentioned in the Vēlvikuḍi and the Sinnamanūr grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298, text-line 9 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, pp. 480 and 488).

No. 52.—THE BHADAVANA GRANT OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVĀ OF KANAUJ.

BY N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

The Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj has left abundant inscriptional material during its short period of glory—*circa* 1000-1193 A.D. Twenty five copper-plates were discovered at Kamauli near the confluence of the Berna and the Ganges at Benares in October 1892 which have been fully described by Kielhorn in Volume IV of this Journal. Another copper-plate of this dynasty was presented to me by the Taluqdar of Tālā, 6 miles from Partābgarh, United Provinces, who found it in the possession of one of his tenants, the latter having got it in exchange from a village woman for new utensils. The place where the plate was actually discovered is not known. The plate measures 17·5 inches by 13 inches and weighs 342 *tolās*. 9½ inches of the plate are covered with inscription on one side only. The writing is well preserved. A small space, left blank in the centre at the top, was probably intended for perforating the usual ring-hole. The absence of the perforation seems to indicate that the plate was never issued from the royal record room.

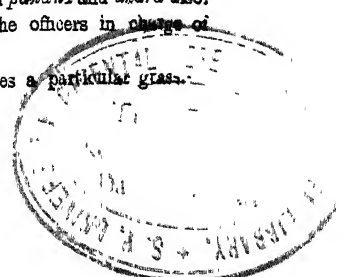
The inscription is written in Sanskrit language and engraved in the Nāgarī script. Regarding the orthographical peculiarities it is to be noted that 'ज्ञ' is sometimes used for 'य', as in 'जयो' (-ययो) and that the letters र, व, ख, च and घ in some places appear very much alike in form. The distinction between the different sibilants is not adhered to. The medial vowel 'उ' is sometimes indicated by merely a stroke attached below the consonant, as, for instance, in अतुमन्ता in line 19. The name of the writer of the grant is not given.

Like all the published grants of this family the plate recites the genealogy from the time of Yaśōvigraha. After describing the prowess of king Gōvindachandradēva (ll. 1-8) it goes on to say that the village of Bhadavanā together with the hamlets of Bhaṭavālī and Laghu-Bhadavanā in the pattalā of Mahāvisa was granted by the king to two Brahmans by the name of Kumāraśarman, son of Vāchhā and grandson of Thakkura Śrī-Pīṭhā of the Kāśayapa-gōtra, and Śīlaśarman, son of Tūṅgula and grandson of Thakkura Śrī-Vāvana of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. While the three *pravaras* of Śīlaśarman are clear, those of Kumāraśarman of the Kāśyapa-gōtra are not quite so explicit¹. Gōvindachandradēva says that the grant was made by him after he had bathed (*probably*) at Prayāga (Allahābād) according to the sacred rights, holding water and the sacred *darbha* grass in the palm of the hand and having worshipped (*god*) Vāsudēva—the protector of the three worlds—and having made oblations to the fire. The object of the grant is said to be the acquisition of merit and renown for the donor and his parents. The grant was formally announced in the presence of the queen, the heir-apparent, the minister, the priest, the commander-in-chief, the treasurer, the keeper of the legal documents, the astrologer, the chamberlain, the officer called *Dūsa-Pattanākara and the officer-in-charge of agricultural stock. The village was given subject to the payment of taxes fixed and customary but inclusive of the rights of mining, salt, waste-land and the enjoyment of the fruits of *mahuā*, mangoes, wood, natural growth, other trees, grass *pūti* and pasture. The exact meaning of the technical terms such as 'dūsapattanākara, *pūti*², and the

¹ See below, p 294, n. 2.

² ['Dūsa' is evidently a clerical mistake for 'dūta' and *adhikāri*³ is to be taken with *pattanā* and *ākara* also. The expression 'dūta' would in that case signify the Dūta, the City Magistrate and the officers in charge of mines and of herds of kine.—Ed.]

³ [As in the other grants of this ruler, the word reads *yūti* and not *pūti*. *Pūti* signifies a particular grass. Ed.]



various kinds of taxes described are not easy to determine. The word वणतो¹ is probably a local term signifying the *Treñē* at Allahābād.

[The date of the grant is Thursday, Phālgunī-Amāvāsya of the (*Vikrama*-) Samvat 1184. In this year Phālgunī-Amāvāsya fell on Friday, the previous Thursday having '99 of Chaturdaśī. But in the following year the *tithi* fell on Thursday and lasted up to '90. So the latter appears to be the intended date which, according to Mr. L. D. Swamikaunu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, corresponds to March 21, A.D. 1129.—Ed.]

I have been unable to trace the village of Bhaṭavali in the Allahābād district. The village of Bhadavanā may be the same as the modern village of Budawan in *tahsil* Karchhana in the district of Allahābād.

TEXT.²

1. ओम्³ स्वस्ति [1*] अकुण्ठोत्कंठवैकुण्ठकंठपीठलुठत्करः । संरम्ह⁴सुरतारंहे⁵ स
अयः अयसेत्सु वः । [१*] आसीदशोतद्युतिवसंजातः क्षमापाल⁶मालासु
दिवं गतासु । साक्षाद्विवस्वानि-
- 2 व भूरिधाम्ना नास्तजिसो⁷विग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*] तत्सुतोभूग्महीचंद्रश्च⁸धाम-
निभं निजम् । येवा¹¹पारमकूपारपारव्याप्य(पा)रितं जसः¹² ॥ [३*] तस्यासीत्तनयो
तय¹³करसिकः कान्तद्विप-¹⁴
- 3 माण्डलो विध्वस्ताइत¹⁵वीरथाधतिमिर¹⁶ श्रीचंद्रद्वो¹⁷ नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापस-
मिता¹⁸शेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमद्भाधिपुराधिराज्यमस[मं*]होर्विक्रमेणाजितम्¹⁹ ॥ [४*]
तोर्थानि कासिकुसिकोत्तरकोस²⁰
- 4 लद्रस्थानोयकानि परिपालयतातिगम्य²¹ । हेमात्मतुल्यमानसं²² ददता द्विजेभ्यो
येनाकिता²³ वसुमती सतशः तुलाभिः²⁴ ॥ [५*] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति
क्षितोन्द्रचूडामणिर्विजयते
- 5 निजगोत्रचद्रः²⁵ । यस्याभिषेककलशोक्तसितैः पयेभिः²⁶ प्रचालितं कलिरजःपटलं
धरिच्याः ॥ [६*] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोचक्षलन्माद्यत्कुंभिपदे-²⁷
क्रमासमभरन्-

¹ [The original reads प्रयागे वणतो which is probably a mistake for प्रयागेवनतो where वनतो would mean 'being humble'.—Ed.]

² From the original plate.

³ Read संरम्ह°.

⁴ Read अयसेत्सु°.

⁵ Read ओम्°.

⁶ Read नैक°.

⁷ Read ओषतिमिरः°.

⁸ Read ओजितम्°.

⁹ Read मानसं°.

¹⁰ Read चद्रः°.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol [which possibly stands for 'siddhi'.—Ed.]

¹² Read रेन्ने°.

¹³ Read क्षमापाल°.

¹⁴ Read येना....पारे°.

¹⁵ Read कान्तद्विपन्म°.

¹⁶ Read ओद्द्वो°.

¹⁷ Read कासिकुसिकोत्तरकोसलेन्द्र°.

¹⁸ Read येनाकिता°.

¹⁹ Read त्वयोभिः°.

²⁰ Read अयसेत्सु°.

²¹ Read नाना यशो°.

²² Read यज्ञः°.

²³ Read ओक्षित°.

²⁴ Read ओमिता°.

²⁵ Read ओषगम्य°.

²⁶ Read शतशतुलाभिः°.

²⁷ Read ओक्षेक्षलन्माद्यत्कुंभिप°.

- 6 स्वमहोमडले¹ । चूडारत्नविभक्ततालुगलितस्थानासृगुङ्गासितः शष² पेषवसा³ दि-
व क्षणमसौ क्रोडे विलाना⁴ ननः ॥[७*] तस्मादजायत निजावतवाहु-
वक्षिबधावरुन्दन-
- 7 तरंगजो नरत्रैः⁵ । सान्द्राद्रवसुवो⁶ प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र⁷ इति
चन्द्र इवाम्बु(म्बु)रासेः⁸ ॥[८*] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमां सिसृषु⁹
दिक्षु गजानन्य वज्रिणः [1*] ककुभि
- 8 [व*]भ्रसु¹⁰रभ्रसुवक्षभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥[९*] सोयं समस्तराज-
चक्रसंसी(से)वितचरणकमलः स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर¹¹परम-
9 माहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितश्रीकन्यकुमाधिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमडन¹²पाल¹³पालदे-
- 10 वपादानुध्यातपरे(र)मभट्टारकमहारा[जा*]धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व(श्च)राश्वपति-
गजपतिनरपतिराजद्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्री(म)होवि-
- 11 न्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयो महाविसपत्तलायां भटवलीग्रामेण सह लघुभदन(व)णा¹⁴
सह भदवणाग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानपि राजराज्ञोयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरो-
हितसेना-
- 12 धिपतिभांडागारिवा(का)क्षपटलिवीत्त[?] (कनैमित्ति-Ed.)कान्तःपुरिकदूस(त-Ed.)प-
त्तनाकरगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति वो(वो)धयत्याडिश¹⁵तिच विदितमस्तु
भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलसथल¹⁶
- 13 सलोहलवणाकर¹⁷ सगर्तोश्वर¹⁸ समधूक¹⁹ साम्रचूतकंटिकाविटपतृणपूति²⁰गोरच
(चर-Ed.)पर्यन्तः सोड[ति](सोर्द्धाध-Ed.)स्यतुराघाटविशुद्धः संवत् ११८४
फाल्गुन्यामावास्यायां गुरुतिथे(तिथौ गुरी-Ed.)
- 14 आयेक्ष²¹ श्रीमप्रयागी²² वणतो²³ श्रोवधि²⁴वत्सनात्वा कुशलवा(ता)पूतकरत-
लोदकेन त्रिभुवनत्रातु²⁵ वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय हविषा हविर्भुजं
हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनत्पुपुन्य-²⁶

¹ Read °श्रयम्सहोमडले.

⁴ Read विलीना°.

⁷ Read °चन्द्र°.

¹⁰ Read °भ्रसु°.

¹² Read °मडन°.

¹⁴ [This should end in the instrumental case or the word ग्रामेण will have to be supplied.—Ed.]

¹⁵ Read °दिश°.

¹⁸ Read °चर°.

²¹ Read °अयेक्ष°?

²³ Read °वणतो°? [See f. n. 1 on page 292.—Ed.]

²⁴ Read °विधिवत्सनात्वा°.

² Read शेषः.

⁶ Read °बहावकहनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः

⁸ Read °रासे°.

¹¹ Read °श्वर. [But the text reads °श्वर, correctly.—Ed.]

¹³ Drop one पाल.

¹⁶ Read सजलसथलः.

¹⁹ Read °मधूकः.

²² Read श्रीमप्रयागी.

²⁵ Read द्रातुः

³ Read °वशा°.

⁶ Read सान्द्राद्वतद्रवसुचां.

⁹ Read तिसृषु.

¹¹ Read °श्वर, correctly.—Ed.]

¹³ Drop one पाल.

¹⁶ Read सजलसथलः.

¹⁹ Read °मधूकः.

²⁰ [See f. n. 3 on page 291.—Ed.]

²² Read श्रीमप्रयागी.

²⁵ Read °समन्वयपुण्यश्रीभिहृदये°.

- 15 यस्थेतिवृद्धये कासप¹गोत्राय कास्यपावत्सानैकर²तिव्रात्रिप्रवराय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजातीय-
ठक्कुरश्रोपोथापौत्राय वाक्कापत्राय कुमारसर्मणे³ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तथा भा-
16 रद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजाङ्गिरसबाह्व⁴स्त्यरि⁵प्रवराय ठक्कुरश्रीवावनपौत्राय तिङ्गुल-
पुत्राय श्रीसीलिसर्मण⁶ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय ग्रामोय⁷मस्त्राभिः शसनी-
17 कृत्य प्रदत्तो यथादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकरनियतानियतप्रभृतिसमस्ता-
दायानाञ्चाविधेयोभूय दास्यथेति ॥ तवन्ति⁸ चा श्लोकाः । ऊ ॥
18 भूमि⁹ यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि⁹ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुम्य¹⁰कर्माणौ
नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[१*] शंखं भद्रासनं कृत्वं वरास्त्रा(श्वा) वर-
वारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि-
19 न्दानि फलमेतत्पुरन्दर ॥[२*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि¹¹ स्वर्गे वसवि¹² भूमिदः ।
आच्छत्ता¹³ चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके दसेत् ॥[३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा
यां हरेद¹⁴
20 सुंरोम् । स विष्ठायां किमि¹⁵भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति ॥[४*] गामेकां
सुव(स्व)र्णमेकं स्वमेरस्यक¹⁶मंगुलम् । हरन्नरकमानोति यावदाहृतसं-
21 प्लवम् ॥[५*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य
यदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलम् ॥[६*]¹⁷

¹ Read कास्यप°.

² [कास्यपावत्सारनैधुवेतिवि°.—Ed.]

⁴ [The way in which the superscript r is written is noteworthy.—Ed.]

⁶ Read °श्रीलक्ष्मणे.

⁹ Read भूमि°.

¹² Read वसति.

¹⁵ Read किमि°.

⁷ Drop the anusvāra.

¹⁰ Read पुण्य°.

¹³ Read °च्छे°.

¹⁶ Read वा भूमेरस्येक°.

³ Read °सर्मणे.

⁵ Read त्येतिवि°.

⁸ Read भवन्ति चात्र.

¹¹ Read °सा°.

¹⁴ Read हरेत वसुधराम्.

¹⁷ Mr. Diskalkar of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, has kindly helped me in writing down the text of the inscription.

No. 53.—THE REWAH INSCRIPTION OF MALAYASIMHA, THE YEAR 944.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES.

The existence of this and two other inscriptions was brought to my notice by Diwan Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member of the Council of Regency in the Rewah State, in April 1920. No information is available at present regarding the find-spot¹ of this inscription and the date when it was brought to Rewah.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone, measuring 4' 3½" × 1' 8½". It consists of twenty-seven long lines of writing, and, with the exception of the words *om svasti*, at the beginning, and the date in numerals in l. 26, is entirely in verse. The inscription is probably **Buddhist** as it opens with an invocation to Mañjughōsha, the Buddhist deity of learning, and mentions Buddha as *Bhagavān* in l. 20. There are altogether fifty-four verses in this record which are devoted to the description of the family of a **feudatory chief** named **Malayasimha**, his chief officers, the composer of the *prasasti* and of the mason.

The characters belong to the central variety of the Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth century A.D. The language of the record is Sanskrit, but on account of the carelessness of the mason, apparently, it contains many mistakes. The record refers itself to a king named **Vijayasimha** who is mentioned in verse 5 as born of the family of **Karṇa**. This king is again mentioned in l. 26 in connection with the date in numerals². He is, no doubt, the same as the last homonymous **Chēdi king** who ruled in **Pāhala** at least up to 1196 A.D.³ The date of the inscription is expressed both in words and in numerals : (*Kaṭachuri-Chēdi*) year 944, the **śaka** named⁴ **Sāhasamalla** on Friday the first of the bright half of **Bhādrapada**.

In the description of the family of **Malayasimha**, the river Narmadā is introduced in the fourth verse (l. 2). On the banks of that river was the city of **Tripurī** where ruled a king named **Vijayadēva**, born of the family of **Karṇa** (v. 5). There was a chief named **Jāṭa**, who was the adviser of the ancestors of this prince (v. 7). The illustrious **Karṇadēva** had defeated his enemies with the aid of the force of the arms of **Jāṭa** (8). From him was born **Yasāhpāla**, who was devoted to King **Gayākarṇa** (v. 9). **Yasāhpāla**'s son was **Padmasimha** (v. 11), who was the unrivalled minister of **Vijayasimha** (v. 12) and the younger brother of **Chandrasimha**; **Padmasimha**'s son was **Kirttisimha** (v. 13), his son was **Malayasimha** (v. 15). The description of this family occupies seven lines of this inscription.

The next seven lines are devoted to the description of **Malayasimha**. **Talhanadēvi** seems to have been his mother. Some of his principal officers are named in ll. 14-15. The chief officer (*Sarvādhikārin*), who was probably the Master of the Horse as well as the treasurer, was **Raṇasimha**, son of *śrī-Gargga*. The minister and Superintendent of the distribution of betel-nuts (*Tāmbūla-dān-ādhikṛitiprayuktah*) was **Harisimha**, son of **Jagatsimha**. Verses 34-40 are devoted to the description of the tank⁵ on the occasion of the excavation of which the *prasasti* was composed. In the 41st verse we are informed that the tank was completed at the cost of 1,500 *ṭaṅkakas* stamped with (the effigy) of **Bhagavān** (i.e. the Buddha).

¹ [According to the label on the impression of this inscription received from the Director General of Archaeology in India, it was found near the Kastara tank in the Rewah tahsil.—Ed.].

² [V. 5 gives **Vijayadēva** but l. 26 has **Vijayasimhadēva**.—Ed.].

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227-28.

⁴ [The significance of *sāhasamallāṅka* is not clear. Does it mean 'the year of **Sāhasamalla**'? The word *śaka* is at times used for *śāka* or year, and **Sāhasamalla** literally means athlete in boldness. But whether **Sāhasamalla** refers to **Vijayasimha** or to some other personage or whether it has some other significance here is not known. **Sāhasāṅka**, it may however be observed, is one of the epithets of **Vikramāditya**.—Ed.].

⁵ [Is it not the same tank where the inscription was found?—Ed.].

Such coins, if they were current in the Chēdi country, have not been discovered as yet. The genealogy of the officer who was in charge of the excavation of the tank is given in ll. 21-23. The son of Uddharāṇa was Śrīdhara and the latter's son was **Thakkura Lakṣmīdhara**. His son Vidyādhara was the Superintendent of the excavation of this tank (vv. 43-46). The genealogy of the poet is given in ll. 24-25. The son of Rāmachandra was **Divākara**. His son Purushōttama, the composer of the *prāśasti*, is described as belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya-gōtra, an inhabitant of Benares, well versed in Logic, Grammar (*Śabdasāstra*), *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vēdānta* and the *Yōga* philosophy. The mason was **Ananta**, son of **Galhaṇa** (l. 26). In the last line we are introduced to an artisan named **Ralhaṇa**, son of **Dalha[ṇa*]** whose connection with the record is not made clear. [The context shows that he was a door-keeper.—Ed.].

In the genealogy of Malayasimha the first person mentioned is Jāta, a contemporary of King Karṇa, who reigned from 1041 to about 1070 A.D. Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa is not mentioned but Jāta's son Yaśaḥpāla is, as the contemporary of Gayākarṇa, the grandson of Karṇa and the son of Yaśaḥkarṇa. Evidently Jāta, as a young man, had served under Karṇa in the latter's old age and was therefore the contemporary of king Yaśaḥkarṇa as well. Yaśaḥpāla's elder son Chandrasimha is mentioned as the minister of Vijayasimha. Thus, the kings Narasimha and Jayasimha are passed over. Padmasimha, the grandfather of Malayasimha, and the latter's father Kīrttisimha were most probably the contemporaries of Gayākarṇa and his sons. The earliest known date of Vijayasimha is Kalachuri-Chēdi year 932 (=1180-81 A.D.), the date of his Kumbhi plates. His latest known date is 1196 A.D. mentioned in the Rewah plates of the *Mahārāṇaka* Salakhaṇavarman of Karkarēḍī², a feudatory of Vijayasimha. The date of this inscription is earlier than the last known date, viz. V.S. 1253, by three or four years.

Among the places mentioned in this record Tripurī is the modern Tewar, lying six miles from Jubbulpore and Karkarēḍī (l. 12) is the modern Karkarēḍī situated on the border of the Rewah and Pannā States in Central India. The *Mahārāṇakas* of Karkarēḍī, it may be stated here, were at first the feudatories of the Haihayas of Tripurī and then, of the Chandēllas of Jējākabhukti.

TEXT.³

- 1 [Ōm] Svasti || Ashtāra-chakr-ākṛiti-pūrṇa-chandra[m] padm-āsanastham himaśaila-gauram | savy-ētarā(a)-pāniga-khadga-pustam=vakshyāmi natvā khalu Mamjughōsham || [1*]⁴ Malayasimha-kulāni guṇān=atha sva-samayēna yathōchita⁵-śaktika(taḥ) [] avataramiti padāni yataḥ svataḥ sumaha-
- 2 -tām nanu kēna na kīrttyatē ||⁶ [2*] Vāchaś=ch=ēmā[h*] pravṛittā mē Bayēr=iva marīchayaḥ | Malayasimha-kulā[bja]-prav(h)ōdhāya sahasraśaḥ || [3*]⁷ Ati-vimāra-jal-aughaiḥ plāvayanti pavitrair=muni-vāra-pura-lōkāt=samstutā siddha-girbhiḥ | apanayati suvaśśaj=jāta-mātrā kumārī kaliya-kalusha-bhāram dar-sa(śa)nān=Narmmadā yā || [4*]⁸ Tasyāś=tatē=sti Tripurī-pur=iti tasyām=a-
- 3 bhūt=Karṇa-kula-prasūtaḥ | rājñām guruḥ śrī-Vijay-ākhyā-dēyō rāj=ādhiśāstā vidīśān=diśāñ=cha || [5*]⁴ Yasya pratāp=ānala-sushka-kaṇṭhā rājñā[m] gaṇā aṅguli-samjñay=āpi | s-āśamkam=ēvaṁ vivadanti chi(ni)tyam sēvā-phalās=tat⁹=sadasī prapannāḥ || [6*]⁴ [Tat]-pārva-pūrvā bhuvi yē [babḥū]vus=tēshām vaśc-vardhana-mantra-mantrī |

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 116-22.

² From the original.

³ There is a superfluous superscript ē in *ya* of *yath*.

⁴ *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read °*phalam tat*°.

⁶ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff.

⁷ *Indravajrā*.

⁸ *Drutavilambika*.

⁹ *Mālinī*.

- 4 śrī-Jāṭa-nāmā vishayē niyuktō Vāchaspatiḥ sarva-guṇair-iv-ābhūt || [7*]¹
 Dharmma-dhvaṇānā dhuram=atra gurvīm=viśrānanēn=āvahatō dvijēbhyah |
 yasy=aiva v(b)āhvōr=a[pi] paurushēṇa śrī-Karn(n)na-dēvō jītvān=ripūmś=cha ||
 [8*]¹ Tasmād=Gayākarn(n)na-mahīsa-bhaktō manirasya gōptā bhruvi vandi-
 jivah | jajñē Yaśahpāla iti pratīlas=Tārātmajaḥ
- 5 Saumya iv=Ēndu-dēvāt || [9*]¹ Tasy=ātha putrō=pi viśāla-v(b)āhuḥ srashtṛā
 jagad=vikshya tamō=dhīrūḍhaṁ | tad=dyōtanāy=āvayavī su(su)d(dh)-āmśur=
 ddīpaḥ prakīptaḥ khalu mūrttmān=iva || [10*]² Padmaṁ hi padm-ālaya(ē?)
 Padmasimhaḥ sat-patra-subhr-āmkura-śuddha-gōtraḥ | kshūtrasya vānśē sa
 nidāna-vījī śrī-Chandrasimha-āvarajō vijajñē || [11*]¹ Sarvatra di-
- 6 kshu(ūmu)kha-visarppi-yaśah prachanda-Chēd-Indra-rād=Vijayasimha-grh-aika-man-
 tri | yō vipra-vīrya-vara-dāna-v(b)alēna rakshēd=ḍāridrya-danti-patalā-dvija-
 ruddha-dēham || [12*]³ Śrī-Padmasimha-vidushō=tra nīlānta-v(b)āhuḥ śrī-Kīrtti-
 simha iti simha-v(b)alō vijajñē | ārāti-chakra-hṛidi samkur=aśu viśamkō
 Rāmah purā Daśarathād=iva Kōśalājṣah
- 7 || [13*]³ Sadasi yasya hitā vividhā v(b)udhāḥ surapatēr=iva mantra-vidaḥ surāḥ |
 śuśubhirō śasi(śi)naḥ kirīḥāmīrah⁴ prati[ga]tā jagatas=tamasas=chhidē || [14*]⁵
 Sāmanta-maṇḍala-śīrōruka-dhūnanēṇa nīlpaṁkā-pāda-vanaḥ Malayānusi[m*]haḥ |
 śrī-Kīrttisimha-tanayaḥ sa babhūva vīraḥ kshūtrasya vānśāja-samūddharaṇ-
 aika-mallaḥ || [15*]³ Vi-
- 8 dy-ādihkāra-kumud-ākara-v(b)ōdha-chandrō ratn-ākarō=rthi-manujēshu cha ratna-
 dānaḥ | sārvvē guṇā Malayasimha-nara-pratishṭhā dōshō=pi sō=sya na mṛigāṁka-
 kṛitō guṇ-āmkarḥ || [16*]³ Ārāti-mitra-kamal-augha-vighāta-v(b)ōdhas=akhyām
 dadan=dāsa-dig-amv(b)aram=u[jva]lam yah | śītāmśur=arkka iva tikṣṇa-susakti-
 hasta urvvyām=abhūn=Malayasimha iti pra-
- 9 vīraḥ || [17*]³ Āndōlayēd=yasya kṛipānā(a)-vāyur=vvīchī-gataṁ bhānūm=iv=ām[bu]-
 madhyē | ārāti-sēnām=av(b)alām v(b)alishṭhaḥ sō=bhūd=ishu -- rīka --
 viśuddhaḥ || [18*]¹ Āvartta-sukti(śukti)-harjō samudrē phēnam mukhē vardhni⁶
 padē=pi vikshya | magn-āri-sēnā na v(b)ahir=jagāma yasy=aśu sō=bhūn=
 Malayasya simhaḥ || [19*]¹ V(B)alir=vvī-
- 10 raḥ prādā[t*]=tripada-nīnitam kiṁ tri-bhūvanam padam dāsyām=Īndō(u)-Ravi-
 Hara-Har-Īndr-Ājasu nṛpām⁷ | aham jītvā tēbhyah sapādi karavālēna
 cha vahu . . yah sākāra v=ēti vyavasita-v(b)alō yah sa jayatu ||
 [20*]³ Yasy=āri-sāmanta-śīrō-visarppi-rakt-ājya-dīpt-āsi-śikhā-kṛisānuḥ | sam-
 prāpa tāvat=tu rāṇē=tra triptim Lāmkam
- 11 hi dag[dh*]v=āpi na Mārūtēr=yah || [21*]¹ Tūrāsāham jītvā śasi(śi)nam=api dēvān=
 raṇa-mukhē mahādēvī-Śachyā vīcharati mṛigāṁkas=tribhūvanē | ahō tē-
 shām prā(?)gāt(d)-bhujaga-pati=Śēsho vilasitum prithivyām dēvō=yam
 janapada-janair=ukta iti yah || [22*]³ Kāmam yath=āgnir=Bhava-nētra-janmā
 krōdh-ātmakāḥ śatru-v(b)alām dadāha | vaidhavya-

¹ *Indravajrā.*² *Upajāti ?*³ *Vasantatilakā.*⁴ Read *kiraṇāyitāḥ*. [The reading is *kiri(a)nāgīrah*.—Ed.]⁵ *Drutavilambita.*⁶ Read *mūrdhni*.⁷ [Presumably some different reading is intended.—Ed.]⁸ *Śikharī.*

- 12 duḥkh-ēndhana-dīrgha-vāshpaiḥ saṁdhukshitō yat-prati-kūla-vadhvā || [23*]¹ Sa-lakṣhaṇō nirggata-lakṣhaṇō=bhavat=suKarkkarēḍyām=adhipō raṇē yadā | vilūna-v(b)āhu-vyasanah śilimukhaiḥ karād=vimuktair=mMalayasya simhajāt || [24*]² Rē rē Vikrama-sūra dhāvasi vṛithā mach-chāpa-v(b)āṇ=āmbhaśi(si) magnō yāsyasi n=ā-
- 13 tra kim tava kṛitē khaḍg-āgnim=ujālam yē | ³ ity=uktv=ābhihatō raṇē nava-daśa-sthānēshu v(b)āṇair=hridi yātō=dhaḥ paribhūta-vikrama-v(b)alō yasmāt=sa jiyād=iti || [25*]⁴ Prāsāda-mālā dvija-dēvatānām śṛiṣṭā vichitrā gaganam vilagnā | yēn=āpi yābhyas=tv=avarōdha-bhityā yāt=īva Bhānō=ratha āsu ti[ryak] || [26*]¹ Tivram tapō duḥkha-karam prakṛi-
- 14 tya(?) siddhā vrajamtō divam=ūrdhavam=uchchaiḥ | yad-Rāma-dēv-ālaya-v(b)ādhitā yē prāyēna [tē] viśva-padam prayātāḥ || [27*]¹ Yō=yam sutas=Talhaṇa-dēvi(vī)-dēvyās=trāyēta mitrāṇi nihanti śatrūn [|*] Bhīshmō yath=ānēka-sam-ānu-vartū jiyāt=sa Prithvidhara[s*]=sānujō=pi || [28*]¹ Śrī-Gargga-nāmā ruchir-āmśu-dhāmā yasy=ābhavach=chhri-Raṇasimha-sūnuḥ | Dharmmasya vidyā-haya-kōśa-lē-
- 15 khī sarvv-ādhikārair=iva Chitraguptaḥ || [29*]¹ Tām(v)būla-dān-ādhikṛiti prayuktaḥ śrīmaj-Jagatsimha-sutaḥ sumamtrī | yasy=ābhavach=chhri-Harisimha-nāmā sarvv-ārthi-sam̐pat-paripūrit-āśaḥ || [30*]¹ Praudha-prachanḍ-āri-kari-pramāthī nārācha-pās-āmkuśa-khaḍga-yōddhā | v(b)āhu-prasakty=āti-dṛiḍha-prahāraḥ sēn-āgraya-y=īva raṇē kumāraḥ || [31*]¹ V(B)rahmaṇō
- 16 yāna-vādēna vēda-tat-pārtha-⁵yōginā | nistīrn(ṇ)ṇāni pāshaṇḍāni yatra māṇa-vakair=api || [32*]⁶ Sa-sōma-śyēn-āgnīn=nayati chayanām̐tar=dvija-gaṇō mahim kṛitvā yūpai=ravikara-chashāl-ōrddhva-katakām | tatō vēdi-śrōṇīm vidhi-vihita-mantraīḥ kṛita-giram vasan=yasmins=tishṭhan=n[ri]puram=iha Kāsthālakam=iti
- 17 || [33*]⁷ Bhuktv=āpi yasmin=vara-pāṇi-pātrē chakrās=tu naktaṁ sva-vadhūr=vvihāya | āmbhō-nirīksh-āhata-jīva-samghās=tivram tapō vā munayaś=charamti [||] [34*]¹ Tigamāmśu-tāpa-klama-nōda-dakshair=ukshām vichakru[s*]=striya ātmanō=mgē | prāṇēśa-hasta-pratikṛipta-yantra-nirmukta-dhāra-paya-sām kaṇ-aughaiḥ || [35*]¹ Pītv=āli-chā(a)krair=mmadhu-
- 18 matta-mugdhaiḥ=padmākar-ālīḍha-mukhair=nnadadbhiḥ | ākarn(ṇ)ṇya mugdhā anujāpayanti gītaṁ yaśō yasya cha nāga-kanyāḥ [|*] [36*]¹ Śēvāla-⁸ kalhāraka-vāriparn(ṇ)ṇī-sālūka-samghātakar = ēva-māshair*[|] = bhbhakshair = abhakshair=yutam=am̐bu-vijair=vvapraiḥ sasarij=ārthi-śa(sa)rō ya idṛik || [37*]¹ Kṛiḍā-pravrittāḥ patibhiḥ śa(sa)r-ōrvvau¹⁰ samya[mya]
- 19 ch=ābhūt=¹¹ katham=āsthitānām | tāsām bhruvō=mgāni kuch-ōru-jamghā dṛiṣṭv=āksha-sūtrān(ṇ)ṇy=apatān=muninām || [38*]¹ Yasmins=tirē marakata-śilā-ratna-

¹ Indravajrā.² Read °ujjēlayē.³ Read °iatv-ārtha.⁴ Anushṭubh.⁵ Read Śaivāla⁹.¹⁰ Read °ōrmmau.⁶ Yamkashtha.⁷ Śārdḍūlavikṛiḍita.⁸ Śikharivī.⁹ Read °samghātuka ēvam = ādyaiḥ | bhakṣā⁹.¹¹ ch=āsanu.

v(b)addh-ā[sa]nasthair=vvīchī-lōlā-rajata-s(ś)apharī-vaṁchit-ōru-pradēsaiḥ | viprais-
triptā amara-pitarah̐ sapta divyā manushyā āśaṁsanti prathī[ta]-

- 20 yaśasaṁ yaṁ sa jīyād=bhuv=īti || [39*]¹ Divy-āṁgan-āṁga²-nava-kumkuma
paṁka-piṁga-vāri-prapūra-lava-chitrīta-rōma-mālāḥ | krīḍanti yatra sukhinō
bhuvī rājahamṣā āmbhō-nidhānam=atalaṁ praś(s)arah̐ sa[sa]rjja || [40*]³
Ētad=āmbhō-nidhānāya śatāni daśapañcha cha | bhagavan-mudrayā yō=pi
ṭaṁkakānā[m] vya-
- 21 yē=karōt || [41*]⁴ Sarvv-ārtha-sārthai[s*]=stutijair=vvachōbhīr=vvamdi(di)-janaiḥ sa[m]s-
tuta ēva yō=bhūt | Siddhārtha-yōgī Malayānu-simhas=v(t)asmai bhavēyuh̐
śubhadās=tridēvāḥ || [42*]⁵ Vāstavya-vṛitti-pratham=aika-liṅgaṁ nāmn=āpy-
abhūd=Uddharaṇō vipaśchit | uddhṛitya mahyāma(m=a)mṛitaṁ gṛhītum lōk=aika-
nāthō=tha yath=ēsa-mūrttiḥ || [43*]⁵
- 22 Tasy=ātha putraḥ pramad-ābhirāmō y(j)ushtaḥ śriyā Śrīdhara-mūrttir=āsīt | yēn=
āvanī sarvva-guṇā guṇ-aughaiḥ puṇyair=anēkaś=cha kṛitā pavitrā || [44*]⁵ Tasy=
āpi sūnur=bhuvī Ṭhakkurō yō Lakshmīdharō lakṣhaṇa-kāvya-vēttā | Vidyā-
dharas=tasya babhūva putraḥ sarvv-ādhikār-ārtha-guṇa-pravīṇaḥ || [45*]⁵ Ar-
tha-trayāṇām*=
- 23 m=api tatva-yuktaḥ kāmasya sārēṇa tu kimchid=ēva | Vidyādhārō=th=āsyā
ś(s)arō-dhikarttā hētur=yath=ābdhēḥ Sagarō babhūva || [46*]⁵ Ś(S)arah̐=samsthā-
panē(?) vidvān=vāstavyaḥ Purushōttama | ḥ(ḥ |)śrīmad-Valhaṇa-putrō=bhūd=āchārya-
Śrīdharō yathā || [47*]⁴ Pañcha-kratūnām=api-yaś=cha karttā śrī-Rāma=
chandrō=tha babhūva vidvān | tasy=ātha pu-
- 24 trō=pi Divākar-ākhyāḥ sarvvajña-kalpō dvija-mukhya ēva || [48*]⁵ Tasy=ātha putrō
guru-bhakti-chittō daivā[ch*]=chhriyā yaḥ parihīna jātaḥ | Ātrēya-gōtrō nanu
Kṛiṣṇa-pūrvvaḥ Kāśī-nivāsi cha par-ōpakārī || [49*]⁵ Tarkkē jñānam=atīva
yasya chaturaḥ śabd-ārtha-śāstrē tathā mīmāṁs=ādhigatō vipaśchid=abha-
vad=vēdām-
- 25 ta-yōg-ādhi-dhīḥ | vēd-ā[bhyā]sa-rataḥ sadā suvidushām mūrdhni prava(ba)ddh-
āñjalir=viprah̐ śrī-Purushōttamō bhuvī mahān=v(b)uddhyā cha Vāchaspatīḥ ||
[50*]⁷ Tēn=ēyam=ishṭ=āṁga-suvṛitta-vṛittā hārasya yashtīś=cha sad-ārtha-
guchchhā [| *]sad-vaṁsa-muktā-phala-kīrtti-sūtrā śastā praśastīḥ suvinirmmit=ēva ||
[51*]⁵ Utkīr(n)ṇā sūtra-
- 26 dhārēṇa śrīmad-Galhaṇa-sūnunā | nāmn=Ānamtēna chandrēr=yāḥ⁸ śuddh=ēyam
vaṁsa-paddhatiḥ || [52*]⁴ Chatvārimśaty-adhikē=v(b)dē chaturbhīr=nnavamē
śatē | Śukrē Sāhasamall-āmkē Nābhasyē prathamē dinē || [53*]⁴ Saṁvat
944 Bhādrapada-s(ś)udī | Śukrē śrīmad-Vijayasimhadēva-rājyē || Maṁ-
- 27 galaṁ mahāśrīḥ || O || Śrīḥ || [D]auva(ā)rya-kārya-kshama-Ra[ḥ]aṇ-ākhyō yasy-
ābhavad=Dalha[ṇa*]-sūnu-vīrah̐ | dvār=īva Na[m]di Girīśasya yuktaḥ saṁgrā-
ma-sū(śū)rō ripu-darppa-marddī || [54*]¹

¹ Mandākrāntā.² Vasantatilakā.³ Indravajrā.⁴ Śūradūlavikrīḍita.⁵ There is a symbol between °ga° and °na°.⁶ Anushubh.⁷ This °m° is superfluous.⁸ Read Chāndrī yā.

No. 54:—THREE SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHUJ.

BY A. COWLEY, CLERMONT-GANNEAU, BUCHANAN GRAY AND MAYER-LAMBERT.

Colonel H. F. Jacob, the Political Agent of Cutch, picked up during 1909-10 three inscribed stones from the Raos' Tombs (or *Chhatris*) at Bhuj, as has been noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, Volume V, Cutch, page 218, and these remained with Mr. N. M. Billimoria of Bhuj for some time till Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar noticed them. Mr. Billimoria, with the permission of Colonel Jacob, sent them over to the Poona Museum. In the month of April 1917, Mr. Bhandarkar forwarded copies of them to Sir John Marshall, noticing them first in his Report for 1917¹, page 50. Sir John sent the impressions on to Dr. F. W. Thomas with the request that they might be deciphered by some Semitic epigraphist. The result was that the inscriptions were examined by Dr. Cowley, Dr. Buchanan Gray, M. Mayer-Lambert and M. Clermont-Ganneau. The following note comprises what each of these scholars has stated about them.

The largest of the three epigraphs is in Hebrew and the other two are Himyaritic. Regarding the Hebrew Inscription M. Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Cowley say:—

The inscription is of a later date and forms the epitaph of Rabbi Hiyā, son of Joseph, who died in the month of Marheshwan of the year 1563 (?) (of the Seleucids ?=1251 A.D.), with the usual eulogistic funeral formulae "may his soul rest" and "may his soul be bound up in the sheaf of the living." [C.-Ganneau].

Dr. Cowley remarks as follows:—

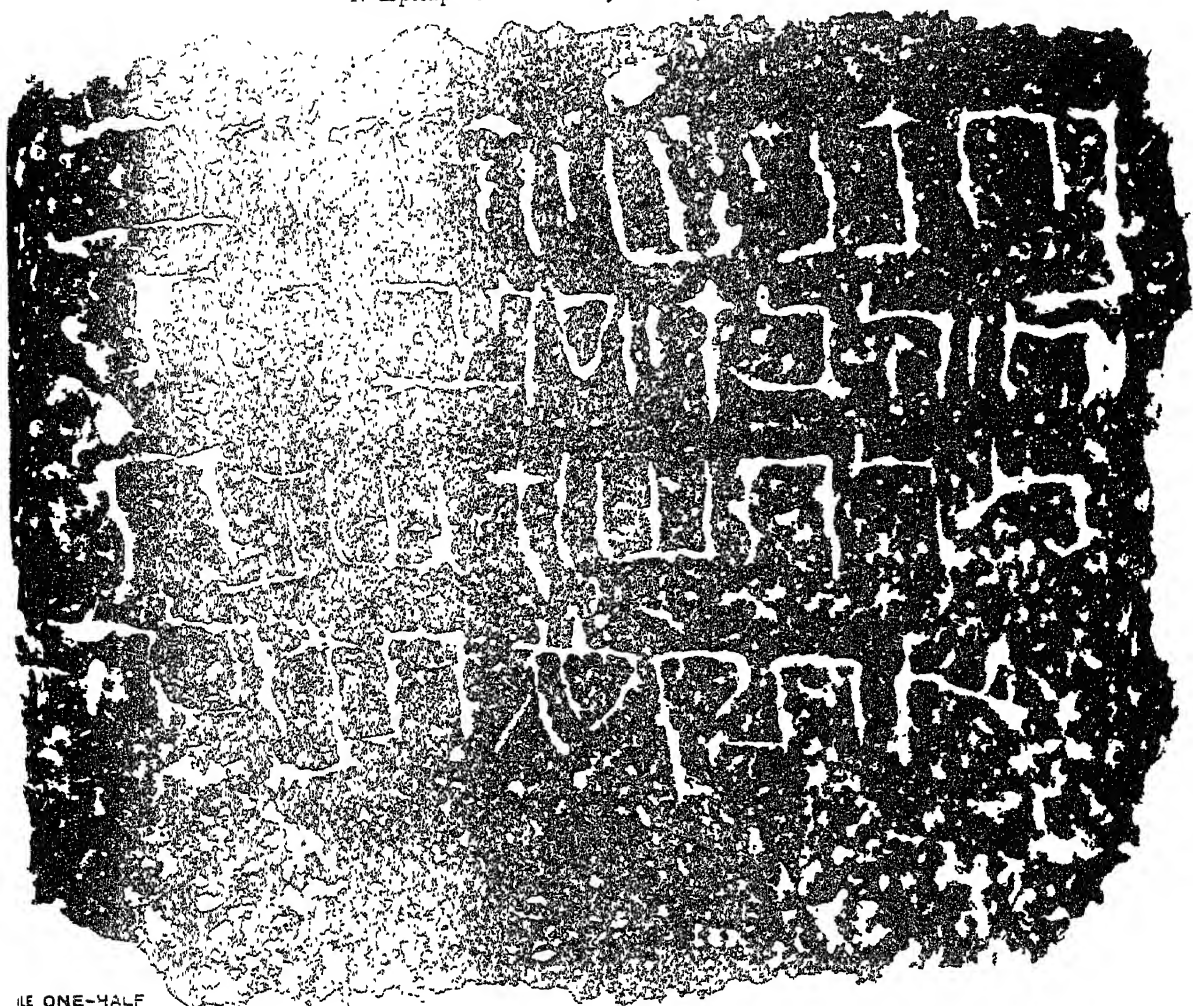
Text in Hebrew.	Text in Roman.	Translation.
נח נפשיה דרבא חיה חיה בן יוסף ב' מ סרחשון שנת התקס"ג תשנ"ה	Nah naphsheh d'rabh Hiyā b. Joseph b. Joseph Marheshwan ס"ג תשנ"ה. I.N.Z.B.H.	The soul of R. Hiyā-ben Joseph went to its rest in the month of Marheshwan in the year 1563— R. I. P.

The inscription is of an ordinary type. The only uncertainty in the reading is with regard to the name which looks like **יחיה** (for **יחיא** 'Yahya), but probably the first stroke is unintentional and we should read **חיה**. The letters at the end, after the date, give a common abbreviated formula 'may his soul be bound up in the sheaf of the living' (i. Sam. 25, 20). The date 1563 is no doubt of the Seleucid era, and is, therefore, equivalent to 1252 A.D. It is difficult to say if the style of the letters either agrees or disagrees with this, because the inscription was evidently cut by an unskilled person. The **ו** with a flat base, is the most noticeable letter: the distinction between **י** and **ס** is small, and the top of **י** (**י**) is exaggerated.

¹ P. R. A. S., W. C., 1916-17.

Three Semitic Inscriptions from Bhuj.

I. Epitaph of Rabbi Hya. the year 1563



SCALE ONE-HALF

II. Sabaean Inscription A.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

F. W. THOMAS

III. Sabaean Inscription B.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

It is highly improbable that an epitaph of this kind should belong to Bhuj or any other place in Northern India, and doubtless the Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1916-17, p. 50, is right in supposing that all the three stones came originally from South Arabia, perhaps from Aden. A number of tomb-inscriptions (of a later date) from the Jewish cemetery at Aden, were published in 1903 by H. P. Chajes in the *Sitzb. d. ph. hist. Kl. d. k. Akademie* of Vienna. As is well known, there have been Jewish settlers in South Arabia since early in the Christian era—if not before it.

The fact that this epitaph was associated with two South Arabian fragments is some reason for thinking that all three came originally from the same region. [A. Cowley].

On the two Himyaritic inscriptions which are on two smaller stones and bear South Arabian writing Mayer-Lambert and Dr. Gray write.—

“The inscription in two lines (from left to right) is transcribed below:—

Y	B	M	II
B	A	D	W

The second line is very clear, although W has never the form \odot in Himyaritic but is always expressed by the form \odot . It is a formula *Wadd'ab* (*Wadd*=father), frequently met with on talismans: see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part IV, Volume II, page 178.

With regard to the first line, I am not able to make it out and should think that, though it is very strange, it reads B(o)mb(a)y.

The second inscription in one line reads:—

§	M	H	M	B	C	Q
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

which is entirely unintelligible. It may, perhaps, be read thus:—

Q	C	B	M	H	M	§
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

that is to say.....Qa, ‘the son of Hamis’? though the meaning of BM=son is very doubtful. The monuments are probably bad copies of original stones. [Mayer-Lambert].

‘The rubbings are of two inscriptions, one of two lines (A), and the other of a single line (B).

A.

Both the lines are read from left to right and, with the exception of the left hand letter of the top line, the reading seems to be obvious; the first letter (II) is probably *ghain* and, transliterating into Arabic letters read from right to left, the inscription reads:—
ربي عم دادات هي

..... Wadd'ab.

The inscription thus belongs to the group of short Sabaeen inscriptions, found on buildings and amulets, which mention *Wadd'ab*, *Wadd'abum*, *Waddum*, *Abum*, *Abwadd* or *Abum Waddum*; see *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part IV, Chap. IX, Art. VI, Nos. 470-486. The Bombay Museum possesses, in addition to the present, another inscription of this group (C.I.S. 482), first published by J. Bird in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, No. VIII, 1844, p. 30; it was also published by W. F. Prideaux in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VI, 1879, p. 305. This inscription is engraved over the figure of a man wearing a cap and a loin cloth extending to the knees, but otherwise nude and has been interpreted as “image of Waddab.”

In the present inscription the first word is obscure. If, as can be judged from the rubbing, the inscription is complete, it consists of not less than four, nor more than five, letters; the last letter of the word (ي) should therefore be the ending of the construct case dual. The root عيب is, it must be admitted, unknown and improbable; but with the less improbable alternatives for the first letter, the words بعبني , بعبني , بعبني give nothing more satisfactory. If the third letter should be regarded as a mutilated ض , ط or س, though for this there seems no good ground, roots known from the Arabic (عيس , غفي) would result, but the interpretation would remain obscure.

Both the direction of writing and the forms of the letters point to an early date for the inscription—(though the M is not quite the earliest type)—, say to the earlier part of the period of the kings of Sab'a; if the transition from the style of kings of Sab'a to that of kings of Sab'a and Dhu Raidan be correctly dated as 115 B.C., this inscription must be earlier, perhaps considerably earlier than 115 B.C.

The direction of the writing from left to right occurs in the alternate lines of the relatively rare and early boustrophedon inscriptions, see, e.g., *C.I.S.* 363, 367, 371, 379, 381, 383, 386, 387, 412, 413, 415, 417, 418, 421, 423, 439, 459 (from Abyssinia), 487, 491. Other examples of this direction maintained in two consecutive lines are much rarer: see *C.I.S.* 474 in two lines.

B.

To judge from the form of M, this also is probably to be read from left to right, though the M, round as here, does very occasionally occur in inscriptions read in the usual manner from right to left (see *C.I.S.* 393).

Transliterating into Arabic letters read from right to left, this inscription reads :—

فراعصبعي

The line immediately to the left of the first M is presumably the line of division; the similar line to the left of this looks most like a second line of division; but since two such lines together are most improbable, the line must rather be the remainder of a letter,—of what, is not clear.

The first word is obscure and perhaps incomplete; the second seems to be a proper name having the form of a participle of the causative conjugation (Ar. IV) without nunation.

The inscription belongs to much the same period as A, of an early, but not of the earliest (note the angular top of the H, and the bottom of the S; see *C. I. S.*, 379) period. [G. Buchanan Gray]. "

No. 55.—AN UNPUBLISHED GRANT OF DHURVASENA I.

MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

This paper relates to two copper-plates which on cleaning have been found to constitute a new Valabhī grant. They were handed over by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of the Deccan College, Poona, some ten years ago to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The grant is inscribed on the inner side of two copper-plates, each having two holes for keeping them together by means of rings, now missing. The size of the plates is $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ and the thickness is $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Each plate is broken into two large and several small pieces.

The letters are cut deeply. As to orthography, the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in line 12 and of the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 5, 11 and 14 and the change of the *visarga* into *ś* before *ślōkāḥ* (l. 23) may be noticed.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I* of the Maikola family and records the grant from Valabhī, of the village Kalahāṭaka situated in the *Hastavaprāharanī* to two Brāhmaṇas, Viśvadatta and Vasudatta, of the Bhāradvāja gṛha for the maintenance of the sacrificial rites *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, etc.* That the plates confirm a previous grant is suggested by the expressions *Hastavaprā-haranyām Kalahāṭaka-grāmaḥ pūrva-bhukta-bhujyamānakaḥ* (l. 14), *pūrv-āchāra-sthityā pratipāditaḥ* (ll. 18 and 19). The name of the donees' place of residence is broken. These expressions might be translated as "the village *Kalahāṭaka* situated within the *Hastavaprā-harānī* territorial division which had (formerly) been enjoyed and is being enjoyed (by the donees of the original grant)", "has been granted (by us) in accordance with the usual custom."

The writer of the published charters of Dhruvasēna I, issued by him from the Gupta-Valabhī Śaṁvat 206 to 217 is **Kikkaka**, but there are several changes in the office of the *Dūtaka* or the executive officer. Thus the *Dūtaka Prāṇhāra Mammaka* who is mentioned in all copper-plate grants of Dhruvasēna I issued from G. V. Śaṁ. 206 to Śrāvaṇa śu. 15 of 210, gives place to **Rudradhara** in the Palitānā plates of Aśvayuja ba. 5, G. V. Śaṁ. 210, issued like the other two grants of 210 from Valabhī. Later, in the year 216, Rudradhara is replaced by the *Bhōgika Rājasthānīya Bhaṭṭi*. Thus the chronology of various grants, so far as the *Dūtakas* are concerned, is sufficiently clear and leads me to surmise that as the *Dūtaka* of these plates is the *Prāṇhāra Mammaka*, the charter may, even in the absence of date, be tentatively placed between the years 206 and 210, i.e., before the assumption of the *Dūtaka's* office by Rudradhara. This must, however, remain a mere possibility as it is not necessary that there should be only one *Dūtaka* at a time, and that another could not be appointed during the life-time or even the tenure of a certain *Dūtaka*. Of the place names mentioned in the inscription, *Hastavapra* is modern H⁺thab¹. *Kalahāṭaka* may be identified with modern Koliāk² (spelt as Koliyat by Col. H. S. Jarrett)³ lying on the eastern bank of the creek near H⁺thab.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति वलभोतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलवलमपद्रमखलाभोग-
- 2 संसक्तसंप्रहारशतलव्यप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानाज्ज्वोपाज्जितानुरागोत्तुरङ्ग-
- 3 मौलभृतमित्रश्रेणीबलावासराज्यश्रीः परममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिश्रीभटकस्तस्य सुतः
- 4 तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपवित्रोक्तशि[राः*] शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविष्कुरित-
- पादनख-
- 5 प(पं)क्तिदीधितिर्हीनानाथजना(नो)पजीव्यमानविभवपरममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिधरसेनः
- 6 तस्यानुजस्तत्पादाभिप्रणामप्रशस्तविमलमौलिसन्निभान्वादिप्रणेतविधिविध(धा)नधर्मा
- 7 धर्मीराज इव विहितविनयश्चवस्थापद्वा(इ)तिरखिलभुवनमखलाभोगस्वामिनः
- परमस्वामिन(ना)
- 8 स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्राणनावपूतराजश्रीः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 314 and above, Vol. XI, p. 106 and notes 1 and 2.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 314.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari* 1891 edn., Vol. II, p. 245.

- 9 द्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजस्त्रभु[जव*]लिन परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयो
 10 शरणैषिणां शरणभवकोडा शास्त्रार्थ[तत्त्वा*]नां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृद्यणयिनां
 यथाभिल-
 11 प्रितफलोपभोगदः परमभाग[व*]तपरमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातो महासाम[न्त*]-
 12 महाराजध्रुवसेनकुशलो सव्य[नि*]व स्वानायुक्तकविनियुक्तक[द्रा*]गिकम-
 हत्तरचा[ट*]-
 13 भटध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणिकदाण्डपा[शि*]कादीनन्द्यांश्च यथासंवध्यमानकाननुदर्शयत्य-
 14 [स्तु*] व[स्मविदित*] यथा हस्तवप्राहरा(र)ण्यां कलहाटकग्रामपूर्वभुक्तभुज्य-
 [मा*]नकः

Second Plate.

- 15 — — — — नगरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणविश्वदत्तवसुदत्ताभ्यां भरद्वाजसगोत्राभ्यां
 16 — — — — [स*]ब्रह्मचारिभ्यां मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनायात्मनश्चै-
 द्विकामुष्मिकयथाभि-
 17 [लघित*]फलावाप्तिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्का[र्ण*]वर्त्तितसरित्यर्च्यतस्मृतिसमकालीनं
 18 [पुत्रपौत्रा*]न्वयभोग्यं बलिचरुवैश्व[देवा*]द्यानां क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थपूर्व[१*]-
 चार-
 19 [स्थित्या प्रति*]पादितः [१*] यतीनयोर्भु[ज*]तोः कृषतोः कर्षयतोः प्रदि-
 शतोर्वा न कैश्चि-
 20 [अतिषे*]धो विचारणा वा कार्यास्म[हं*]शजैरागामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चानित्या-
 न्यैश्वर्याण्य-
 21 [स्थिरं मानुषं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफ*]लमवगच्छन्निरियमस्मदनुमतिर[नु-
 22 मन्तव्या यश्चाच्छि*]न्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानवानुमो[दे*]त्स पञ्चभिर्भहापातकै-
 स्त्रोपपातकै-
 23 [श्च संयुक्तस्या*]दिति [१*] चात्र व्यासगौताश्रमलोका [भवन्ति ॥ ष*]ष्ठि(ष्टि)-
 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [१*]
 24 [आच्छेत्ता*] चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त् ॥*] स्मदत्तां परदत्तां
 वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म् १*]
 25 गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषम् [॥*] बहुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्त्वा
 राज[भिस्सगरा*]-
 26 दिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [॥*]
 27 स्वहस्तो मम महासामन्तमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्य [॥*] दूतकः प्रतोडाश्मकः [॥*]
 28 लिखितं किङ्ककेन [॥*] — — — — — शु — — — —

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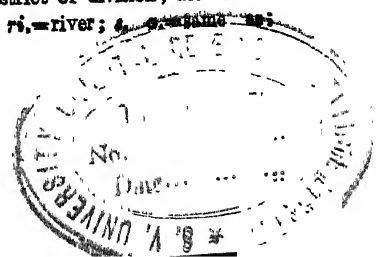
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° The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the addition on pp. vii to xii. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *f.*=female; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *tc.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *W.*=Western.

